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MORTIMER's
History of England

S. Wale delin. *C. Grignion scalp.*

WILLIAM III.

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WILLIAM III.

A NEW

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM THE

EARLIEST ACCOUNTS of BRITAIN,

TO THE

RATIFICATION of the PEACE of VERSAILLES, 1763.

HUMBLY INSCRIBED TO THE QUEEN.

By THOMAS MORTIMER, Esq.

His MAJESTY's VICE-CONSUL for the AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS.

Orationi et carmini est parva gratia, nisi eloquentia sit summa: historia quoque modo scripta delectat.

PLINY, jun.

VOL III.

LONDON,

Printed for J. WILSON and J. FELL, in Paternoster-Row;

And sold by Mr. FLETCHER at Oxford, Messrs. FLETCHER and HODSON at Cambridge, Mr. SMITH at Dublin,

And by all the Booksellers in Great-Britain and Ireland.

MDCCLXVI.

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MDCCLXVI.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM

The REVOLUTION to the Acceſſion of the Illuſtrious Family of BRUNSWICK-HANOVER, now reigning, containing the Tranſactions of Twenty-five Years.

PART XII.

WILLIAM III. and MARY II. King and Queen of ENGLAND. A. D. 1689.

DURING the greateſt part of the preceding reign, the Engliſh had, with unſpeakable grief, beheld their religion brought to the brink of ruin, and the papal ſee on the point of re-aſſuming her antient tyrannic ſway over both church and ſtate in theſe kingdoms. The Reformation, which had been ſealed with the blood of ſo many martyrs for the true faith, was about to be overturned, and the rights and privileges of the people annihilated. The land of liberty was going to be reduced to an iſland of ſlaves. Deſpotic rule was to lord it over the laws of the country, and the lives and properties of thouſands were to be at the mercy of arbitrary power, ſupported by the unnatural and execrable doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance. Such was the ſituation of the Engliſh nation, when James II. unable to withſtand the juſt reſentments of an injured people, and loſt to all ſpirit but that of enthuſiaſtic bigotry, abdicated a throne he had ſo unworthily filled.

The Revolution then may, with juſtice, be termed the epocha of true Engliſh liberty. The nation, repreſented by its parliament (or what is the ſame, a free convention of its eſtates) fixed the long conteſted limits of royal prerogative, and the rights of the ſubject; and having preſcribed to the prince of Orange the conditions on which he was to reign, choſe him for their ſovereign, jointly with his conſort Mary, the daughter of their late king. From that time this prince was acknowleged by the greateſt part of Europe as the lawful king of England, by the name of William III. and the Deliverer of this nation.

There were, however, a party in the nation, who viewed things in a different light, and could by no means be brought to approve the new ſettlement: theſe exerted their utmoſt endeavours from the beginning to overturn it. The reader will readily ſuppoſe that the papiſts made the bulk of this party. They had indeed very ſubſtantial reaſons to diſlike the Revolution; but to theſe alſo were joined ſeveral proteſtants, who, either from the ſtrong impreſſions of the late doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, could not bring themſelves to think it lawful to reſiſt James, or who, though they acknowleged the neceſſity and expediency of an interpoſition to preſerve them a free people, and gladly accepted the prince of Orange in the quality of a mediator, or even as regent in the name of king James, would by no means hear of his being made king, to the prejudice of hereditary indefeaſible right, and the

direct lineal ſucceſſion. The more violent of theſe were named Jacobites, the others Nonjurors, from their refuſing to take the oaths to the preſent government. Thus the Revolution, notwithſtanding it had been the means of happily preſerving the proteſtant religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom, had from its beginning many enemies to encounter, who were engaged in continual plots to annoy and ſubvert it.

King William began his reign by a proclamation, confirming all proteſtants in the offices which they enjoyed, on the firſt day of December. His next ſtep was to ſettle his privy-council *; after which, on the twenty-third of February, he gave the royal aſſent to a bill to "remove and prevent all queſtions and diſputes concerning the aſſembling and ſitting of this preſent parliament:" by which act the convention, which had ſettled the crown on the prince and princeſs of Orange, was changed into a parliament. His majeſty opened their ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he thanked them for the great confidence they had repoſed in him by chuſing him to be their ſovereign, aſſuring them it ſhould be his ſtudy to preſerve the good opinion they had conceived of his integrity. He laid before them the critical ſituation of affairs in Europe, and in theſe kingdoms in particular; and concluded with earneſtly requeſting them to concur in the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures for the welfare of the nation. Soon after the king ſent a meſſage to the houſe, informing them that he had received certain advice of James having ſet ſail from Breſt with an armament to invade Ireland: whereupon both houſes came to a reſolution to aſſiſt his majeſty with their lives and fortunes: they voted a temporary aid of four hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, to be levied by monthly aſſeſſment, and both houſes waited on the king to ſignify this their reſolution. This complacency however was far from being unanimous in the parliament; for ſeveral of the lords, both ſpiritual and temporal, had abſented themſelves from the aſſembly, rather than take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy required. The nonjurors among the prelates were, Sancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury; Turner, biſhop of Ely; Ken, of Bath and Wells; White, of Peterborough; Lake, of Chicheſter; Lloyd, of Norwich; Thomas, of Worceſter; and Frampton, of Glouceſter: of whom the four firſt had been impriſoned in the Tower by king James. The temporal peers who refuſed the oaths were, the duke of Newcaſtle, the earl of Clarendon, Litchfield, Exeter, Yarmouth, and Stafford, with the lords Griffin and Stawel.

The friends of the late king began alſo to ſtir already againſt the new government; and ſeveral gentlemen of condition of the Scottiſh nation in England were apprehended for treaſonable practices, and ſent to the Tower. The commons, informed of theſe commotions, as likewiſe that the Scottiſh regiment of Dumbarton had mutinied, and declared for James (though preſently after quelled) impowered the king to diſpenſe with the Habeas Corpus act till the ſeventeenth of April following This was done with a view for the more effectual ſecuring all diſturbers of the public peace; but was certainly a great ſtretch of confidence, and gave ſuch a power few princes ought to be truſted with. They alſo brought in a bill for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion, which in a little time paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent.

On the eleventh of April 1689, the king and queen were ſolemnly crowned by the biſhop of London, who officiated, at the king's deſire, in the room of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, a declared malcontent. The king now made a thorough change about court. Several who had been driven from their poſts by the late adminiſtration, were now reſtored with ſignal marks of honour and favour. The papiſts, who had ſo lately carried all before them, were now forced to give way to their more ſucceſsful adverſaries: the laws againſt the former were renewed and ſtrengthened, while all ſuch who had been in any manner inſtrumental in effecting the Revolution, were rewarded in proportion to their ſervices. Among the reſt, Charles Paulet, marquis of Wincheſter, was made duke of Bolton; William Bentinck, eſq. earl of Portland; Ralph lord Montagu, earl of Montagu; and John lord Churchill, earl of Marlborough. The earls of Nottingham and Shrewſbury were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; the marquis of Halifax, privy-ſeal; the earl of Danby, preſident of the council; D'Auverquerque, a Dutch gentleman, who with Bentinck and Zuyleſtein had accompanied the king from Holland, was made maſter of the horſe, Zuyleſtein of the robes, and Schomberg of the ordnance: this latter was, not long after, made a duke, as was the earl of Danby marquis of Carmarthen, and admiral Herbert earl of Torrington. Laſtly, Dr. Gilbert Burnet, who came over with his majeſty as his chaplain when prince, was, upon the death of Dr. Seth Ward, advanced to the biſhopric of Saliſbury. In fine, not one of the king's friends found themſelves forgotten or neglected in this diſtribution of royal favour: and that even the meaneſt of his ſubjects might receive a benefit from his acceſſion, and be thereby the more attached to his perſon and government, he about this time recommended to the parliament (who readily acquieſced in his deſire) the abolition of the hearth money tax, which he underſtood was a grievous impoſition upon the people. This was certainly a very politic meaſure, and contributed more than any thing to gain the affections of the populace to their new ſovereign.

The king was naturally biaſſed to Calviniſm, and a declared enemy to perſecution. He had been conſiderably cooled in his regard for the church of England, by the oppoſition he had met with from ſome of the members, eſpecially the biſhops, who had, by their refuſal to take the oaths, and withdrawing from the parliament, openly diſowned his authority, and ſhewn their averſion to his government. He therefore reſolved to mortify the church, by admitting the proteſtant diſſenters to a ſhare in poſts under the government; by which means he could at the ſame time oblige many of his friends. With this view he propoſed to his par-

*. The council was compoſed of the following perſons: the prince of Denmark, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhop of London, the duke of Norfolk, the marquiſſes of Halifax and Wincheſter; the earls of Danby, Lindſey, Oxford, Shrewſbury, Dorſet and Middleſex, Bedford, Bath, Macclesfield, Nottingham; the viſcounts Falconbridge, Mordaunt, Newport, Lumley; the lords Wharton, Montagu, Delamere, Churchill; ſir Robert Howard, ſir Henry Capel, ſir John Lowther; Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Sidney, Mr. Powle, Mr. Ruſſel, Mr. Boſcawen, and Mr. Hambden.

liament the abrogating the old, and appointing new oaths; by which the ſacramental teſt might be declared unneceſſary in rendering any perſon, being a proteſtant, capable of enjoying any office or employ. The commons were complaiſant enough to frame a bill agreeable to his majeſty's intentions, but it was rejected by a great majority in the houſe of lords. Another bill for the ſame purpoſe, but expreſſed in different terms, was propoſed by the king's direction, and met with the ſame fate, tho' in both caſes about ſix or ſeven lords proteſted againſt the reſolution of the houſe.

The warmth the king diſcovered in favour of the diſſenters on this occaſion, greatly excited the jealouſy of the churchmen. William would gladly have compromiſed the matter, by excuſing the nonjuring clergy from taking the oaths to the government, provided the churchmen would have agreed to diſpenſe with the ſacramental teſt in favour of the preſbyterians; but this propoſal was rejected with ſome warmth by the high-flying clergy; and they reſolved that all nonjuring clergy ſhould be obliged to take the oaths, or ſuffer ſuſpenſion. After a long and warm debate in parliament, this point was carried, and all the indulgence that could be obtained was a clauſe, empowering the king to grant to any twelve clergymen who ſhould be deprived in virtue of this act, a third part of their benefices during pleaſure.

Thus the antient oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy were abrogated, the declaration of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, in the act of uniformity, was repealed, and the new oath reduced to its former ſimplicity, of ſwearing to bear faith and true allegiance to the ſovereign. The clergy were required to take the oaths before the firſt day of Auguſt, on pain of being ſuſpended for ſix months, and of being entirely deprived of all their eccleſiaſtical promotions, in caſe they did not take them before the expiration of that term. Several complied with the times; as the earl of Nottingham, who was made ſecretary of ſtate, and Dr. Sherlock, who after the victory of the Boyne acknowledged their majeſties title, and was made dean of St. Paul's: but many adhered to their old principles, which chriſtian charity and candour would have obliged us to have excuſed, had they not inſtigated them to continual plots and conſpiracies againſt the government. Thoſe indeed who did comply, made uſe of ſuch reſervations and diſtinctions as left them open to much cenſure, as if they had made their conſciences ſubſervient to their temporal intereſts.

Though the king had been diſappointed in his deſign of repealing the ſacramental teſt, yet he reſolved to indulge the diſſenters with a toleration; and a bill for this purpoſe being preſented by the earl of Nottingham, was with ſome difficulty paſſed into a law, under the title of An Act for exempting their Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects diſſenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws; which is commonly called the Act of Toleration to this day.

Theſe matters ſettled, the legiſlature next took under their conſideration the ſettlement of a revenue for the ſupport of the government. It muſt be obſerved, that before the Revolution, the whole ſtanding income of the ſtate was in the power and diſpoſal of the king, and was called the revenue of the crown. This had given occaſion to many notorious embezzlements; and it was found, upon inquiſition into this affair, that ſince the toleration, prodigious ſums had been ſunk, without being applied to the uſes for which they were granted. Effectually to prevent ſuch ſhameful miſapplications in future, the parliament now wiſely reſolved to allot a ſeparate income for the maintenance of the king's houſhold, and the ſupport of his dignity, which is now called the Civil Liſt, and to put the reſt of the public revenues entirely under the command of the parliament. It was alſo determined that theſe ſums ſhould be granted only from year to year, or at moſt for a very ſhort term. This was an expedient of the Whigs, who thought it the moſt effectual way to render the king dependent upon his parliament, and engage him to merit their affection and compliance, by every act of a juſt or popular adminiſtration. It muſt be confeſſed, that this appropriation of the revenue was of infinite advantage to the public, and the greateſt bulwark imaginable to the liberties of the people, who were now no longer under apprehenſion of ſeeing the aids they granted laviſhed at the will of their ſovereign, in articles of profuſion, or applied to the nefarious purpoſe of ſupporting armies, to wreſt from the generous donors their invaluable privileges *.

The civil liſt was now ſettled at ſix hundred thouſand pounds, chargeable with the appointments of the queen-dowager, the prince and princeſs of Denmark, the judges, and marechal duke Schomberg, to whom the parliament, as a reward

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* The annual revenue, clear of all charges in the collection, at the time of king James II's abdication, was as follows:

1. Tonnage and poundage, with the wood-farm, coal-farm, and ſalt-farm	600,000
2. The hereditary and temporary exciſe, with the additional nine-pence for the year, ending June 24, 1689	666,383
3. Hearth-money	245,000
4. Poſt-office	65,000
5. Wine-licences	10,000
6. Impoſition on wine and vinegar, granted for eight years, ending June 24, 1693	172,901
7. The impoſition on tobacco and ſugar	148,861
8. The impoſition on French linen, brandy, and ſilk	93,710
9. The ſmall branches (which before the crown-lands were ſold, amounted to 130,000 l.)	60,000
Total neat revenue of the crown	2,061,855

Annual diſburſements for the public ſervices, during king James II's reign.

1. Maintenance of ſeamen, and proviſion of naval ſtores	300,000
2. Ordinary of the navy and ordnance	50,000
3. Guards and other diſciplined troops	200,000
4. Garriſons, contingencies, &c.	50,000
Total expence	600,000

This being deducted out of the whole revenue, there remained for the civil liſt 1,461,885 l. a ſum which rendered him independent of his parliament, enabled him to maintain a numerous army, and might have been ſufficient, had he conducted his ſcheme with common prudence, to effect his wicked deſign of enſlaving the nation. Hence appears the neceſſity of limiting the grant of the public revenue to a ſhort term, of appropriating certain ſums to particular purpoſes, and of ſubmitting the application of thoſe ſums to the inſpection and diſcuſſion of parliament. See Tindal's Contin. of Rapin.

for his eminent ſervices, had already granted one hundred thouſand pounds *. The commons alſo voted that one thouſand pounds ſhould be eſtabliſhed for the ſupport of the crown in the time of peace †.

The king was not a little piqued at the Whigs for this meaſure, which he conſidered as a mark of their diffidence, by which he was diſtinguiſhed from his predeceſſors, and thought it an ungrateful return for the ſervices he had done to the nation. An incident followed upon this, which contributed not a little to increaſe his jealouſy of that party. They introduced a bill into the houſe for regulating the militia in ſuch a manner as would have rendered it in a great meaſure independent of the king, and of the lieutenants of counties appointed by him. The bill however was thrown out by the peers, but the king deeply reſented the attempt. The Tories failed not to take the advantage of this diſpoſition in their ſovereign, and by the mouth of the earl of Nottingham, made his majeſty warm tenders of their ſervices; but took occaſion at the ſame time to inſinuate, that as they were in danger of being proſecuted for their meaſures during the late reign, they found their hands tied, and durſt not exert themſelves ſo vigorouſly as they could wiſh, and intended for the preſervation and dignity of the prerogatives of the crown, through the fear of calling down upon themſelves the reſentment of their avowed enemies. William ſwallowed the bait thus artfully thrown out for him; he reſolved to put theſe new friends in a condition to make head againſt the Whig party, from whom he began to think himſelf in danger of being enſlaved, or at beſt reduced only to the ſhadow of a monarch. Accordingly, he ſent a meſſage to the houſe by Mr. Hampden, expreſſing "his earneſt deſire that they would prepare a bill of indemnity, with ſuch exceptions only as to them ſhould ſeem neceſſary, for the vindication of public juſtice, the ſafety of him and his conſort, and the ſettlement and welfare of the nation." The two houſes thought fit to preſent an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for this inſtance of his lenity and humanity. But the Whigs, who ſaw plainly that the Tories wanted to introduce themſelves again into the management of affairs, reſolved to baffle their deſign, and ſtill keep them in ſubjection. Accordingly, they threw ſo many obſtacles in the way of this bill during its dependence, that it could not be brought to a concluſion before the end of the ſeſſion ‡.

The next object which engroſſed the attention of the parliament, was an act for ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown, agreeable to a former reſolution of the houſe, when only a convention. A bill for this purpoſe was brought into the houſe, with a clauſe diſabling papiſts from ſucceeding to the crown. When this bill was carried up to the lords, they added the words, "or ſuch as ſhould marry papiſts," abſolving the ſubject in that caſe from allegiance. At the ſame time the biſhop of Saliſbury (Burnet) by his majeſty's directions, moved that the princeſs Sophia, ducheſs of Hanover, and her poſterity, might be named next in the ſucceſſion, failing iſſue to the king and Anne princeſs of Denmark. The bill thus amended, was ſent down again to the commons, where it occaſioned great debates, the latter refuſing to aſſent to the lords proviſo. The Tories were remarkably ſtrenuous in their oppoſition, and, what may ſeem ſomewhat extraordinary, were joined by ſeveral who paſſed for Whigs, but who were, in ſecret, of republican principles, and hoped, that in caſe of the death of the king and queen, and the princeſs Anne, the monarchy of England might be eaſily extinguiſhed, and a commonwealth eſtabliſhed. The Tories were actuated by motives that would be impertinent to mention, from their obviouſneſs.

The king, who had greatly at heart the effectual ſettling the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line, left no endeavours untried to induce the lower houſe to agree with the lords. He declared in council that the queen, and both the prince and princeſs of Denmark, wiſhed the ſucceſſion to be ſettled after the manner propoſed: but all his efforts for the preſent proved ineffectual, and the bill was dropped. Indeed it ſeemed to be in ſome manner rendered leſs neceſſary, by the delivery of the princeſs Anne, on the twenty-ſeventh day of July, of a ſon, who was chriſtened by the name of William, and was ſoon after created duke of Glouceſter. After this there were debates in the houſe of commons about ſettling a revenue on the princeſs Anne; it was propoſed that her income might be advanced from thirty thouſand pounds (which was what the king allowed her) to ſeventy thouſand pounds. The court ſeemed inclined to have this matter left to his majeſty's diſcretion; but the princeſs and her friends were for a fixed ſettlement, which was carried in the houſe; and this affair is thought to have been the occaſion of the difference between the queen and the princeſs her ſiſter, which continued till the death of the former ‖.

On the ſixteenth of December the king paſſed the bill of rights and ſucceſſion, agreeable to the declaration of rights when their majeſties accepted the crown, with the addition of a remarkable clauſe § for excluding papiſts, and perſons marrying papiſts, for ever from the crown of England.

William, who yielded to few princes in political abilities, and who was well acquainted with the genius of the people he had been called to govern, knew that the moſt effectual way to preſerve peace at home, was to find his ſubjects employment abroad. The great ſcheme which he had formed, when only Stadtholder, of a confederacy againſt France, began about this time to take effect. The princes of the empire aſſembled at the diet of Ratiſbon earneſtly importuned the emperor Leopold to declare war againſt the French king, who had

* See Proceedings Houſe of Lords, ii. 305. April 27.
† Proceedings Houſe of Commons, April 28, ii. 278.
‡ Proceedings Houſe of Lords, i. 355. Burnet.
‖ See Conduct of Sarah Ducheſs of Marlborough, p. 30.
§ It may not be amiſs to tranſcribe this clauſe for the information of the reader. It enacts, "That the kings and queens of England ſhould be obliged, at their coming to the crown, to take the teſt in the firſt parliament that ſhould be called at the beginning of their reign; and that if any king or queen of England ſhould embrace the Roman catholic religion, or marry with a Roman catholic prince or princeſs, their ſubjects ſhould be abſolved of their allegiance, and that the crown and government of theſe realms ſhould from time to time deſcend to, and be enjoyed by ſuch perſons, being proteſtants, as ſhould have inherited the ſame, in caſe the ſaid perſons ſo reconciled to the church of Rome, or marrying a papiſt as aforeſaid, were naturally dead."

in numberleſs inſtances broke the ſeveral treaties he had made with the German potentates, and had, without any provocation, invaded their countries, and ſhewn a ſettled deſign of making himſelf the maſter, or rather the tyrant, of all Chriſtendom. The States-General iſſued a declaration againſt Lewis as the common enemy, as did alſo the elector of Brandenburg; and the marquis de Caſtanaga, governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, in anſwer to Lewis, who had declared war againſt his maſter the emperor, entered into an alliance offenſive and defenſive with the States-general, binding the contracting parties to co-operate with their whole powers againſt France and her allies. William, who was ſtrongly preſſed to join this confederacy in the quality of king of England, and who wiſhed for nothing more heartily, found no great difficulty in perſuading the Engliſh to unſheath the ſword againſt their old enemies and rivals; and after the proper ſteps taken for that purpoſe by both houſes, who joined in a dutiful addreſs to his majeſty, deſiring him to take ſuch meaſures as would be ſufficient to reduce the French king to ſuch a condition, that it ſhould not be in his power to violate the peace of Chriſtendom, nor prejudice the trade and proſperity of England; and aſſuring his majeſty, that he might depend on the aſſiſtance of his parliament therein; the king, on the ſeventh of May this year (1689) declared war againſt the French monarch. This declaration was drawn up by the maſterly pen of Somers, afterwards lord-chancellor. Lewis is therein charged "with having unjuſtly invaded the territories of the emperor, and denounced war againſt the allies of England, in violation of the treaties concluded under the guaranty of the Engliſh crown; of having encroached upon the fiſhery of Newfoundland, invaded the Caribbee iſlands, forcibly ſeized the province of New-York and Hudſon's-bay, countenanced the ſeizure of Engliſh ſhips by French privateers, prohibited the importation of Engliſh manufactures, diſputed the right of the flag, perſecuted many Engliſh ſubjects on pretence of religion, contrary to expreſs treaties and the law of nations, and ſent an armament to Ireland, in ſupport of the rebels in that kingdom."

Having thus deſcribed the progreſs of the revolution in England, I ſhall now briefly relate the ſteps taken in Scotland, in conſequence of this intereſting event. When we reflect upon the miſerable ſtate under which the Scots had groaned during the two laſt reigns, it will afford no matter of ſurprize to ſee that people eagerly concurring in the meaſures of their ſiſter nation to throw off the yoke of tyranny and ſuperſtition, and exerting all their efforts towards the eſtabliſhment of William on the throne of their kingdom.

William, on his being acknowleged king of England, had written a letter to the eſtates of Scotland ſuitable to the ſubject; in conſequence of which they aſſembled in convention on the fourteenth day of March, 1689, and ſpeedily agreed in voting, "That king James VII. * by having aſſumed an arbitrary and deſpotic power, and exerciſing it to the ſubverſion of the proteſtant religion, and the laws and liberties of the nation, had forfeited the right of the crown (of Scotland) and the throne was become vacant." This vote was inſtantly paſſed into a law, by the title of An Act for ſettling the Crown of Scotland upon the King and Queen of England; purſuant to which their majeſties were ſolemnly proclaimed king and queen of Scotland, on the eleventh day of April, the day of their coronation in England †.

Soon after the earl of Argyle, and three other members of the convention, were ſent as commiſſioners from the Scottiſh nation, to make a ſolemn tender of the crown of that realm, which was done on May 11, their majeſties being ſeated on a throne under a rich canopy, in the Banqueting-houſe, Whitehall. In the mean time, the eſtates publiſhed a proclamation, "forbidding all perſons to acknowlege, obey, aſſiſt, or correſpond with the late king James; or by word, writing, or ſermon, to diſpute or diſown the royal authority of king William and queen Mary, or to miſconſtrue the proceedings of the eſtates, with regard to the tranſactions of the government, on pain of the ſevereſt penalties." Then having ſettled other matters, they appointed a committee to take care of the public peace, and adjourned for a ſhort time.

It muſt be obſerved, that the Scottiſh biſhops had publiſhed an abhorrence of the prince of Orange's expedition; and the epiſcopal party in general in that kingdom, who had been mere creatures of the court, and violent oppoſers of the preſbyterian faction, adhered firmly to king James: but immediately on the ſucceſs of William, and his declaration in favour of Scotland, the preſbyterians had begun to lift up their heads, and to inſult their late perſecutors in their turn: and now the meeting of the eſtates was, by a commiſſion from their majeſties to the duke of Hamilton, as preſident, turned into a parliament, whoſe firſt ſtep was to aboliſh prelacy once more, as contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people, to which the king aſſented: but ſeveral violent diſputes ariſing in the Scottiſh parliament (which more properly belong to the hiſtory of that country than the preſent work) their church was left without any ſettled form of government; for though hierarchy was aboliſhed, the preſbyterian diſcipline was not yet eſtabliſhed, and eccleſiaſtical affairs were occaſionally regulated by the privy-council, which, by a ſtrange contradiction, acted in virtue of the act of ſupremacy, which, according to the claim of rights, was thought to have been repealed ‡.

It muſt not be underſtood, however, as if the Revolution took place in Scotland without any oppoſition. The duke of Gordon maintained the caſtle of Edinburgh for his old maſter; but as he had neglected to lay in a proper ſtore of proviſions, he depended entirely on the citizens for ſubſiſtence. The partizans of James were headed by the earl of Balcarras, and Graham viſcount of Dundee, a brave and gallant officer, who aſſembled a body of Highlanders, and declared for the expelled monarch. Theſe efforts however proved ſhort-lived and unſucceſsful. The duke of Gordon, after ſuſtaining a vigorous ſiege from the citizens of Edinburgh, and the troops in the intereſt of king William, was obliged to ſurrender the caſtle of Edinburgh on the thirteenth of June, upon con-

* For ſo he was of Scotland, tho' only the ſecond of that name of England.
† Ken. Crawford.
‡ Burnet. Crawford. Rapin.

dition

dition that he and the garriſon ſhould have their lives, liberties, and fortunes ſecured. The lord Dundee, after having been a ſhort time in arms, was defeated by lieutenant-general Mackay, who commanded their majeſties forces in Scotland, in an engagement at Killicranky, ſome few miles above Dunkeld, and loſt his life by a random ſhot. His death put an end to the whole enterprize; and the whole iſland of Great Britain was, before the end of this ſummer, reduced to the obedience of its new ſovereign, and ſubmitted to his government. Diſmiſſing therefore the affairs of Scotland, let us next take a ſhort view of what paſſed in Ireland, which will naturally induce a relation of the proceedings of the unfortunate James, after his abdication.

Ireland was far from following the example of Scotland; and it was more than two years before that kingdom was entirely reduced to obedience. The earl of Tyrconnel, inviolably attached, both by gratitude and a parity of religious ſentiments, to the prince to whom he was indebted for his dignity and fortune, exerted himſelf in the moſt indefatigable manner for his ſervice. From the firſt news of James's flight from England, he had ſecured the moſt important places in the kingdom, of which he had the government; and joining his natural hatred of the proteſtants to what he thought motives of policy and prudence, he had treated them in ſo rigorous a manner, that they were forced to retire to their brethren in the north, who ſeizing on Kilmore, Coleraine, Inniſkilling, and Londonderry, declared for William and Mary. Tyrconnel, finding the ill effects of his cruelty, thought proper to temporize with king William; and ſeveral letters were, by his knowlege and procurement, ſent over to the Engliſh court, giving aſſurances that the earl was inclinable to treat and ſubmit.

In the mean time, however, he ceaſed not to ſollicit James by letter, in the moſt earneſt manner, to tranſport himſelf over to Ireland with a powerful body of troops, aſſuring him that ſuch a ſtep would effectually ſecure his intereſts in that kingdom, whereas a neglect or delay in following this advice muſt utterly ruin his affairs. James, on receiving theſe notices from his lieutenant, imparted them to his good friend Lewis, and preſſed him for his aſſiſtance. Neither Lewis nor his miniſters had any great opinion of the ſucceſs of this expedition; but as his honour was concerned in ſupporting his unfortunate gueſt, it was reſolved to furniſh him with five thouſand forces, under the command of M. de Lauſun, who were embarked in the fleet then lying at Breſt, conſiſting of fourteen ſhips of the line, ſix frigates, three fire-ſhips, and a proper number of tranſports. Lewis likewiſe ſupplied him with arms for forty thouſand men more upon his arrival in Ireland, preſented him with a large ſum of money, ſuperb equipages, ſtore of plate, and every thing neceſſary for the camp and houſhold. At parting, he embraced him with great affection, making uſe of this remarkable expreſſion: "Farewel, brother; the beſt thing I can wiſh you is, that I may never ſee you again."

Every neceſſary preparation being completed, James ſet ſail from Breſt on the fourteenth of March, 1689, attended by the count d'Avaux, in quality of ambaſſador, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, as well Engliſh as French. On the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month he arrived at Kinſale in Ireland, from whence he repaired in a few days to Cork, where he was received by the earl of Tyrconnel, who had collected an army of thirty thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe for his ſervice. James now acted with as little prudence and precaution as if he had no oppoſition to encounter, or as if, becauſe he had landed in Ireland, he was abſolute maſter of all the reſt of his dominions. So far was he from keeping well with, or endeavouring to conciliate the affections of the proteſtants, which in common reaſon and policy he ought to have done, that he gave continual proofs of his averſion to their ſect, and frequently puniſhed them with death on the moſt trifling occaſions. One of the magiſtrates of Cork was executed by his orders, for having declared for the prince of Orange. In fine, inſtead of ſeeking to win over his adverſaries by mildneſs and popularity, he only exaſperated them more deeply by his cruelty and arrogance; and thus by his own conduct effectually ruined his affairs, at the very time he flattered himſelf with their being in the moſt proſperous ſituation.

From Cork James marched to Dublin; into which city he made a triumphal entry, being met at the caſtle-gate by a proceſſion of popiſh biſhops and prieſts in their pontificals, bearing the hoſt, before which he kneeled down in public. Having aſſembled a council, he diſmiſſed the earl of Granard, the lord chief-juſtice Keating, and other proteſtants, who had adviſed Tyrconnel to acknowlege the new government, and in their room placed Cartwright biſhop of Cheſter, lieutenant-colonel Dorrington, and count d'Avaux the French ambaſſador, and by degrees all the principal papiſts who had attended him in the expedition. He publiſhed indeed ſome proclamations, promiſing protection to all his proteſtant ſubjects who ſhould preſerve their loyalty: but theſe had ſo little faith in his promiſes, that they univerſally reſolved to ſtand on their defence. Another proclamation was iſſued by James for the meeting of the parliament on the ſeventh day of May at Dublin: at the ſame time, he created Tyrconnel a duke, and beſtowed the royal regiment on Dorrington, in the room of the duke of Ormond.

The diſpoſition which the proteſtant natives of Ireland ſhewed to oppoſe the progreſs of James, who, after ſome reſiſtance, made himſelf maſter of Coleraine and Kilmore, made him reſolve to uſe thoſe in his power with redoubled ſeverity; in which he was warmly ſeconded by the duke of Tyrconnel, who ſeemed to have a more than ſavage thirſt after the blood of thoſe poor wretches; numbers of whom, terrified with this uſage, and alarmed by the report of a general maſſacre, intended to be perpetrated on all of their faith on a certain day ſaid to be already fixed, ſhut themſelves up in Londonderry, the capital of the county of the ſame name, in the north of Ireland, and ſent over to the government of England, imploring immediate aſſiſtance. They were accordingly ſupplied with ſome arms and ammunition, but did not receive any conſiderable reinforcements till the middle of April, when two regiments arrived in Loughfoyle, under the command of the colonels Cunningham and Richards. By this time James was come almoſt in ſight of the town, with an army of about twenty thouſand men, reſolved to force the rebels, as he called them, out of their ſtrong hold; but he met with an oppoſition

English Miles
15 30 45 60
8 9 10 11 12 13
55 54 53 52 51
Rathlin I
Fairhead
Aghare
Ballimony
Dunaby
Antrim C.
Connor
Belfast
Carlingford Bay
Lough Foyle
Bay of Lough Foyle
Inistrahull
Tory I.
Maherenelly
N. Islands of Arran
Dunnagall
Londonderry
Londonderry C.
Swins Ado C.
Raphoe
Strabane
ULSTER
Terconnel C.
Tyrone C.
Manjoy F.
Raghlin Fl.
Dunagall Bay
Enishmurry
The 3 Tuns
Sligo Harbour
Ardmagh
Down C.
Monoghan
Cavan C.
Emloghrash
Killala
Enish Karker
Sligo C.
Letrim C.
Mayo C.
Islands of Achil
Longford C.
Louth C.
IRISH
Roscomon C.
Clara I.
CONNAUGH
Enishtick
I. Bochin
Doghead
Omna I.
Bunowen
W. Meath C.
Meath C.
Lambay I
Dublin
Heath
The Bar
S. Benets
SEA
Galloway
Morish
Karonakil
Kings C.
Kildare C.
LEINSTER
Wicklow C.
Bag of Gallway
South I.s of Arran
Glaniney
Liscanor
Queens C.
Arklow
Wexford C.
Tipperary C.
Limrick C.
C. Leane
Shannon R.
Swirwick Haven
MUNSTER
Waterford C.
Dunmorlinch
Dingle Bay
Kerry C.
Corke C.
Valentia I.
Valentia Bay
Dunfin I.
I. Wenis
Durrie I.
Kinsale
Cork Harb.
Kinsale Bay
Old Head
Bantry Bay
Dunmanus
Mizenhead
Castle Haven
Youghall Bay
Dungarvan B
Waterford Haven
St. GEORGES CHANNEL
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BRITISH
9 JA 65
MUSEUM

he little dreamt of, and which was chiefly owing to the reſolution and bravery of one man, a proteſtant clergyman of Donaghmore, who had raiſed a regiment for the defence of himſelf and brethren. This man gave Lundy, the governor of Londonderry, notice of the approach of James; upon which Lundy ſummoned a council of war, at which Cunningham and Richards, the two commanders lately arrived from England, aſſiſted; and they, either from diſaffection to the ſervice they were ſent upon, or ignorance of the condition of the town, or the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, came to a reſolution that the place was not tenable; that it would be imprudent to land the regiments; and that the principal officers ſhould retire from the town, the inhabitants of which would receive the more favourable conditions on account of their departure. They next diſpatched a letter to James, with propoſals of a negotiation; and lieutenant-general Hamilton, who commanded in that prince's ſervice, undertook that the army ſhould not, during the time of the treaty, advance within four miles of the city. Mr. Walker, the clergyman already mentioned, had in vain uſed all his rhetoric to perſuade the governor to take the field, and come to a general engagement. He was deaf to all his arguments, and liſtened only to his own puſillanimous apprehenſions, which were greatly heightened when he found that James, diſregarding the promiſe that his general had made, was advancing at the head of his troops to the wall of the town. The inhabitants and ſoldiery in the place were ſo exaſperated at the cowardice of their governor and the two colonels, that they flew to arms, and would have made their lives pay the forfeit of their perfidy, had not the former kept himſelf concealed in his chamber, and the other two found means to make their eſcape on board their ſhips. In the mean time, however, major Baker, the deputy-governor, fired ſo warmly from the garriſon upon James and his troops, that the latter were obliged to retreat to St. John's town in ſome diſorder. Walker and Baker made uſe of this reſpite to preſs Lundy to exert himſelf as became a loyal ſubject and a good ſoldier, and to undertake the defence of the place: but ſuch was the governor's cowardice or treachery, that he abſolutely refuſed to have any thing to do with the government, and ſoon after made his eſcape in diſguiſe. He was afterwards ſeized in Scotland, from whence he was brought to London to anſwer for his conduct, together with Cunningham and Richards, and were all three diſmiſſed from the ſervice: too ſlight a puniſhment for their treachery!

After their departure, or rather deſertion, from the town, the inhabitants with one conſent beſtowed the government of the place on Mr. Walker and major Baker, who immediately prepared for a vigorous defence, determined to bury themſelves beneath the ruins of the place rather than ſurrender it to the enemy, in caſe the aſſiſtance they hoped from England ſhould fail them. They formed the townſmen, amounting in all to ſeven thouſand men, into different regiments: they taught them the proper management of arms, the firing of cannon, and all the other manœuvres requiſite for their own defence, or the annoyance of the enemy.

On the twentieth of April the trenches were opened by king James's army, whoſe batteries began to play upon the town, which in itſelf was but poorly fortified, having not above twenty pieces of cannon, and thoſe wretchedly mounted. Nevertheleſs the beſieged, animated by the example and ſpirited harangues of Mr. Walker in particular, held out with ſurpriſing reſolution, againſt ſo much ſuperior a force employed to reduce them. King James having returned to Dublin, to be preſent at the opening of the parliament he had convened, left the command of the army to the marquis de Roſene, the French general, a man of a more than ſavage haughtineſs and cruelty of diſpoſition. Incenſed at the oppoſition he had met with from an handful of half-ſtarved peaſants, as he ſtiled them in contempt, he vented his rage in the moſt unmanly manner; and ſent to acquaint the beſieged, that unleſs they inſtantly ſubmitted themſelves to their lawful ſovereign, he would not leave one ſtone upon another in the town, nor even an infant alive to carry the news of their deſtruction. True courage always bears with contempt the empty bluſterings of arrogance and vanity: the governors and the garriſon anſwered his threats only by redoubling their noble reſiſtance, though their proviſions were now all expended, and they were reduced to the dreadful neceſſity of ſupporting life by eating the fleſh of horſes, dogs, cats, rats, mice, ſalted hides, and every other kind of moſt loathſome food; yet they kept up their courage, and a proclamation was publiſhed, that no perſon, under pain of death, ſhould talk of ſurrendering.

The French general, finding that his menaces had no effect on them, bethought himſelf of a ſcheme to enforce their compliance, that ſeemed rather the conception of an infernal fiend than of one inveſted with the character of a man. He ſent detachments of his ſoldiers throughout the adjacent country, with orders to ſeize on all the proteſtants they could find, without diſtinction of age or ſex, to ſtrip them naked, and drive them in that condition under the walls of Londonderry. This order was executed with a brutality equal to that of the giver of it: upwards of four thouſand of theſe miſerable objects were thus expoſed naked to the view of the beſieged, who from their ramparts beheld, with an horror not to be deſcribed, the forlorn ſituation of their miſerable fellow-proteſtants, many of whom were expiring every moment with fatigue, cold, hunger, and the ill uſage they had ſuſtained from their bloody perſecutors. This ſight however had a very different effect upon the garriſon to what Roſene had hoped: they felt deep compaſſion for the diſtreſſes of their brethren; but this compaſſion was mingled with ſuch an indignation againſt the authors of this inhumanity, ſuch an apprehenſion of what would be their own fate, if they ſhould fall within his power, that they reſolved to periſh rather than ſubmit to the barbarian. Thinking themſelves no longer bound to obſerve the nicer rules of war, which had been ſo flagitiouſly violated by the foe, they erected a gibbet on their walls, and ſent to acquaint the French general, that unleſs he immediately ſet at liberty the proteſtants whom he had driven under their walls, they would hang all the priſoners they had taken in their ſallies during the ſiege. Roſene, convinced by the whole of their behaviour that they would not fail to make good their threats, ordered the proteſtants to be releaſed, after they had been de-

tained three days without taſting food. Numbers of them died of famine and fatigue in their return to their habitations; and thoſe who ſurvived had the additional misfortune to find their houſes and effects moſtly plundered and deſtroyed by the roving parties about the country, ſo that the greater part of thoſe unfortunate people fell victims to the bloody malice of the popiſh foe. It is aſſerted that James was applied to by the biſhop of Meath to countermand this order given by Roſene, but without effect. Such, and others that we ſhall hereafter ſee, were the expedients that infatuated prince made uſe of to regain the affection of his old ſubjects.

The garriſon of Londonderry was now reduced from ſeven thouſand men to five thouſand ſeven hundred; and theſe were driven to ſuch extremity of diſtreſs, that they began to talk of preying upon each other. At length, however, they received the wiſhed-for ſuccour: major-general Kirk, the ſame who made himſelf ſo infamous under the late reign, and who had abandoned his former maſter to be employed in the ſervice of king William, arrived in the Lough with a reinforcement of nine thouſand men; and being ordered to relieve the garriſon at all events, he ſent three ſhips up the river laden with proviſions, under protection of the Dartmouth frigate. The enemy, to prevent any ſhips from ſailing up to the town, had erected ſtrong batteries on both ſides the ſtream, and had thrown a ſtrong boom acroſs its channel: one of the ſhips, however, taking advantage of a ſtrong gale of wind in her favour, advanced with full ſail, broke the enemy's boom; and with them the other veſſels anchored in ſafety off the town, after having paſſed a moſt ſevere fire from the enemy's batteries.

Inexpreſſible was the joy of the beſieged on this occaſion, and as great the diſcouragement of James's army, who now deſpairing of their ſucceeding in their enterprize, abandoned the ſiege that very night (the thirty-firſt of July) and retired with the utmoſt precipitation, after having loſt about nine thouſand men in this fruitleſs attempt. Kirk next took poſſeſſion of the town, when Walker was perſuaded by the inhabitants to paſs over to England with an addreſs of thanks to their majeſties for their generous ſuccour. He was received by the king and queen with that honour and reſpect which was ſo juſtly due to his diſtinguiſhed valour *.

Inniſkilling, another town in the north of Ireland, ſignalized itſelf no leſs than Londonderry in the proteſtant cauſe: for, upon notice that this latter had denied entrance to the Iriſh troops in James's ſervice, they reſolved not to admit any garriſon of his party; and having raiſed a regiment of twelve companies, they ſhut their gates, and gave the command of their town to Guſtavus Hamilton, a proteſtant officer of approved courage and conduct; after which they proclaimed king William and queen Mary: and the lord Gilmoy, who had declared for James, and came with a ſtrong force to ſummon them to ſurrender, was, by the noble reſiſtance they made, obliged to quit the ſiege of the place, which he had formed: nor was this all: for the day before Londonderry was relieved, the brave Inniſkilliners advanced with their handful of forces againſt ſix thouſand Iriſh, whom they defeated at a place called Newton-Butler, killing and drowning near three thouſand, with the loſs of only about twenty killed, and fifty wounded, on their ſide †.

The Iriſh parliament having met at Dublin on the day appointed by king James's proclamation, that monarch opened it by a ſpeech from the throne, in which he cordially thanked them for their zeal and loyalty; laviſhed the higheſt encomiums on the humanity and generoſity of his good brother and ally the king of France, manifeſted towards himſelf, his queen, and his ſon, in affording them an aſylum, after being expelled their lawful dominions, and having now enabled him to viſit that part of them in perſon; declared his fixed reſolve to eſtabliſh liberty of conſcience, as the only certain method of ſecuring the welfare and happineſs of his people, of all denominations, whoſe common parent, he ſaid, he conſidered himſelf to be; and concluded with aſſuring both houſes of his hearty concurrence with them, in enacting ſuch laws as might tend to the tranquillity and good ſettlement of the kingdom.

It may eaſily be conjectured what a kind of parliament this was, and what the nature of its tranſactions was likely to be. Every method had been uſed to fill the houſe of lords with popiſh peers, ſo that there were only four or five proteſtants of the temporal, and four of the ſpiritual lords among them: and the houſe of commons was ſo modelled, that there was hardly a member who deſerved the name of proteſtant. The reader therefore will not be ſurprized to find the parliament openly profeſſing itſelf a ſlave to the king's will, ſince that man was ſure to be looked on as factious, or rebelliouſly inclined, who ſhould dare to move any thing, after any favourite in the houſe had affirmed that it was contrary to the king's pleaſure. Accordingly, James had no ſooner left the houſe, than the commons came to a reſolution to preſent an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, and that the count d'Avaux ſhould be deſired to offer their grateful acknowlegements to the moſt Chriſtian king, for the friendly aſſiſtance he had given to their ſovereign. A bill was next introduced to recognize James's title, and to expreſs their abhorrence of the prince of Orange's uſurpation, as well as of the diſloyalty and treaſonable conduct of the Engliſh.

Next day, May 10, James publiſhed a declaration, addreſſed to all his loving ſubjects in his kingdom of England. He there complained of the many falſe and invidious reports which had been raiſed againſt his perſon and government; inſiſted on his own impartiality in preferring his proteſtant ſubjects to places of truſt and profit; his care in protecting them from their enemies, in redreſſing their grievances, and indulging them with liberty of conſcience; promiſing that he would take no ſtep without the conſent and concurrence of parliament; offering a free and full pardon to all perſons who ſhould abandon his enemies, and join him in twenty-four days after his landing in Ireland; and charging all the blood that might be ſpilt, upon thoſe who ſhould continue to perſevere in rebellion.

But ſcarce was the ink dry on this paper, when James gave the world a convincing proof of the

* Boyer. Kennet. Walker.

† Story's Hiſtory of the Wars in Ireland.

degree

degree of dependence to be placed on his promiſes and aſſurances, however ſolemnly urged; for two days only after the publiſhing of this declaration, a bill was brought into the houſe of commons by Nugent, lord chief-juſtice of the King's-bench in Ireland, for repealing the act of ſettlement, which went through three readings, without the leaſt oppoſition from the houſe. By this bill two thirds of the proteſtants of the kingdom, who held their eſtates by virtue of the aforeſaid act *, were diſpoſſeſſed of them, and turned out to want and miſery, while papiſts were put into the enjoyment of their fortunes. In the upper houſe this bill met with ſome oppoſition, eſpecially from the biſhop of Meath, who, in a moſt pathetic and eloquent ſpeech, expoſed the abſurdity and injuſtice of it; and endeavoured to ſhew, that it was neither to the advantage of the king nor the public; that it tended not only to ruin the kingdom, and deſtroy the public faith, but was both impolitic and inconvenient in point of time. Such was the ſpirit of this parliament, however, and ſo determined did it appear to ruin the proteſtants in the moſt effectual manner, that the bill paſſed into a law, which received the royal aſſent.

Yet, as if all theſe meaſures were not ſufficient to convince James's proteſtant ſubjects of the lenity and juſtice they were to expect from him, if he ſhould be reſtored by their joint endeavours to the ſovereign ſway, an act of attainder was paſſed this ſeſſion againſt all perſons of that perſuaſion, of what ſex or degree ſoever, who were abſent from the kingdom, as well as againſt thoſe who entered into any part of the three kingdoms which did not own the authority of king James; or who held correſpondence with the rebels, as king William's friends were all termed; or who were anywiſe aiding or aſſiſting to them, from the firſt day of Auguſt in the preceding year. No leſs than three thouſand proteſtants were attainted by name in this act; among whom were two archbiſhops, one duke, ſeventeen earls, ſeven counteſſes, as many biſhops, eighteen barons, thirty-three baronets, fifty-one knights, and eighty-three clergymen; all of whom were declared puniſhable by death and forfeiture: a bloody proſcription, which has not its parallel in the records of the moſt tyrannic governments; eſpecially if we conſider that the proſcribed were all excluded from the hope of pardon, and all benefit of appeal, unleſs enrolled by the king's order before the firſt day of December next following. By another act, the parliament of Ireland was declared independent of that of England.

It would be endleſs to enumerate the many other inſtances of James's fooliſh, tyrannical, and impolitic conduct, during his abode in Ireland. We ſhall therefore turn our eyes from this unpleaſing ſcene, and attend to the meaſures taken by William and the Engliſh government to oppoſe the deſigns of his competitor, to reduce his Iriſh dominions to due ſubjection, and relieve his ſuffering proteſtant ſubjects there.

King William being informed of the landing of James, as alſo that the fleet which brought him over being returned to France was to be replaced by another ſtrong ſquadron, commanded by admiral Chateau Renaud, as a convoy to ſome tranſports laden with arms, ammunition, &c. detached admiral Herbert from Spithead with twelve ſhips of the line, one fire-ſhip, and four tenders, in order to intercept the enemy. The Engliſh admiral having been driven about for ſome time by hard and contrary gales of wind, at length got upon the Iriſh coaſt; and on the firſt of May diſcovered the French fleet; conſiſting of no leſs than twenty eight ſhips of the line, moſt of them from ſixty to ſeventy guns; and five fire ſhips, lying in Bantry-bay, who immediately, upon deſcrying him, weighed anchor, and ſailed out of the harbour to give him battle, fluſhed with their ſuperior force and the advantage of the wind over our fleet. Admiral Herbert having tried for ſome time, without ſucceſs, to get the weather-gage † of the French, and finding it impoſſible, did not chuſe to run the hazard of fighting under ſo great a diſadvantage: he therefore ſtood off to ſea, and for ſome time maintained a running fight, when, evening beginning to approach, Chateau Renaud tacked about, and returned to the Bay. The French, according to their uſual cuſtom, repreſented this paltry ſkirmiſh as a ſignal victory, though with all their ſuperiority and ſtrength they neither took nor ſunk a ſingle veſſel. It is ſo ſeldom indeed that they have had the leaſt ſhadow of advantage over us at ſea, that we may forgive them this piece of vanity. King William was ſo ſatisfied with Herbert's conduct on this occaſion, that when the latter returned to Portſmouth, his majeſty, in an excurſion he made thither, to haſten the naval preparations then carrying on in that port, dined on board the admiral's ſhip the Elizabeth, and declared his intention to create him an earl in conſideration of his ſervices: at the ſame time he conferred the honour of knighthood on captain Cloudeſly Shovel, and another ſea-officer who had ſerved in this expedition, and beſtowed a gratuity of ten ſhillings per man on every private ſailor.

By ſome unaccountable delay, ariſing either from the diſputes among the miniſters, or the neglect of thoſe who had the management of military affairs, James had been ſix months in Ireland before the army was embarked for that kingdom. At length, eighteen regiments of foot, and five of dragoons, being ready for that ſervice, with a ſuitable train of artillery, the king was pleaſed to appoint marechal (now duke of) Schomberg to the chief command, who on the thirteenth of Auguſt landed in the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus, with about ten thouſand foot and dragoons, and took poſſeſſion of Belfaſt, from whence the enemy retired at his approach to Carrickfergus, where they reſolved to make a ſtand; but the duke advancing with intrepidity, made himſelf maſter of Carrickfergus in four days. This was followed

* During the Iriſh rebellion in 1641, many eſtates had been granted to proteſtants, upon condition of their giving aſſiſtance towards the ſuppreſſion of that inſurrection; and it was chiefly owing to the vigorous efforts of thoſe adventurers, that the rebellion was at laſt ſuppreſſed. At the ſame time as all the rebels were deprived of their lands, ſome of them were ſold by the crown to proteſtants at very reaſonable, and ſometimes at very high, rates. Soon after a bill was paſſed in the Engliſh parliament, entitled, The Act of Settlement, ſecuring the proteſtants in the poſſeſſion of the eſtates which they had thus acquired, and their right to which was univerſally held to be good and valid.

† A ſea term. A ſhip is ſaid to have the weather-gage of another, when ſhe is to the windward of her.

by

by other ſucceſſes: Newry, Dundalk, and other places, yielded to his ſummons; and he would have made a much greater progreſs had he not met with diſappointments from delays in tranſporting part of his forces and train of artillery that he had left behind him in England, which were owing to negligence, or ſomething worſe, in the perſons who had the management of affairs at home, or the ſlowneſs in raiſing ſupplies. King James having aſſembled all his forces, advanced towards Schomberg, who lay near Drogheda, and on the twenty-third of September approached within two miles of his intrenchments; but the duke, finding his army every day diminiſhing through ſickneſs, which had ſwept off many brave officers, as well as a great number of ſoldiers, while the enemy, who outnumbered him almoſt two to one, were in perfect health, and their troops much better diſciplined than his, prudently declined an engagement; and James on his ſide, not caring to attack the duke in his intrenchments, drew off his army. Schomberg was greatly cenſured by ſome perſons for this inactivity of his, as they termed it; but, all circumſtances conſidered, he ſeems to have acted according to the dictates of ſound policy: the loſs of a battle at that juncture might have been followed with the loſs of all Ireland. Winter approaching, both armies went into quarters.

Our ſea affairs were attended with as little ſucceſs as thoſe by land, owing to the ſame cauſes. Admiral Herbert, now created earl of Torrington, having again ſailed for Ireland, at the head of the combined fleets of England and Holland, made an attempt to ſurprize the city of Cork; but upon a falſe intelligence, that James with his whole army was in the neighbourhood, he did not dare to land his men; and, after ſome ſhort ſtay upon the coaſt, returned to England, and put into Torbay, his men being for the moſt part diſabled by ſickneſs. There was the greateſt reaſon to aſcribe this misfortune to the villainy of thoſe who had the victualling of the navy, for the Dutch ſeamen were in perfect health during the whole cruize. The French, though they no longer dared to ſend out a fleet, did infinite damage to our trade by means of their privateers, which ſwarmed in the Channel: the Dartmouth ſhip of war had the misfortune to fall into their hands. This appearance of ſupineneſs in our government gave great diſguſt to the nation, and occaſioned ſome ſtrict enquiries, as will be ſeen in the account of parliamentary affairs, to which we ſhall now proceed.

To ſhew the ſenſe of the nation concerning ſome of the ſanguinary and arbitrary proceedings in the late reigns, the attainders of ſeveral perſons who had ſuffered capital puniſhments, were, by acts of parliament, at ſeveral times, annulled and made void; as thoſe of William lord Ruſſel, Algernon Sidney, eſq; the lady Liſle, and alderman Corniſh. The judgment againſt Mr. Samuel Johnſon, chaplain to lord Ruſſel, was reverſed; and tho' there were very long and great debates about Titus Oates, whoſe evidence in general, concerning the popiſh plot, was held to be ſatisfactory only in ſome particulars relating to time and place; yet the parliament addreſſed the king to take off the remaining part of his puniſhment, namely, his impriſonment for life, and annual pillorying, which his majeſty readily complied with, and moreover allowed him an annual penſion. The judgment upon the Quo Warranto againſt the city of London was alſo reverſed, and the city reſtored to its privileges; and an act of oblivion at length paſſed, out of which were excepted ſome few of the many late inſtruments of popery and arbitrary power. The earl of Sunderland was excepted only for form's ſake, he having, by ſhifting ſides, in time obtained king William's favour *.

As the illegal proceedings of the two laſt reigns and their authors were enquired into, ſo the miſcarriages of the preſent were alſo diſcuſſed. The lords having addreſſed the king to put the Iſle of Wight, Jerſey, Guernſey, Scilly, Dover Caſtle, and the other fortreſſes of the kingdom, into a proper poſture of defence, and to diſarm the papiſts, began to make enquiry into the cauſe of the miſcarriages in Ireland; in the courſe of which enquiry great blame was imputed to the marquis of Caermarthen (late earl of Danby) and the marquis of Halifax †: it was even moved to addreſs his majeſty againſt the latter of thoſe miniſters, but a negative was put to the motion by a ſmall majority. In fine, an alarming ſpirit of rancour and diſcord began to ſhew itſelf between the two parties of Whigs and Tories, which might have been attended with diſagreeable conſequences, had not ſome of the warmeſt on each ſide ſuddenly cooled in the courſe of the diſpute.

A bill being introduced into the houſe of lords for enjoining the wearing the woollen manufacture of this kingdom at certain times of the year, the ſilk-weavers of London and Canterbury aſſembled in a tumultuous manner at Weſtminſter, to oppoſe the paſſing the ſaid bill. The lords refuſed to read their petition againſt it, on account of the manner in which it was delivered; and proper meaſures being at the ſame time taken to guard againſt the conſequences of their inſolence, the weavers returned home. The bill, however, was rejected by the lords by a very great majority. A bill was brought in for attainting ſeveral perſons in rebellion againſt their majeſties; but it was not finiſhed this ſeſſion. One of the laſt acts of this ſeſſion was that for raiſing the ſum of 600,000l. for the Dutch. The king, thinking it highly reaſonable that the States ſhould be repaid as ſoon as poſſible what they had laid out to further his expedition, and aſſiſt him in preſerving the religion and liberties of England, took all occaſions to put the commons in mind of it: an account of the charges were accordingly taken, and the above ſum voted for that purpoſe; but it was not till the cloſe of this ſeſſion that a fund was ſettled for raiſing the money. This and ſome other acts, of which the reader will find an account in the notes, having received the royal aſſent on the 21ſt of Auguſt, the two houſes were adjourned to the 20th of September, and afterwards to the 19th of October.

* See Proceedings Houſe of Lords, vol. I. in various places.

† The houſe reſolved that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, declaring, that the ſuccours for Ireland had been retarded by unneceſſary delays; that the tranſports prepared by the government were not ſufficient to convey the forces into that kingdom; and that ſeveral ſhips had fallen into the hands of the enemy for want of a proper convoy. Proceedings Houſe of Commons, Auguſt 3.

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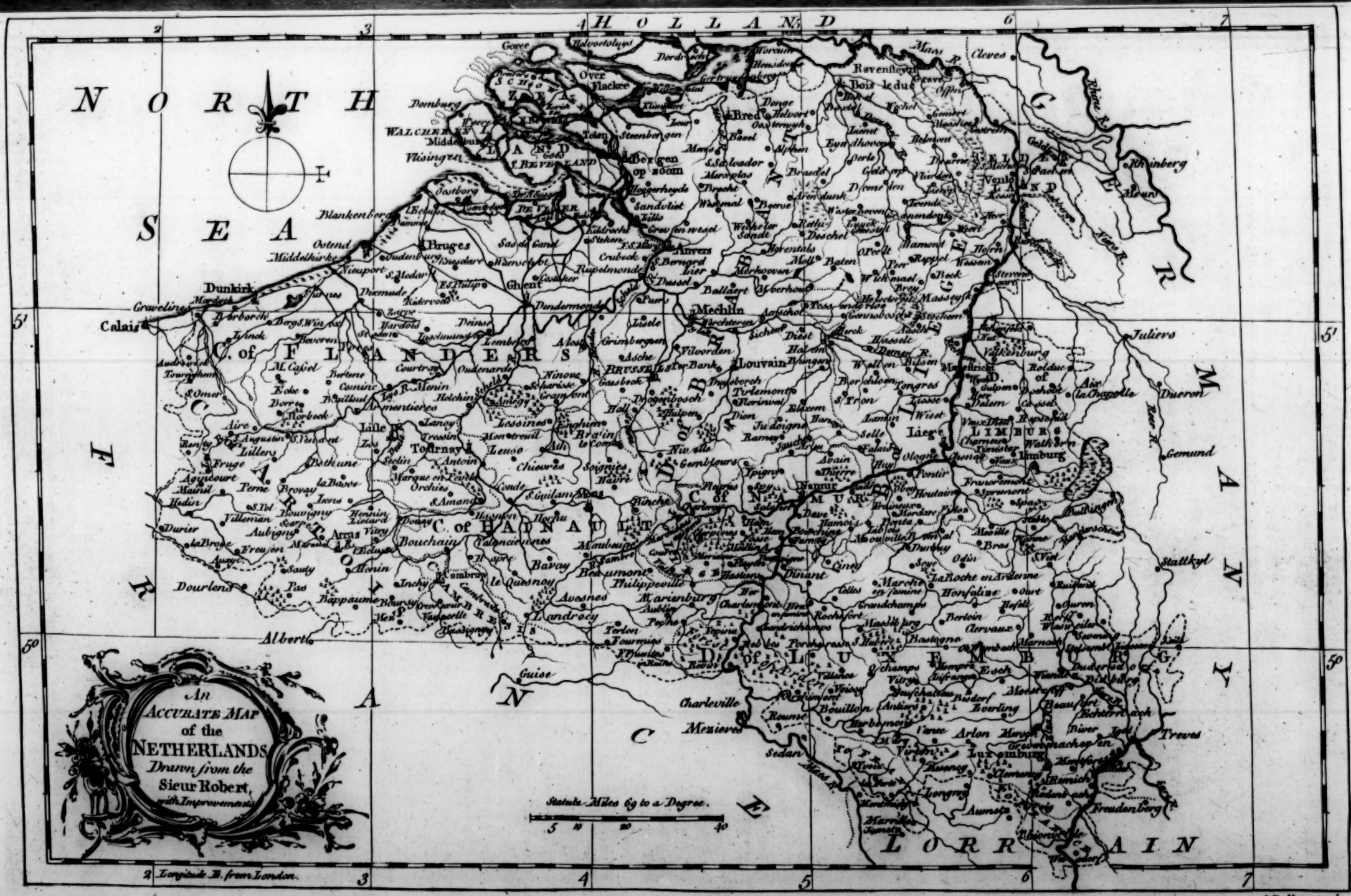
An
ACCURATE MAP
of the
NETHERLANDS
Drawn from the
Sieur Robert,
with Improvements
Statute Miles 69 to a Degree.
5 10 20 40
Longitude E. from London.
G. Rollos sculp.
NORTH SEA
HOLLAND
GERMANY
FRANCE
Bruges
Dunkirk
Calais
Ostend
Ghent
Antwerp
Mechlin
Louvain
Brussels
Liege
Namur
Luxemburg
Lille
Tournay
Arras
Valenciennes
Mons
Charleville
Mezieres
Sedan
Guise
Albert
Dourlens
Juliers
Treves
Rhine R.
Meuse R.
Scheld R.
C. of FLANDERS
C. of HAINAULT
D. of BRABANT
D. of LUXEMBURG
LORRAIN
LIMBURG

King William having acceded to the grand alliance, did in Auguſt this year conclude a new league with the ſtates-general, in which former treaties of peace and commerce were confirmed. It was agreed, that in caſe the king of Great-Britain ſhould be attacked, the Dutch ſhould aſſiſt him with 6000 infantry and twenty ſhips of war; and if the territories of the ſtate ſhould be invaded, England ſhould ſupply them with 10,000 infantry and twenty ſhips of war. About the ſame time the king entered into an alliance with Chriſtian V. king of Denmark, by virtue of which the Engliſh army in Ireland under D. Schomberg were this winter reinforced by 7000 Daniſh auxiliaries, viz. 6000 foot and 1000 horſe. Notwithſtanding theſe confederacies againſt him, Lewis XIV. abated nought in the proſecution of his ambitious deſigns: he had ſuddenly fallen upon Germany, and made himſelf almoſt entire maſter of the three eccleſiaſtical electorates: he had reduced Mentz, Triers, Bonne, Keiſerſwaert, Philipſburgh, and Landau; deſtroyed Manheim by fire and ſword, and made the Palatinate a deſart. His generals had burnt the cities of Worms and Spires, and demoliſhed Frankendahl; but his ſucceſſes were ſomewhat checked by this year's campaign in Flanders. The marſhal d'Humieres commanded an army of French there amounting to 80,000 men, whilſt the prince of Waldeck, with a body of 60,000 men, had fixed his rendezvous in the county of Liege. The lord Churchill, lately created earl of Marlborough, had been ſent over with 10,000 Britiſh auxiliaries to join the Dutch army, which he effected. The two armies paſſed the ſummer without any remarkable action till the middle of Auguſt, when the city of Liege renounced the neutrality it had aſſumed, declared for the allies, and put into their hands a large convoy of military ſtores and money belonging to the enemy. Soon after marſhal d'Humieres, thinking to ſurprize a party of Dutch horſe, who were gone out to forage, made a motion with his whole army for that purpoſe. Prince Waldeck, having notice of this, made the proper diſpoſitions for ſupporting his men; each ſide advancing, a ſharp engagement enſued, in which the French, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, were put to the rout with the loſs of 2000 men and ſeveral pieces of artillery. Mean while a little army of obſervation, commanded by the prince de Vaudemont, levelled part of the French lines on the ſide of Cambray, and raiſed contributions in the territories of France. This was all that paſſed worthy notice in Flanders during this campaign.

The arms of the allies were much more ſucceſsful in Germany. The French had covered their conqueſts on this ſide with a numerous army under marſhal duke de Duras, aſſiſted by ſome of the ableſt generals and officers in the ſervice of France; but the marſhal could with difficulty ſtand his ground; the different princes of the empire, united by one common intereſt, and burning with indignation at the cruelties the French had committed in their territories, were determined to leave nothing undone to expel the inhuman invader, and revenge the ſufferings of their people on his head. The duke of Bavaria brought an army of 50,000 men into the field; the elector of Saxony appeared at the head of another of 40,000; and a third of 51,000 was formed under the elector of Brandenbourg. The duke of Lorrain, at the head of the imperial troops, laid ſiege to Mentz, which was defended by the marſhal d'Uxelles, who, after having held out for two months, ſurrendered the place on capitulation. The French, by their own confeſſion, had above 900 men ſlain, and 1900 wounded. The marſhal d'Uxelles, at his return to France, was vilified by the populace; but he treated them with the contempt that every wiſe man muſt do a populace, who are always bad judges of merit, and whoſe praiſe nevertheleſs is ſo greedily ſought after. His rival, the duke of Lorrain, was ſo ſenſible of the bravery and merit of the marquis, that he left him maſter of the articles of the capitulation. By the taking of Mentz, Franconia, which before lay expoſed, was now covered. The elector of Brandenbourg laid ſiege to Keiſerſwaert, which, after a vigorous attack, and as obſtinate a defence, ſurrendered about the middle of June. He next attacked Bonne, which baron d'Asfeldt commanded. The ſiege was tedious, and the garriſon did not ſurrender till after fifty-five days blockade, and twenty-ſix days cloſe ſiege. The taking of Bonne laid the Rhine open as far as Mentz; the elector of Brandenbourg was indebted for his ſucceſs chiefly to the duke of Lorrain, who, after the ſurrender of Mentz, marched with his army to the elector's aſſiſtance. With this ſiege ended the campaign on the Rhine. The French had ſome little ſucceſs in Catalonia under the duke of Noailles, who had reduced Campredon in the month of May; but he was ſo hard puſhed by the Spaniards, that he was obliged to withdraw the garriſon, diſmantle the place, and retreat to the frontiers of France with great precipitation *. To return to the affairs of England during the receſs of the parliament——

The moſt remarkable acts paſſed this ſeſſion, beſides thoſe already mentioned, were theſe:

An act to veſt in the two univerſities the preſentations belonging to the papiſts. The univerſity of Oxford is to preſent all popiſh livings in the ſouthern counties; and the univerſity of Cambridge, to thoſe of the northern: and if any truſtee, mortgagee, or grantee of ſuch advowſon preſent without notice to the reſpective univerſity, he forfeits five hundred pounds to the univerſity. No popiſh benefice is to be granted to any perſon having another; and ſuch benefice is to be void by abſence of ſixy days in one year.

Acts for erecting courts of conſcience in Briſtol, Glouceſter, and Newcaſtle, which have been much to the benefit and eaſe of the inhabitants.

An act for aboliſhing the court of the Marches of Wales, which had been continued by Henry VIII. the preſident and council whereof had power to determine by their diſcretion all matters belonging to the court. This had proved an intolerable burden to Wales and the borders at all times, and a means to introduce an arbitrary power, eſpecially in the late reigns, when a new convert family were at the head of it: nor could the earl of Macclesfield, the laſt preſident, who kept his court at Ludlow, reduce it to ſuch order as to ceaſe to be a grievance, and therefore it was diſſolved.

An act for the relief of the proteſtant Iriſh clergy; by which act, thoſe that had been forced from their country, and had benefices there, were enabled to hold any benefice in England, without forfeiting their promotions in Ireland; but were obliged to reſign their eccleſiaſtical preferments in England, when reſtored to thoſe they had been forced to relinquiſh.

An act to repeal the ſtatute of Henry IV. againſt multiplying gold and ſilver. By this act, the melting and refining of metals, improving them and their ores, and extracting gold and ſilver from thence (which had been forbidden) are allowed, on condition that all the gold and ſilver thus extracted, be brought to the Mint in the Tower, to be converted into money: at which place the extractors are to receive the full value of their gold or ſilver, according to the fineneſs thereof.

* Vol. I. Age of Lewis XIV.—Contin. of Rapin.

The day appointed for the two houſes to reaſſemble drawing near, and the king propoſing to call a convocation, in order to make another effort to eſtabliſh his favourite plan of comprehenſion, he thought fit to fill up the vacant ſees of Worceſter, Chicheſter, and Briſtol, which were beſtowed the firſt on Dr. Stillingfleet, the ſecond on Dr. Patrick, and the third on Dr. Ironſide; ſir Jonathan Trelawney having been tranſlated from thence to Exeter. In the next place, his majeſty, in order that the ſubject of a general comprehenſion of his Proteſtant ſubjects might be duly digeſted, granted a commiſſion under the great ſeal to ten biſhops and the ſame number of dignitaries of the church, authorizing them "to meet, from time to time, to prepare ſuch alterations of the liturgy and the canons, and ſuch reformations of the eccleſiaſtical courts as might conduce to the good order, edification, and unity of the church, and tend to compromiſe all differences among the Proteſtant ſubjects of this kingdom *." It ſoon appeared, however, that there were very little hopes of ſucceſs from this project. Many of the commiſſioners were ſo far from approving of a comprehenſion, that they would hardly own the reformed churches abroad to be true churches, much leſs the Diſſenters; and at the very firſt meeting of the committee, the biſhop of Roche ſter (Sprat) ſtarted a diſpute concerning the authority and legality of the court; alledging the obligations the clergy lay under by an act of parliament of king Henry VIII. not to enter into debates about making any alterations in church-affairs, without the king's ſpecial and immediate privacy, and directions firſt given for ſuch alterations; but the biſhop's argument being over-ruled, he retired in diſguſt from the committee, and was followed by ſome others of the more rigid ones; namely, Mew, biſhop of Wincheſter, and the doctors Jane, Aldrich, Beaumont, Montagu, Goodman, Beveridge, and Alſton. The commiſſioners, notwithſtanding this ſeceſſion, proceeded with great moderation in the buſineſs for which they had aſſembled.

They began with reviewing the liturgy; and firſt they examined the calendar, in which, in the room of apocryphal leſſons, they ordered certain chapters of canonical ſcripture to be read that were to the people's advantage. Athanaſius's Creed being diſliked by many, becauſe of the damnatory clauſe, it was left to the miniſter's choice to uſe it or change it for the Apoſtles Creed; new collects were drawn up more agreeable to the epiſtles and goſpels for the whole courſe of the year; and theſe were compoſed with that elegance and propriety of expreſſion, and ſuch a flame of devotion, that nothing could more affect the hearts of the hearers, and elevate their minds towards God. They were firſt drawn up by Dr. Patrick, who was reckoned to have great ſkill in liturgical compoſures; biſhop Burnet added to them yet further force and ſpirit; Dr. Stillingfleet afterwards examined them with great judgment, carefully weighing every word in them; and Dr. Tillotſon had the laſt hand in giving them ſome free and maſterly ſtrokes of his eaſy and flowing eloquence. Dr. Kidder, who was well verſed in the oriental tongues, made a new verſion of the Pſalms, more agreeable to the original. Dr. Tenniſon made a collection of the words and expreſſions throughout the liturgy, which had been objected to, and propoſed others in their room, that were clear and plain, and leſs liable to objection. Other things alſo were propoſed, that were left to be determined by the convocation, as, 1. That the croſs in baptiſm might be either uſed or omitted at the choice of the parents: 2. That a Non-conformiſt miniſter going over to the church, ſhould not be ordained according to the common form, but conditionally, much in the ſame manner as the baptizing of infants is ordered in the church, if there be not evidence of their being baptized before, with the addition of the epiſcopal benediction, as was cuſtomary in the antient church, when clerks were received who had been ordained by heretics †.

In the mean time the enemies of the government did not fail to embrace the favourable opportunity of the diſpute between the commiſſioners and the late ſeceſſion of a part of their members, to inflame the minds of the people, who already began to entertain ſuſpicions of William's religious principles: they repreſented him as an enemy to the church of England, and attached to the doctrine of Calvin: they inſinuated that this commiſſion, to which they affixed the odious and alarming epithet of "a new eccleſiaſtical high court," was intended to eſtabliſh preſbytery at the expence of epiſcopacy, which would, in conſequence of the intended alterations in the church-government, become a mere cypher, and ſoon be aboliſhed.

The populace gave into the deception, the church was generally declared to be in danger, and, what is very extraordinary, the two univerſities greedily ſwallowed the ridiculous and malicious reports of the incendiaries, and ſolemnly declared againſt all alterations, as well as againſt thoſe who preſumed to promote them. Much the ſame ſpirit manifeſted itſelf in the convocation on its meeting; the rigid churchmen oppoſed the friends of the comprehenſion in the choice of a prolocutor for the lower houſe; and rejecting Dr. Tillotſon, who had been propoſed by the king, elected Dr. Jane, who was eſteemed the moſt violent churchman in the whole aſſembly. The biſhop of London, who ſat as preſident in the upper houſe, in vain recommended candour, unanimity, and concord, and ſuch a reaſonable conceſſion as might open the door of ſalvation to ſuch numbers of ſtraying Chriſtians. His advice had very little effect; the lower houſe, far from ſhewing any inclination to make even the neceſſary conceſſions, would not conſent to the ſmalleſt alteration in the liturgy or canons; aſſerting, that they could not be amended. In fine, the preſident, finding there was nothing to be expected from the compliance of the houſe, which on all occaſions expreſſed a ſettled diſlike to any union with the Diſſenters, prorogued the ſeſſion after the convocation had ſat about ſix weeks, and the king ſuffered it to be adjourned for ten years by repeated prorogations.

The parliament meeting on the nineteenth of October, the king, in a ſpeech of his own compoſing, explained the neceſſity of a preſent ſupply to carry on the war; deſired that they would be ſpeedy in their determinations on that ſubject, as theſe would greatly influence the deliberations of

* Burnet. Ken.

† The above account of the proceedings of the commiſſioners is taken from Dr. Nichol's Apparat. ad Defens. Eccleſ. Angliæ, p. 95.

the princes and ſtates concerned in the alliance againſt France, as a general meeting of them, he ſaid, was appointed to be held next month at the Hague. The houſes were then prorogued for four days, when they aſſembled; and the commons taking the king's ſpeech into conſideration, unanimouſly reſolved to aſſiſt his majeſty in reducing Ireland, and in joining his allies abroad for a vigorous proſecution of the war againſt France: for which purpoſe they voted a ſupply of two millions, to be raiſed by a land tax of three ſhillings in the pound, and additional duties upon coffee, tea, and chocolate *.

Several motions relating to grievances having been made in both houſes, the marquis of Halifax, who thought himſelf particularly aimed at, reſolved to retire from court, and quit the adminiſtration. He therefore reſigned the privy-ſeal †, and reconciled himſelf to the Tories, of whoſe party he thenceforth became the chief patron and protector: while the Whigs, between whom and the king there daily grew greater coldneſs, not to ſay diſguſt, on his majeſty's ſide in particular, employed all their efforts to oppoſe the favour ſhewn to their adverſaries, and thwart their preferment in the ſtate. The miſcarriages in the Iriſh affairs continuing ſtill to be the ſubject of great complaint, the commons took the ſame into their conſideration, and preſented an addreſs, humbly intreating his majeſty that he would be pleaſed to appoint commiſſioners to go over and enquire into the conduct of the army in that kingdom ‡. In the courſe of their enquiries, it appearing that the miſcarriages in queſtion were wholly owing to the treachery and avarice of John Shales, purveyor-general of the army, an addreſs was preſented to the king, intreating his majeſty to order Shales into cuſtody, and to empower duke Schomberg to fill his place with a more able and truſty purveyor. The king informed them he had already ſent orders to the general for that purpoſe; and at the ſame time ſent a meſſage to the houſe, deſiring them to recommend a certain number of commiſſioners, not exceeding ſeven, to be ſent over to Ireland to take care of the proviſions, and ſuch other preparations as ſhould be found neceſſary for that ſervice. About the ſame time, the commons took into conſideration the ſtate of the nation, and ſeveral members made great complaints of the late ill conduct of affairs. On this occaſion Mr. Hambden made a violent attack upon the miniſtry, eſpecially the earl of Nottingham, but was as violently oppoſed by his own father. In the month of December a queſtion was put in the houſe of commons, "Whether a perſon having a place in court, or any dependence on the king, ſhould be a member of that houſe?" This, as may be ſuppoſed, occaſioned a very warm and obſtinate debate; but the placemen carried the day, it being alleged that the excluſion aimed at in the queſtion would debar the ableſt men in the nation of an opportunity to ſerve at the ſame time their king and their country.

The Whigs, purſuant to their ſcheme of thwarting the king, made ſuch a party in the parliament this ſeſſion, that in ſpite of his majeſty's earneſt deſire to have a revenue ſettled upon him for life, alleging he could not look upon himſelf as a king till it was done; the civil liſt was nevertheleſs granted but for one year. By this oppoſition the Whigs loſt themſelves entirely in the king's favour, who every day ſhewed a ſtronger inclination to join himſelf with the Tories, who made him the moſt pompous promiſes of ſupplies, and an attention to all his inclinations, if he would only diſſolve the parliament and call a new one. The Whigs ſoon diſcovered that their adverſaries were tampering with the king; and to fruſtrate their deſigns, they introduced a bill into the lower-houſe for reſtoring corporations to their antient rights and privileges; in which they inſerted a clauſe that they hoped would make themſelves maſters of all future elections, by denouncing great penalties againſt thoſe who had been any way concerned in delivering up the charters. This clauſe, the ſubſtance of which tht reader will find in the note ‖, was oppoſed by the Tories with their utmoſt force, and was at length rejected; but the Whigs prevailed ſo far, that the bill paſſed the commons in its original form by a great majority: the houſe of lords was ſo equally divided on this occaſion, that the bill paſſed there by one voice only. Both parties now made the warmeſt court to the king to bring him over to their ſeveral intereſts. King William was under the greateſt perplexity how to determine: the behaviour of the Whigs had made him look upon them as a ſet of people infected with republican principles, continually jealous of the kingly power. He thought, that by giving his aſſent to the bill, he ſhould in a manner make himſelf entirely dependent on them, and live only the pageant of a ſovereign. On the other hand, to repoſe too unlimited a confidence in the Tories, appeared to him replete with the moſt alarming conſequences, as he knew their attachment to the principles of the divine indefeaſible right of kings. If we may believe Burnet, and ſome other hiſtorians, he was in this dilemma on the point of taking a deſperate reſolution, no leſs than that of leaving the government in the hands of the queen, to whom he thought the Tories would be true, and withdrawing himſelf into Holland. He was however perſuaded from the execution of this raſh purpoſe by the marquis of Caermarthen, the earl of Shrewſbury, and ſome other noblemen moſt in his confidence; and

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, ii. 355. Nov. 2. The duties upon theſe articles were, upon every hundred weight of coffee 5l. 12s. upon ditto of cocoa-nuts 8l. 8s. upon every pound of tea 5s. An additional poll-tax was alſo paſſed, by which 20s. per head was laid upon every ſhopkeeper, tradeſman, and artificer, worth 300l. perſonal eſtate; a tax of 100,000l. was moved (it is ſaid by ſir Edward Seymour) to be laid on the Jews, but the motion came to nothing. Rapin's Contin.

† The privy-ſeal was put into commiſſion, and given to William Chacy, ſir John Knatchbull, and ſir William Pulteney.

‡ Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, ii. 358. November 11.

‖ This clauſe was as follows; "That every mayor, recorder, ſheriff, common-councilman, town clerk, magiſtrate, or officer, who did take upon him to conſent to or join in the ſurrender of any charter or inſtrument, importing ſuch ſurrender, did ſollicit, procure, proſecute, or did pay or contribute to the charge of proſecuting any Scire facias, Quo warranto, or information in the nature of a Quo warranto, by this act declared unlawful, ſhall be, and is declared, adjudged, and diſabled to all intents and purpoſes, to bear or execute any office, employment, or place of truſt, as a member of ſuch reſpective body corporate, or in or for ſuch reſpective city, town, borough, or cinque-port, wherein he was member at or before the time of his making ſuch ſurrender, or inſtrument importing ſuch ſurrender, or the ſuing out or proſecuting ſuch Scire facias, Quo warranto, any thing in this act contained, or in any other caſe, ſtatute, or any ordinance, charter, cuſtom or any thing contrary in anywiſe notwithſtanding."

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he reſolved to change this fatal deſign for another of more ſervice to the nation, that of going over in perſon to Ireland to finiſh the war there.

As ſoon as this intention of his majeſty came to be known, by the preparations ordered for his voyage, a ſtrong party was formed to oppoſe it. The friends of the Revolution were againſt it, from the apprehenſion that the fatigues of a campaign, and the bad climate of the country, might, excluſive of the chance of war, have a fatal effect on the king's weak and tender conſtitution, whoſe death muſt unavoidably involve the nation in all the horrors of a civil war. The Jacobites, on the other hand, dreaded William's taking the field in perſon againſt their old maſter; and thus both houſes reſolved to addreſs againſt the intended expedition. William was apprized of their deſign; and to prevent the execution of it, came to the parliament-houſe on the ſeventeenth of January, 1690, and in a ſpeech formally notified his reſolution of going in perſon to Ireland, telling them, that as he had already ventured his life for the preſervation of the laws and liberties of the nation, he was willing again to expoſe it, to ſecure them the great enjoyment of theſe bleſſings. Having ended his ſpeech, the lord-chancellor prorogued the parliament to the twenty-ſecond of April; but on the ſixth of February the king diſſolved it, and writs were iſſued for a new one to meet on the twentieth of March.

In this ſeſſion was paſſed the declaration of rights and the act of ſettlement, of which we have already ſpoken. The affair likewiſe of the princeſs of Denmark's revenue was now compleated, which had been left unfiniſhed the laſt ſeſſion. While the two houſes were ſitting, a conſpiracy, real or pretended, againſt the government, and a deſign to invite over king James, was diſcovered by biſhop Burnet; the particulars of which are not ſufficiently intereſting, nor were the conſequences of importance enough to induce us to detain our readers with a detail thereof: indeed this diſcovery was in general laughed at, being looked upon as a fiction of the court, and the city of London entertained a very ill opinion of the king upon this occaſion.

Towards the cloſe of the year, general Ludlow, who at the Reſtoration had been excepted out of the act of indemnity, as one of thoſe who ſat in judgment upon king Charles I. arrived in England, and offered his ſervice in reducing Ireland, where he had formerly commanded under Cromwell. He was however ſoon obliged to retire; for ſir Edward Seymour, who was in poſſeſſion of a ſeat and eſtate at Maiden-Bradley in Wiltſhire, which had belonged to Ludlow, and on its being forfeited came to ſir Edward by a grant, repreſented to the houſe of commons in very warm terms, "the infamy that would be fixed on the character of the nation, ſhould any of the murderers of that king, whom the church of England had ſo juſtly dignified with the title of Martyr, be allowed to live in the kingdom:" whereupon the houſe addreſſed the king to iſſue a proclamation for apprehending general Ludlow. This was accordingly publiſhed, but not till it was known for certain the general was ſafe landed in Holland, from whence he afterwards retired to Vevay in Switzerland, where he ended his days, after an exile of thirty years.

While theſe things paſſed in England, a ſtrong party was forming againſt king William in Scotland. The Scots, who had come up to London to give an account of their proceedings in their parliament, had been diſguſted by the reſerved behaviour of the king, and thought themſelves and their brethren the preſbyterians neglected and ill treated. On their return to their own kingdom, they repreſented thoſe matters in ſuch a manner as ſoon to kindle diſtruſt and animoſity againſt the new government. In ſhort, a coalition was formed between the diſcontented preſbyterians and the original Jacobite party. Colonel Cannon, who ſucceeded the viſcount Dundee in command, after having made ſeveral unſucceſsful efforts in favour of king James's intereſt, retired into Ireland, and the Highlanders choſe ſir Hugh Cameron for their leader; who taking advantage of the abſence of a great number of the regular troops, which had been ſent over to Ireland to reinforce duke Schomberg, renewed their incurſions with ſucceſs for ſome time; but at length a party of fifteen hundred of them, headed by colonel Buchan, being ſurprized and routed by ſir Thomas Livingſtone, the Highlanders were obliged to retire, and conceal themſelves amongſt their hills and inacceſſible faſtneſſes. Experience having ſhewn the friends of James the little ſucceſs to be hoped from any ſervices they could do him in the field, it was reſolved to direct all their attention to the proceedings in parliament, where they imagined their intereſt to be much ſtronger than it turned out upon trial. The Jacobites hoped, by the aſſiſtance of their new allies the preſbyterians, to be able to embroil the government in ſuch a manner, that the majority of the people would declare for a reſtoration. They accordingly took the oaths neceſſary for qualifying them to ſeats in the parliament without the leaſt heſitation, and hugged themſelves in the proſpect of certain ſucceſs; but it ſoon appeared that the views of theſe two lately connected parties were totally incompatible. Notwithſtanding their concurrence in parliament, the earl of Melvil, high-commiſſioner from William, procured a ſmall majority. The oppoſition was immediately diſcouraged: ſome individuals retracted, from apprehenſion of ill ſucceſs to their cauſe, and mutual jealouſies began to prevail. The leaders of the coalition treated ſeparately with king James, made inconſiſtent demands, reciprocally concealed their negotiations; in a word, they diſtruſted and hated one another with the moſt implacable reſentment.

The earls of Argyle, Annandale, and Braidalbin, withdrew from them. The earl of Annandale came up to Bath, on pretence of ill health; and Argyle and Braidalbin went to Cheſter, with an intent, as they afterwards declared, to diſcover the whole matter to the king. Sir James Montgomery, who was at the head of the diſcontented preſbyterians, looked upon their deſign as ruined by this deſertion, and therefore reconciled himſelf to the earl of Melvil, to whom he hinted ſomething of the plot, and ſollicited a paſs to the king, which was refuſed. Annandale having received information that Montgomery had diſcloſed all the particulars of the negotiation, threw himſelf upon the king's mercy, and diſcovered all he knew of the conſpiracy. Montgomery lurked for ſome time about London, ſolliciting a pardon; but finding

he could not obtain it unleſs he made a full diſcovery, he choſe to quit his country and die in exile, rather than betray his confederates. By this diſunion of the conſpirators, and the diſcovery of the plot, the court intereſt at length triumphed over all oppoſition in Scotland; though, to effect this, the high-commiſſioner was obliged to make ſeveral great conceſſions to the fanatic preſbyterians in parliament, particularly in the articles of patronage, and the ſupremacy of the crown, which he agreed to give up, in lieu of which the parliament indulged the king with the tax of chimney-money; and an act, obliging all perſons in office and parliament to take a teſt oath, declaring William and Mary their lawful ſovereigns, and renouncing the pretended title of James. There was at that time a prevailing faction in Scotland, called the Cameronian party, from one Cameron, formerly their leader, and who was ſlain in rebellion: they were a ſort of rigid preſbyterians, or rather Fifth-monarchy-men, who valued neither king William nor king James, further than as thoſe princes happened to pleaſe them. Some deſigning heads in the council and parliament made uſe of thoſe men to bring their ends about, whoſe weakneſs was otherwiſe diſcernible: they took all occaſions to inſpire the people with a deteſtation of epiſcopal government, and the worſhip of the church of England, which they repreſented as very little removed from popery, and her clergy ignorant and ſcandalous livers. Theſe furious fanatics proceeded with ungovernable violence to perſecute the church of England miniſters, and at length obliged the earl of Melvil, apprehenſive that king William's intereſt in Scotland would otherwiſe be irreparably damaged, to conſent to lodge the government of the church in their hands; the conſequence of which was, that all the laws in favour of epiſcopacy were aboliſhed. About ſixty preſbyterian miniſters, who had been ejected at the Reſtoration, were ſtill alive, and declared by the parliament the only ſound part of the church and preſbytery. Having thus trampled the hierarchy again under foot, they exerciſed the very ſame tyranny over the church of England clergy, againſt which they themſelves had ſo loudly exclaimed in the former reign.

While the preſbyterian intereſt thus prevailed in Scotland, the two parties that divided England employed their whole influence and attention in managing the elections for the new parliament; and the Tories obtained the victory, to whom the king was every day giving freſh inſtances of his partiality in their favour. By the intereſt and addreſs of the biſhop of London, the marquis of Caermarthen, and the earl of Nottingham, the chiefs of that party, ſeveral of them were admitted into the commiſſion for the lieutenantcy of the city of London, from which they had been excluded: and farther to gratify them, Charles Mordaunt earl of Monmouth, and Booth earl of Warrington, were diſmiſſed from their ſeats in the council *.

The new parliament meeting on the twentieth of March, 1690, the commons choſe ſir John Trevor, a flaming Tory, for their ſpeaker, who was approved by the king. William, in his ſpeech to both houſes, gave them to underſtand, "That he ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution of going in perſon to Ireland: he deſired they would ſettle the revenue on him, as they had done on his predeceſſors, or eſtabliſh it as a fund of credit, upon which he might raiſe the neceſſary ſums to ſerve his preſent occaſions: he told them he would ſend them an act of grace, with ſome few exceptions, being deſirous to have no colour of excuſe to any of his ſubjects for raiſing diſturbances during his abſence: he adviſed them to avoid diſſentions, recommended to their conſideration a union with Scotland, and ſaid he ſhould leave the adminiſtration in the hands of the queen during his abſence, and defired they would prepare an act for that purpoſe, if it was thought neceſſary; concluding with an exhortation to them to uſe diſpatch in the buſineſs for which they were aſſembled, as the ſeaſon of the year, and his intended journey to Ireland, would admit of but a ſhort ſeſſion; adding at the ſame time, that he hoped it would not be long before he ſhould meet them again, to perfect what the time would not now allow to be done †."

As both Whigs and Tories now vied with each other to court the king's favour, by obliging him in money affairs, the commons proceeded to ſettle the revenue, and make it a fund of credit for the ſupplies which were ſtill wanted for the next campaign. They began with voting a ſupply of one million two hundred thouſand pounds between that time and Michaelmas, of which two hundred thouſand pounds was to be raiſed by a poll, and a million by a clauſe of credit in the revenue bills. Here however they ſtopped; for William could not prevail to have the revenue ſettled on him for life: all he could obtain was to have the hereditary exciſe ſettled for life, and the cuſtoms to be continued only for four years, from the twenty-fourth of December next enſuing ‡.

There was a violent conteſt this ſeſſion between the two parties on the import of a bill, requiring all ſubjects in office to take an oath, abjuring king James, on pain of impriſonment. The Tories however prevailed ſo far with the king, that, under various ſpecious pretences, his majeſty ſent an intimation to the commons, deſiring them to drop the debate, and proceed to matters that were more preſſing. This interpoſition on the part of the king greatly diſguſted the Whigs; and the earl of Shrewſbury, a man of acknowleged integrity and talents, who had intereſted himſelf warmly in behalf of the bill, inſiſted on reſigning his office of ſecretary of ſtate; nor could all the remonſtrances of the king, who well knew his abilities, engage him even to keep the ſeals until he ſhould return from Ireland. The abjuration bill was thrown out, after having received a ſecond reading. The parliament being ſenſible that his majeſty was in haſte to go over to Ireland, diſpatched the buſineſs before them as ſoon as could be expected; and the royal aſſent being given to ſeveral money-bills, the act of indemnity, and ſome other acts, as alſo an act for inveſting the queen § with the adminiſtration of the government during the king's abſence;

* Burnet. Belcarras's Affairs of Scotland. Tindal. Kennet.

† Burnet. Tindal.

‡ Proceedings Houſe of Commons, ii. 376. Burnet.

§ In this act however was the following reſtriction; "That the queen ſhould be controlled by any order from his majeſty while he was abroad." Pr. Houſe of Com. ii. 382.

on the twenty-third day of May, his majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſhort ſpeech, in which he thanked his parliament for the ſupplies they had granted; told them, that though he only propoſed to adjourn them for a ſhort time, yet he did not mean to call for their attendance without ſome preſſing neceſſity, till the beginning of winter; and earneſtly recommended to them the faithful diſcharge of their duties in their reſpective counties, that the peace of the nation might not be diſturbed during his abſence *." The parliament was then adjourned to the ſecond day of July, and afterwards underwent ſeveral adjournments and prorogations.

During this ſeſſion there were the following promotions among the nobility; Richard, lord viſcount Lumley, was created earl of Scarborough; Henry lord Delamere, earl of Warrington; Henry lord Grey of Ruthyn was created viſcount Longueville; and the lord Willoughby of Ereſby, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, was, by virtue of his majeſty's writ of ſummons, called up to the houſe of peers; and on the third of June ſir John Trevor, ſpeaker of the commons, ſir William Rawlinſon, and ſir George Hutchins, were conſtituted commiſſioners of the great-ſeal.

In the mean time, king James's affairs in Ireland wore a very untoward aſpect: Lewis XIV. had indeed promiſed him a reinforcement of five thouſand men under the count de Lauſun, beſides thoſe he carried over with him; ſo that James had in all about ſeven thouſand French, and as many Iriſh, moſt of them accounted good troops: the reſt, which amounted to ten or twelve thouſand men more, were new-raiſed, undiſciplined, and not to be truſted to. King William, on the other hand, had increaſed his army in Ireland to near fifty thouſand men, all regular forces, under experienced generals: which ſuperiority gave him an aſſurance of ſucceſs, and he had determined to have the honour of driving his enemy out of Ireland himſelf.

On the fourth of June he embarked at Highlake near Cheſter, and on the fourteenth landed at Carrickfergus, attended by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough, and Mancheſter, and many other perſons of diſtinction; and the ſame evening went to Belfaſt, where he was met by duke Schomberg, the prince of Wirtemberg, major-general Kirk, and other general officers.

The king's arrival immediately gave a new face to affairs: the military operations had for ſome time been at a ſtand, through the addreſs of duke Schomberg, who carefully avoided coming to an engagement with the enemy before his majeſty's arrival to head his troops in perſon: but now every thing appeared in motion. James, on his ſide, wearied with fluctuating in a continual ſtate of uncertainty, ſeemed deſirous to determine his fate by one deciſive blow: king William was equally deſirous to put an end to all competition for the ſovereign ſway. Thus diſpoſed, the two rivals, as by mutual conſent, moved towards each other in order to give battle. King William having repoſed himſelf for two or three days at Belfaſt, repaired to Liſburne, where duke Schomberg had fixed his head quarters, and from thence to Hilſborough. He ordered the whole army to encamp at Loughbrillan, where, upon a review, he found it amounted to thirty-ſix thouſand effective men, all well equipped in every particular. King James being apprized of his arrival, immediately committed the guard of the city of Dublin to a body of militia, commanded by Lutterel; and ſetting out with the reinforcement of five thouſand infantry lately ſent him from France, joined the reſt of his forces, which were now nearly equal to the Engliſh in number, excluſive of about fifteen thouſand men, who remained in different garriſons.

James having advanced to the banks of the river Boyne, there took poſt in a very advantageous ſituation, having his front defended by that deep and rapid river, by a riſing ground, and by a moraſs or bog: in a word, it was impoſſible for the Engliſh to attack him without manifeſt danger to themſelves. On this conſideration the officers in the Jacobite army were very preſſing with James not to hazard a battle, but rather reinforce his garriſons, withdraw to the Shannon, and wait the iſſue of the naval preparations which Lewis XIV. was then haſtening, in order to attack the Engliſh fleet, and ſuccour his old ally: but James, burning with impatience, as I before obſerved, to decide the fate of his crown by a ſpeedy and deciſive engagement, could not brook theſe tame counſels, and prepared to give his adverſary battle. William, on his ſide, was equally ready to receive him: however, he thought proper, before the fight, to take a view of the enemy's ſituation. Advancing for that purpoſe to the oppoſite ſide of the river, he was ſingled out by the enemy, who brought down two field-pieces by a hidden pathway, and planted them againſt his perſon: at the firſt ſhot they killed a man and two horſes cloſe by his ſide, and the ſecond bullet rebounding from the ground, grazed his right ſhoulder, and produced a conſiderable contuſion. William betrayed not the leaſt emotion on this occaſion; but having cauſed his wound to be bound up, he remounted his horſe, and kept on his pace, only ſaying in French, "Il ne falloit pas que le coup fut tiré de plus prés: There was no neceſſity the bullet ſhould have come nearer." This accident, however, though of no great moment in itſelf, occaſioned ſome confuſion among his majeſty's attendants; which being obſerved by the enemy, and they no longer ſeeing the king on horſeback, concluded their cannon had taken the deſired effect, and that William was killed. Upon this they ſet up a general ſhout, which was re-echoed through their camp: the news even ſpread to Dublin, from whence it was carried to Paris, where, contrary to the cuſtom of the French court, the people were encouraged to expreſs their joy by bonfires and illuminations.

The king having got his ſlight wound dreſſed, returned back to ſhew himſelf to his army, in order to quiet their apprehenſions. About nine at night he called a council of war, and declared his reſolution to paſs the river the next day, and give the foe battle. This meaſure was ſtrongly oppoſed by duke Schomberg; but the king ſhewing himſelf abſolutely determined, and declaring that "he did not come there to let the graſs grow under his feet," his plan was adopted by the majority of the council; upon which duke Schomberg acquieſced, and

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, ii. 383.

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propoſed that part of the army, horſe and foot, ſhould be ſent that night towards Slane-bridge, in order to paſs the Boyne there, and ſo get between the enemy and the paſs at Duleck. This advice, which was a piece of conſummate generalſhip, and muſt, if followed, have enſured a ſpeedy and certain ſucceſs to the Engliſh, was objected againſt and over-ruled by the Dutch officers; at which the duke was ſo diſguſted, that he retired to his tent, whither the order of battle, after being ſettled in the council, was ſent to him. He conſidered this as an additional affront: however, the reſpect he owed to his ſovereign kept him from complaining: he only ſaid, with ſome marks of diſcontent, that "it was the firſt order of that kind that had ever been *ſent* to him." By the concerted diſpoſition it was agreed, that early the next morning lieutenant-general Douglas, with the right wing of infantry, and Munhardt count Schomberg the duke's ſon, with the horſe, ſhould paſs the river at Slane-bridge, in order to get between the enemy's camp and Drogheda, whilſt a body of foot were to force their way at the paſs of Old-Bridge.

King James alſo called a council of war on his ſide, when it was propoſed by lieutenant-general Hamilton to ſend a ſtrong party of dragoons to take poſſeſſion of a ford which was below the town of Drogheda, the ſecuring of which he thought to be, as it really was, of great importance. James, however, by a ſtrange perverſeneſs, would have only ſixty dragoons ſent thither. The cannonade on both ſides, which had continued pretty warm ever ſince the two armies had come in ſight of each other, ceaſed towards the cloſe of the evening. William rode quite through the army by torch-light, and then retired to his tent, after having given order for the proper diſpoſitions, and directed that his ſoldiers ſhould wear green boughs in their hats during the enſuing action, to diſtinguiſh them from the enemy's men, who wore pieces of white paper in theirs.

The next day, July 1, about ſix o'clock in the morning, general Douglas, with young Schomberg, the earl of Portland, and Overkirk, marched towards Slane-bridge, and paſſed the river without any great oppoſition. Having gained the oppoſite bank, they found themſelves confronted by a conſiderable number of the enemy, formed into two lines, behind a deep moraſs that ſecured their front. General Douglas, on ſight of their diſpoſition, thought it adviſable to halt for the coming up of a freſh reinforcement, which he knew to be on its march to join him. No ſooner was this arrived than he gave orders to the foot to move towards the moraſs or bog that lay between them and the enemy, while count Schomberg with his horſe, who could not poſſibly march that way, was ſent round it, to fall upon the Iriſh in flank. Theſe latter no ſooner perceived the motion made by the Engliſh, than they wheeled about, and retreated towards Duleck; but being purſued by the cavalry under young Schomberg, numbers of them were cut in pieces in their retreat, or rather flight. In the mean time king William, who knew not what had paſſed between this part of his army and the enemy, but ſuppoſed that his men had by this time effected their paſſage over the river, ordered his main body, compoſed of the Dutch guards, the French proteſtant regiments, the Inniſkilling foot, and four battalions of Engliſh, to paſs the Old-Bridge ford, and attack the enemy. They accordingly paſſed the river, which was waiſt high; and having gained the oppoſite bank, in ſpite of the reſiſtance of a body of muſqueteers ſent to oppoſe them, they drew up into files, and then charged the Iriſh with ſuch fury, that, unable to ſtand the ſhock of the onſet, theſe latter abandoned their entrenchments, and retreated. King James had imprudently removed his cannon from the ſide of the river, which greatly facilitated the landing of the Engliſh: but before all the battalions could form, they were charged with great impetuoſity by general Hamilton, at the head of a conſiderable body of horſe and foot, and the diſpute was for ſome time very obſtinate: but the Iriſh foot, who that day behaved ſhamefully, ſoon gave way, and left their horſe to ſuſtain the whole fury of the combat, who were vigorouſly repulſed by the French proteſtants and the Inniſkilliners. In the firſt of theſe onſets La Caillemote, the boſom friend and inſeparable companion of the gallant duke Schomberg, received his mortal wound, at the head of the French proteſtants; and as he was carried back by four Engliſh ſoldiers to the Engliſh camp, he encouraged thoſe of his countrymen who were ſtill croſſing the river, by calling out to them, "A la gloire, mes enfans! a la gloire! To glory, my good lads, to glory!"

Duke Schomberg perceiving the furious attack made upon the regiments that had forded the river, and being informed that the French proteſtants were without a commander, immediately paſſed the ſtream to head them, and with ſo much hurry, that he would not ſuffer himſelf to be perſuaded to put on his armour. As ſoon as he had gained the oppoſite ſhore, he rode full gallop up to the French proteſtants, and putting himſelf at their head, called out by way of animating them, "Follow me, gentlemen; thoſe are your perſecutors," pointing at the ſame time to the French papiſts in the enemy's army. Theſe words were ſcarcely pronounced, when the duke found himſelf attacked on a ſudden by a party of king James's guards, who, on their body having been routed, were returning full gallop to the main guard of the army: the French refugees, miſtaking them, from their language, for ſome of their own troops, ſuffered them to paſs; and ſome of them riding up to the duke, fell upon and gave him two ſevere wounds on the head. The French proteſtants perceiving their error, and eager to ſave their general, made ſuch an indiſcreet fire upon theſe aſſailants, that they at the ſame time ſhot the duke dead upon the ſpot: the ſmall party of the enemy's guards were indeed quickly cut in pieces; but this was a poor recompence for the loſs of ſo great a commander as duke Schomberg, who thus fell in the field of honour, at the age of eighty-two, after a long life replete with military glory. Beſides, this accident ſo diſconcerted our troops, that they ſeemed to have loſt all their courage: their arms remained inactive in their hands: they gave ground apace; while the enemy, elated with this advantage, recovered freſh ſpirits, and returned to the charge with an ardour that ſeemed to inſure the victory in their favour.

They were juſt ready to fall upon the centre, when king William, who, during the whole of the action, might be ſaid to be every-where, ſince he directed all by his conduct, paſſed in a critical

time with the left wing, conſiſting of the Daniſh, Dutch, and Inniſkilliners horſe, and advanced on a full trot to attack the enemy on the right, who were by this time come within muſket-ſhot of the centre of our foot. The ſight of William, advancing in that regular and undaunted manner to take them in flank, ſo diſconcerted the Iriſh, that they made a ſudden halt, faced about, and retreated to a little village called Dunmore, about half a mile from the paſs: there they made ſuch a vigorous ſtand, that the Dutch and Daniſh horſe, though headed by the king in perſon, unable to ſuſtain their fire, gave way; the Inniſkilliners themſelves ſhewed a backwardneſs to advance. William, ſhocked at this, rode up to theſe latter, and aſked, in a ſharp tone, "If this was a behaviour he ought to expect from *them?*" Stung by this reproach, and being acquainted that it was his majeſty who now did them the honour to head them, they inſtantly reſumed their wonted courage, and returned to the charge with redoubled vigour; the Dutch horſe rallying at the ſame time, the enemy, after an hour's bloody conflict, were beaten back with conſiderable loſs. In this action, lieutenant-general Hamilton, who had been the life and ſoul of the Iriſh during the whole of the fight, was taken priſoner. This accident ſo diſpirited them, that they now abandoned the field with precipitation, though the French and Swiſs guards, who acted as auxiliaries, retreated in good order; king William not thinking fit to venture the purſuit beyond the field of battle.

In the mean time young Schomberg, having been informed of his father's death, was inſpired with ſuch an ardour to revenge his fate, that nothing could oppoſe the fury of his arms. Inſpired at once with a juſt reſentment, and a noble thirſt of honour, he drove the enemy ſeveral miles beyond the village of Duleck, ſtrewing the ground with their dead carcaſes; nor can it be ſaid when he would have deſiſted, had he not received poſitive orders from the king to give over the ſlaughter, and return to the place where the foot had halted, and where they remained under arms all that night.

Thus ended the famous battle of the Boyne, in which the loſs on the ſide of king James, was generally computed at 1500 men, amongſt whom were the lord Dongan, the lord Carlingford, ſir Neile O'Neile, the marquis d'Hocquincourt, and ſeveral priſoners; the chief of whom was lieutenant-general Hamilton, who behaved during the fight with the moſt exemplary bravery, and kept the victory in ſuſpence, till he was overpowered by numbers, and taken priſoner. On the ſide of the Engliſh fell about 500, an inconſiderable loſs for the gain of ſo important a battle, had not the renowned duke Schomberg, the moſt illuſtrious general in Europe, been of the number. William himſelf was very near ſharing the ſame fate; for a cannon-ball carried away a part of his boot, and broke a horſe's leg cloſe by him. All writers concur in giving king William the higheſt praiſe for the admirable conduct, courage, reſolution, and preſence of mind, he diſplayed throughout this memorable action; and the Iriſh themſelves are ſaid to have declared, "That if the Engliſh would change king with them, they would fight the battle over again."

As for James, he remained an inactive ſpectator of an action, on the ſucceſs of which every thing dear to a king or a man of honour depended. During the whole fight, he ſtood with ſome ſquadrons of horſe upon the hill of Dunmore, till the count de Lauſun, after the retreat of the French and Swiſs troops, came up to him; and repreſenting to his majeſty that he was in imminent danger of being ſurrounded, deſired him to think of an inſtant retreat. This advice James readily took; and being attended by the regiment of Sarsfield, he marched off to Duleck, and from thence in all haſte to Dublin. When he came there he immediately aſſembled the magiſtrates and council of the city, and in a ſhort ſpeech reſigned them to the fortune of the victor. He complained of the cowardice of the Iriſh, by whom he ſaid he had been betrayed: he declared his reſolution of quitting the kingdom immediately; and as, he ſaid, it had often been debated, in caſe the fortune of the field ſhould declare againſt his arms, whether, upon deſerting the city of Dublin, the ſame ſhould not be fired? he did therefore charge them on their allegiance, that they ſhould neither plunder it nor deſtroy it in any manner, which in all kingdoms would be deemed an act of brutal barbarity, and might be believed to be done by his orders; and if done, there would be little mercy to be expected from an enraged enemy.

After a ſtay of one night in Dublin, the next morning he ſet out for Waterford, attended by the duke of Berwick his natural ſon, the earl of Tyrconnel, and the marquis of Powis: there he went on board a veſſel which he had ordered ſir Patrick Trant, the commiſſioner of the Iriſh revenue, to hold in readineſs for him in caſe of a defeat, and getting ſafely over to France, fixed his reſidence at St. Germain's. He had no ſooner left Dublin, than it was abandoned by all the Papiſts of any conſideration; the Proteſtants aſſumed the government of the city, and ſent an account of theſe tranſactions to William, accompanied with a petition, entreating him to honour that capital with his preſence. The king readily complied with their requeſt; and after detaching Mr. de la Melionere with a ſufficient force to reduce Drogheda, which he ſpeedily effected, his majeſty ſet out at the head of his army on the 4th day of July (three days after the battle) for Dublin. On the 6th he made his triumphal entry into that capital; and being Sunday, he immediately repaired to the cathedral, where he returned God thanks for his victory, and heard a ſermon preached by the learned Dr. King, afterwards archbiſhop of Dublin.

William's next ſtep was to publiſh a declaration of pardon to all the common people, who either remained at home, or who having fled from their dwellings, ſhould return to their places of abode by the firſt day of Auguſt, provided they delivered up their arms to ſuch juſtices of peace as his majeſty ſhould appoint: but with regard to thoſe deſperate leaders of the rebellion, who had violated the laws of the kingdom, called in the French, authorized the depredations which had been committed upon the Proteſtants, and rejected the gracious pardon offered to them in the king's proclamation publiſhed on the 22d of February, 1689; as his majeſty was now in a condition to make them ſenſible of their error, he left them entirely to the event of war, unleſs by evident demonſtrations of their repentance they ſhould deſerve his mercy, which ſhould never be refuſed to thoſe who were truly

truly penitent*." On the tenth of the month, the king iſſued a proclamation, reducing, to its intrinſic value, the braſs money which James had coined, and which he had raiſed to three hundred times its real worth.

It is now time to turn our attention towards England, and take a view of the tranſactions there during the king's abſence. The queen, who had been left regent, ſoon found that ſhe ſtood in need of all her prudence and diſcretion to preſerve her authority. Her council, which was a mixture of Whigs and Tories, by their perpetual jarrings embarraſſed all public affairs; the French threatened the nation with an invaſion from abroad, and the Jacobites were continually at work to ſtir up inſurrections at home. In the midſt of this critical and alarming ſituation, Mary behaved with a ſpirit and reſolution little common to her ſex; and her conduct was the more admired, as it was generally known that the king had been always upon the reſerve with her in what related to public affairs. As ſoon as ſhe heard the king was ſafely landed in Ireland, ſhe began to exerciſe the power veſted in her by parliament in two ſeaſonable proclamations; one "commanding all Papiſts, and reputed Papiſts, forthwith to depart the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and from within ten miles of the ſame;" the other "for the confining of popiſh recuſants to a diſtance not exceeding five miles of their reſpective dwellings."

Advice arriving of a French fleet being ready to ſail from Breſt, in order to make a deſcent upon our coaſts, admiral Herbert earl of Torrington, who then lay in the Downs, had orders to ſail directly for Portſmouth, and there get together ſuch a number of ſhips as might render him ſufficiently ſtrong to go in queſt of the enemy, and prevent their deſign. While the admiral lay at St. Helen's, he received advice from Weymouth, that the French had entered the Channel with ſeventy-eight ſhips of war and two fire-ſhips; upon which he called a council of war to determine what was to be done. He had been lately joined by a ſquadron of Dutch men of war; but ſeveral ſhips that he expected from Plymouth, had been prevented from joining him by the contrary wind: he thought himſelf not ſtrong enough to encounter the French, as his own and the Dutch fleet combined did not amount to more than fifty-ſix ſail; but the very day that he called the council, he received expreſs orders from the queen to hazard an engagement at all events, rather than ſuffer the enemy to proceed up the Channel, all the ports to the eaſtward being deſtitute of any ſhipping to defend them, occaſioned by an ill-timed compliment paid by William to the king of Spain, at whoſe requeſt he had ſent admiral Ruſſel with a large ſquadron to convoy that prince's young bride, ſiſter to the queen of Portugal, from Holland to the Groyne.

Lord Torrington, in conſequence of theſe orders from court, put to ſea with the combined ſquadron of England and Holland, with a view to intercept the French at the back of the Iſle of Wight, ſhould they attempt to ſail up the Channel. The French fleet ſoon came in ſight; and on the 30th of June, the day before the battle of the Boyne, the two fleets engaged near Beachy-Head, on the coaſt of Suſſex. The Dutch ſquadron, which compoſed the van, began the engagement about nine in the morning; but their courage being greater than their ſeamanſhip, they advanced too far out of the line: however, at the firſt they had the advantage, the French flying before them. Our blue ſquadron engaged with great bravery; but admiral Torrington kept his line, and continued to fight at a diſtance. The French, obſerving the Dutch had advanced ſo far out of the line, collected all their force, and hemmed them in on all ſides; and, though they fought with great valour, did them conſiderable damage; and their whole ſquadron would in all probability have periſhed (not being in the leaſt ſeconded by the Engliſh under lord Torrington), had not their admiral, Calembourg ordered them to drop their anchors while their ſails were all up, there being at that time but very little wind. This manœuvre was not noticed by the French, who were now carried away by the tide, whilſt the others lay ſtill; and thus, in a ſhort time, the Dutch were out of danger, after having loſt Dick and Brackel, their two rear-admirals, with a great number of men, and being obliged to ſink ſeveral of their ſhips, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. In this action the Engliſh loſt two ſhips, two of their captains, and about four hundred men. On the next day, in the afternoon, the Engliſh admiral called a council of war, in which it was reſolved to preſerve the remains of the combined fleets by a retreat, and to deſtroy what diſabled ſhips they had with them, rather than hazard another engagement by protecting them, ſhould the enemy attempt a purſuit. Accordingly Torrington retreated without much interruption to the mouth of the Thames, while the French, after a ſtay of about five weeks in the Channel, during which they inſulted our coaſts and burnt the ſmall town of Tinmouth, with ſeveral merchant ſhips in the harbour, retired to their own ports, and were no more ſeen in the Channel this year. Both the Dutch and our blue ſquadron, the only ſhips of ours that were engaged, complained much of Torrington's behaviour; and it was a general opinion, that if the whole fleet had come up to a cloſe fight, we muſt have beat the French: and conſidering how far they were from Breſt, and that our ſquadron at Plymouth lay between them and home, a victory might have had great conſequences. Both admirals, indeed, were almoſt equally blamed; ours for not fighting, and the French for not purſuing his victory†. Torrington, on his arrival at London, was deprived of his command, and ſent priſoner to the Tower; and commiſſioners‡ were appointed to examine the particulars of his conduct.

The news of the defeat of our fleet, and of the French lording it in our ſeas, no ſooner reached London, but every mind was filled with the moſt alarming apprehenſions: nothing but a deſcent was talked of, and the Jacobites exulted in the deſtruction of a government ſo obnoxious to them.

* Burnet. Tindal.

† Burnet. Boyer. Burchet.

‡ Theſe were the lord-preſident, the lord-ſteward, the lord-chamberlain; the earls of Pembroke, Nottingham, Monmouth, and Marlborough; Sir John Lowther, vice-chamberlain and firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, and Mr. Edward Ruſſel. Of theſe the lord-preſident and the earl of Nottingham had the chief management of affairs, which made the Whigs diſſatisfied with the nomination. Tindal, from MS letter of Mr. Warre to ſir W. Colt.

To do the queen juſtice, ſhe behaved in this emergency with admirable ſpirit and diſcretion: ſhe betrayed not the leaſt ſigns of fear: ſhe made uſe of every precaution to guard againſt her enemies, both within and without the kingdom: the principal ſea-ports were put in as good a poſture of defence as the time would permit: proper orders were iſſued for refitting and augmenting the navy: ſhe gave directions for raiſing the militia of the weſtern counties, in order to oppoſe any attempts that might be made in that quarter; and to ſtrike the greater terror into the domeſtic enemies of the government, ſhe iſſued a proclamation for apprehending ſeveral diſaffected noblemen and gentlemen, who were either ſuſpected or accuſed of having held correſpondence with king James and his party, to diſturb and deſtroy the peace of the realm, and had adhered to their majeſties enemies in the preſent invaſion. While the queen was thus wiſely and vigorouſly executing the function of the high department ſhe filled, ſhe had the ſatisfaction to find her conduct approved by the majority of the nation, and to receive ſeveral addreſſes from the city of London, and many other reſpectable counties and corporations in the kingdom, who all declared their reſolution to defend and preſerve her and her royal conſort, and their government, with the hazard of their lives, and to the utmoſt of their power. As for the earl of Torrington, he continued in the Tower till the next ſeſſion of parliament, when he was ordered to be tried by a court-martial on the nineteenth of December. The preſident was ſir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as vice-admiral of the blue ſquadron in the engagement. It is aſſerted by many that the trial was conducted with much partiality; but as the proceedings were never publiſhed, we have nothing certain on which to form our deciſion: we only know that the earl was acquitted, and that the king was ſo offended thereat as immediately to diſmiſs him from his ſervice, together with ſeveral other ſea-officers who had appeared moſt to favour his cauſe; and that we were kind enough to repair the loſſes of the Dutch ſquadron at our own charge. The agitations occaſioned throughout the nation by our ill ſucceſs at ſea, were not a little quieted by the news of the victory gained by the king on the banks of the Boyne: the Jacobites were ſtruck with diſmay: they hung down their heads, a ſudden check was now put to all their proceedings, and they remained quiet, from a conſcious inability of being able to do hurt, while the friends of the Revolution reſumed their courage, and enjoyed in their turns the mortification of their adverſaries. The queen and council ſent to the king, preſſing him to come over with all poſſible haſte to England, to compleat by his preſence the tranquilization of the government here.

As the news of the victory of the Boyne had been a great comfort to the queen and the Engliſh nation, under the diſtreſs raiſed by the misfortunes at ſea; ſo king William, on the day he entered Dublin, had the news of the ill ſucceſs of his fleet to temper the joy his own good fortune might give him. He had taken all the papers of his father-in-law to Tyrconnel, by which he diſcovered a deſign that had been formed againſt his life. It ſeems that the enterprize was to have been undertaken by one Jones, before William undertook the Iriſh expedition: the attempt however was never made, and the conſpirator is ſuppoſed to have eloped with a large ſum of money, which he had procured from Tyrconnel, and Douglas the attorney-general of Ireland, not chuſing to incur the guilt and danger of the enterprize he was put upon. A paper was drawn up of this whole affair, in order to be publiſhed both in England and Ireland: but it is thought that their majeſties, tender of the character of James, which muſt have greatly ſuffered, from the imputation of having countenanced ſo ſhameful a deſign, cauſed it to be ſuppreſſed.

Count Lauſun and general Sarsfield having ſtill a good body of forces under their command, with which they retreated towards Limerick, the Iriſh did not ſhew any diſpoſition to ſubmit; whereupon king William decamped on the ninth of July from Finglaſs, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, and divided his army into two bodies; with the greater of which he marched to Crumlin, three miles on the ſouth of Dublin, and ſent the other, conſiſting of four regiments of horſe, two of dragoons, and ten of infantry, under the command of lieutenant-general Douglas, towards Athlone, who inveſted that city on the ſeventeenth, and ſent to colonel Grace, the governor for king James, to ſurrender. Grace was an old and a valiant ſoldier, of approved fidelity to the maſter he ſerved, and made no other reply than by firing a piſtol, and bidding the trumpeter tell the perſon that ſent him, that thoſe were his terms. Douglas therefore reſolved to attack the place; but as it was ſtrongly fortified by nature, and defended by a good caſtle, and Douglas was deficient in artillery, he was conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege, after a fortnight's fruitleſs attempt. In the mean time, king William having committed the government of Dublin to brigadier Trelawney, proceeded with the reſt of his army weſtward, and at Carlow detached the duke of Ormond to take poſſeſſion of Kilkenny, while the army encamped at Carrick; from whence, on the twenty-firſt of July, major-general Kirk was diſpatched againſt Waterford with two regiments and a party of horſe. The garriſon ſurrendered, on condition of being allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, and were conducted to Mallow. The fort of Duncannon, which commands the entrance of the harbour of Waterford, ſubmitted on the ſame terms. Here the lord Dover and lord George Howard, who had been excepted from the bill of indemnity, petitioned and obtained the king's pardon. On the twenty-ſeventh of July the king left the camp at Carrick, and went to Dublin, in order to take ſhipping for England, in purſuance of the requeſt before-mentioned from the queen and council: but here he found other letters of a different and more pleaſing tenor, informing him that every thing was now quiet at home, and that his preſence was no longer ſo preſſingly neceſſary. Hereupon his majeſty went to Chapel Izard, where he continued for ſome time, and during his ſtay publiſhed a ſecond pardon, confirming and extending the former: but this declaration had very little effect upon the Iriſh, who, ſpirited up by their prieſts, and elated with the news of the bad ſucceſs of our fleet againſt the French, ſtill held out, in hopes that the diſtractions in England would ſoon oblige king William to return thither.

His majeſty, however, ſatisfied by his late advices that his domeſtic enemies were kept in awe,

and that the French had retired into their own harbours, reſolved not to quit Ireland till he had effectually reduced the Jacobite party there to perfect obedience, or at leaſt to an inability of doing him any prejudice. With this view he determined upon undertaking the ſiege of Limerick, which was defended by monſieur Boiſſeleau, the governor for king James; and the duke of Berwick and colonel Sarsfield, who with their troops had thrown themſelves into that place after the defeat of the Boyne, and James's flight, acted as inferior officers. On the ninth of Auguſt the king inveſted the town with his whole army, and immediately ſent a trumpeter to ſummon the governor. Tho' the place was extremely ſtrong, and the garriſon very numerous and healthy, there were many, as well of the ſoldiers as of the inhabitants, who were for capitulating; but the governor, the duke of Berwick, and Sarsfield, oppoſed it with ſuch vehemence that the others acquieſced, and it was determined to defend the place to the laſt extremity: upon which monſieur Boiſſeleau ſent the trumpeter back with this anſwer, "That he imagined he could not more effectually gain the good opinion of the prince of Orange, than by vigorouſly defending the town, which his royal maſter had entruſted to his care." Every thing was now prepared for the ſiege: the king the ſame evening gave orders for a party of dragoons to paſs the river Shannon, at a ford about two miles above the town, which was effected by the valour and conduct of general Ginckle, who, after defeating a body of Iriſh that guarded the paſs, croſſed over the next morning with about five thouſand horſe and foot; but before the ſiege could be regularly formed, colonel Sarsfield, hearing that the king's artillery was in its way from Kilkenny to the camp, reſolved to attempt the taking or deſtroying it. With this view he paſſed the Shannon in the night of the 10th, with a body of five or ſix hundred horſe and dragoons, and lurked all the next day in the hills; and having notice that the artillery was a little on this ſide of Cullen, and that the troops that conveyed it had halted to reſt themſelves, and were then perfectly unprepared for an attack, he took with him guides who brought him to the very ſpot, where he fell upon them before they were aware, killed ſeveral of the men, ſplit the cannon, deſtroyed the carriages, waggons, and ammunition, and returned ſafely to Limerick.

The news of this adventure was very unwelcome in the king's camp, where it gave birth to a warm diſpute between duke Schomberg (ſon to the late marſhal) and the earl of Portland, the former accuſing the latter and count Solmes of having neglected to ſend in time a detachment of ſufficient ſtrength to ſecure the train. This quarrel however was ſoon made up, and the ſiege purſued. On the ſeventeenth the trenches were opened, and a battery was raiſed with ſome cannon brought from Waterfield. Both ſides now exerted their utmoſt vigor and reſolution in the attack and defence of the place, during which the king had ſeveral narrow eſcapes for his life; and it is univerſally allowed, that on all military occaſions William's perſonal courage was more conſpicuous than his prudence or caution. On the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, the engineers having aſſured the king that there was a ſufficient breach made in the walls for an attack, he detached monſieur de la Barthe, a brave French (proteſtant) officer, with nine companies of grenadiers, beſides an hundred French officers and volunteers, to begin the attack; which was performed with ſuch bravery and ſucceſs, that in ſpite of all the oppoſition of the beſieged, the aſſailants effected a lodgment on the redoubt or counterſcarp: but theſe brave men not being properly ſeconded, through the negligence of count Solmes and count Naſſau, the enemy returned to the charge with redoubled numbers, and a moſt bloody and obſtinate diſpute of four hours enſued; but in the end our troops were repulſed, with the loſs of one thouſand two hundred men, either killed or mortally wounded on the ſpot. Notwithſtanding this check, it is ſaid that the king would not have quitted the ſiege, had not the ſeaſon of the year, and the nature of the country, which in thoſe parts is very ſubject to be overflowed, proved ſo bad, that the ſoldiers could no longer remain in the trenches, half filled with water; which inconvenience no art or induſtry could remedy. Orders were therefore iſſued on the thirtieth of Auguſt for ſending off the heavy baggage and artillery; and the next day the army decamped, and marched towards Clonmel, without meeting the leaſt diſturbance from the enemy, either in the decamping or the march. The king now determined to return to England; and having appointed the lord Sidney and Thomas Coningſby, eſq. (afterwards earl of that name) lords juſtices of Ireland, and entruſted the command of the army to count Solmes, his majeſty ſet ſail from Waterford with prince George of Denmark, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction, on the fifth of September, and next day arrived ſafe in King's-Road near Briſtol, and on the ninth got to Windſor, where he was received by the queen with unſpeakable joy.

Great was the exultation of king James's friends in Ireland on occaſion of the raiſing the ſiege of Limerick, and the departure of William for his Engliſh dominions. They were ſtill in poſſeſſion of ſeveral good towns beſides Limerick, and their army was very numerous; ſo that they were filled with the moſt ſanguine hopes of reſtoring their old maſter to the ſovereignty of Ireland at leaſt: but how were their expectations daſhed by the arrival of an Engliſh fleet before Corke harbour, on the twenty-firſt of September, with a body of forces under the command of the earl of Marlborough! It ſeems that this nobleman, after the French fleet had retired into their harbours, and ours had repaired the damage it ſuſtained in the engagement, had propoſed employing about five thouſand troops, who then lay inactive at home, in an attempt upon Cork * and Kinſale †, in Ireland, which he doubted not of taking, with the aſſiſtance of ſuch troops

* A capital city of a county of the ſame name, and province of Munſter, in Ireland, ſituated on the river Lee. It has a good harbour, and is, next to Dublin, the beſt trading place in that kingdom.

† A populous trading town in the county of Cork, and province of Munſter, having an excellent harbour on the river Bandon, diſembogueing itſelf into the Atlantic Ocean. It lies ſixteen miles ſouth of the city of Cork.

as

as the king might be able to ſpare him from the army. This propoſal was approved of, and the earl ſent over, who on his arrival found that his majeſty, who had been made acquainted with the intended expedition, had left orders for an additional body of five thouſand men, under the duke of Wirtemberg and major-general Scrivenmore, to reinforce his lordſhip, and aſſiſt him in the reduction of the before-mentioned places.

The earl having landed his men, though with ſome oppoſition, in the neighbourhood of Corke, was ſoon after joined by the reinforcement from the main army; but a diſpute happened between the duke of Wirtemberg and Marlborough concerning the chief command, which both of them claimed; the former as due to his rank of a ſovereign prince, the other as being the elder officer, and commanding the troops of his own nation. The matter, however, was at length compromiſed by the interpoſition of brigadier la Melionere; it being agreed, that the earl ſhould command the firſt day and the duke the next, and ſo alternately, during the expedition. The diſpute thus adjuſted, the trenches were opened, and the batteries played with ſuch fury, that a breach was ſoon effected in the walls, which brought the beſieged to demand a parley; but colonel M'Ellicut, the governor of Corke, not liking the conditions of ſurrender propoſed by the king's generals, hoſtilities were renewed with double vigour. The duke of Grafton, who ſerved in the expedition as a volunteer, as he was marching on to the attack of the breach, had the misfortune to receive a wound in the ſhoulder by a cannon bullet, of which he ſoon after died greatly regretted, as being of all king Charles the Second's children, the perſon of whom there was the greateſt hope. Biſhop Burnet ſays, "he was brave, and probably would have become a great ſea-commander." The main breach being now judged practicable, all things were prepared for a general aſſault on the twenty-eighth of September, when the beſieged not chuſing to incur all the horrors of a ſtorm, colonel M'Ellicut thought proper to ſurrender himſelf and garriſon priſoners of war. Beſides the governor and colonel Rycaut, there were taken in the place the earls of Clancarty and Tyrone.

This ſucceſs inſpired our generals and their little army with freſh ardour. The ſame day that the earl of Marlborough entered Corke, he detached brigadier Villiers with a body of horſe and dragoons to ſummon Kinſale; and the next day advanced with the reſt of his troops to enforce that demand. The place was in a very indifferent poſture of defence, and therefore, after making ſome ſhew of reſiſtance for about a week or ten days, ſir Edward Scot the governor ſurrendered on honourable terms. The earl of Marlborough having thus, in little more than a month, accompliſhed the reduction of thoſe two important maritime towns, by which he effectually deprived the French of all communication with this ſide of the iſland, and confined the remains of the refractory Iriſh to the province of Ulſter, where they could not ſubſiſt without great difficulty, returned with his priſoners to England, and arrived at Kenſington the twenty-eighth of October, where he was received by their majeſties in a manner agreeable to the ſervices he had done the ſtate.

While theſe things were tranſacting, count Lauſun, with the French troops, remained in the neighbourhood of Galway (a county in the province of Connaught in the weſt of Ireland) without attempting any thing. They were, in fact, heartily weary of a ſervice they now with good reaſon looked upon as deſperate, and the count ſent preſſing remonſtrances to be recalled: his requeſt was complied with. A ſquadron of ſhips were ſent to bring him and his men off, in which he ſailed about the beginning of October, leaving the command in chief of the Iriſh forces to the duke of Berwick, which was afterwards transferred to Mr. de St. Ruth. The duke of Tyrconnel accompanied him over, and applied to the French court for a farther ſupply of arms, cloaths, and ammunition, for the Iriſh army, engaging for them, if thus encouraged, that they would ſtill continue to ſupport the cauſe of king James. This remonſtrance did not a little prejudice to the reputation of Lauſun, who was openly accuſed of having too precipitately abandoned the cauſe of that unhappy monarch. In the mean while, the Iriſh formed themſelves into a number of freebooting parties, which acquired the name of Rapparees, who committed a thouſand outrages on the defenceleſs inhabitants of the kingdom, while the troops of king William indulged themſelves at eaſe in their quarters, nor once concerned themſelves about the protection of the poor people, who ſuffered all the calamities of lawleſs rapine and cruelty. Thus ended the campaign in Ireland. Let us now take a ſhort view of the affairs on the continent.

By this time the grand alliance which William had formed againſt France was farther ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of the duke of Savoy, who, renouncing the neutrality he had hitherto obſerved, concluded a league with the emperor and the king of Spain, and openly engaged in the general confederacy. Lewis XIV. was no ſooner informed of the engagements which the duke had entered into, than he ſent twelve thouſand men into Piedmont, under the conduct of that brave and able officer monſieur Catinat, afterwards marſhal of France, with orders to demand of the duke, as a pledge of his fidelity, that he would deliver up to France his troops, together with Verrue, and the citadel of Turin, the capital of his dominions. The duke, confounded with this unforeſeen ſtroke, endeavoured to amuſe his enemy by ſubmiſſions and offers, till he could procure aſſiſtance from the emperor and Spain; but finding thoſe two powers only fed him with promiſes, he ſollicited aſſiſtance from the States-general and king William, to whom he ſent an ambaſſador in October this year, to congratulate him on his acceſſion to the Engliſh throne. William, highly pleaſed with the acceſſion of ſo valuable an ally, received his compliment with great civility, and promiſed to employ his utmoſt endeavours for his aſſiſtance. The French king, however, who was not to be deceived by fair promiſes, had before this ſent orders to Catinat to begin hoſtilities in Piedmont and Savoy, where the duke exerted his utmoſt endeavours to oppoſe the torrent which threatened the ruin of all his dominions. Victor Amadeus II. duke of Savoy, was (ſays M. de Voltaire, in his Age of Lewis XIV.) a wiſe and politic, though an unfortunate, prince: as

as a general, his courage was indiſputable; he always headed his own armies, and expoſed his perſon on every occaſion like a common man: no one better underſtood the fineſſes of that kind of war which is carried on in an uneven and mountainous country, ſuch as his: he was active, vigilant, tenacious of regularity and military diſcipline, but ſometimes guilty of errors, both as a prince and a general. He was guilty of a fatal one, in the bad manner in which he drew up his army, in preſence of that of Catinat, near Saluces, or Saluzzo *, who taking advantage of his miſtake, gained a compleat victory over him on the eighth of Auguſt. After this battle all Savoy, except Montmelian, ſubmitted to the French. Catinat then marched into Piedmont, forced the enemy's entrenchments near Suſa, took that town, together with Villafranca, Montalban, Nice, deemed impregnable, Viellano, and Carmagniola, and returned afterwards to Montmelian, of which he made himſelf maſter in the ſpring of the following year, 1691, after an obſtinate ſiege.

Lewis XIV. had this ſame year (1690) another army in Flanders, under the command of the duke of Luxembourg, who had been a pupil in the art of war to the great Condé, whom he much reſembled in his character, having a fiery genius, a prompt execution, a quick diſcernment, and a mind greedy of knowlege, but too extenſive and irregular. The allies dreading the power of France, which was daily increaſing both by ſea and land, reſolved that the army of the States-general, under prince Waldeck, ſhould oppoſe Luxembourg, while the elector of Brandenbourg ſhould obſerve the motions of monſieur Boufflers, who commanded a third army for Lewis upon the banks of the Moſelle in Germany: but before the troops of Brandenbourg could be aſſembled, Boufflers found means to encamp his forces between the Sambre and the Meuſe, and thereby opened a free communication between his own army and that of Luxembourg. Prince Waldeck, ſenſible how much it behoved him to keep the French on the other ſide of the Sambre, detached the count de Berlo with one thouſand five hundred horſe, to obſerve whether the French attempted to paſs that river. The count having advanced as far as the village of Flerus, found that a good part of the French army had already paſſed the Sambre, whereof he immediately ſent notice to prince Waldeck; but it was too late: for being ſurrounded on every ſide, he was defeated and ſlain; and the next day (June 30) being the ſame on which king William obtained the victory at the Boyne, the duke of Luxembourg attacked the main body under prince Waldeck, which, after a very obſtinate engagement, was obliged to give way, leaving about four thouſand ſix hundred men dead upon the ſpot. The enemy took about four thouſand priſoners; but they bought their victory dearly, their loſs being equal, if not greater than that of the Dutch. The loſs of this battle is ſaid to have been occaſioned by the cowardice of the Dutch horſe, who abandoned their foot at the firſt charge: but never any infantry made ſo brave a retreat as thoſe under prince Waldeck; for notwithſtanding the battle was fought in a plain champaign country, and they were charged both in front and in flank by the enemy, they made ſuch an impreſſion upon the French by their regular, undaunted, and uniform fire, that the latter durſt not attempt to make the leaſt purſuit, but ſuffered the Dutch to march off with the utmoſt compoſure. This was the only action in Flanders this campaign.

In the ſpring of this year the emperor Leopold's ſon Joſeph was, by the electoral college, advanced to the dignity of king of the Romans: but his affairs ſuffered an irreparable loſs in the death of the brave duke of Lorraine, which happened ſuddenly, after a few hours illneſs only, on the eighth of April, aged forty-ſeven years, not without ſuſpicion of having been poiſoned by the procurement of the French monarch, whoſe boundleſs ambition he had conſtantly and courageouſly oppoſed. We are, however, to be cautious how we too readily believe ſuch reports without good authority. The duke himſelf, in a note he wrote to the emperor a little before he expired, expreſſed himſelf as if he thought he had met with foul play: "I am dying, ſays he: I know not whether I am paying by my death the ordinary debt of nature; or whether I am ſacrificed to the unjuſt and ambitious views of a crown which has declared itſelf an implacable enemy to me and my family †. The command of the imperial army was, upon his demiſe, given to the elector of Bavaria, who was preſently after joined by the elector of Saxony and his two ſons. The dauphin had croſſed the Rhine at the head of forty thouſand men, with a deſign to force his way into Wirtemberg; but the imperial general, by his conduct and carriage, defeated his attempt, and obliged him to remain on the defenſive during the remaining part of the campaign. After this account of the foreign tranſactions which relate to king William, as head of the confederacy againſt France, it is now time to return to England.

King William, on his return from his Iriſh expedition, was congratulated upon his victory at the Boyne, and his other ſucceſſes in that kingdom, by the city of London; and addreſſes of the ſame tenor came up from moſt of the towns and counties in England. This could not fail to be highly pleaſing to the king, who, ſo far from thinking of indulging himſelf in an eaſy inactivity during the reſt of the year, had actually formed the deſign of going over to Flanders, to put himſelf at the head of the allied army; but the ſeaſon being now ſo far advanced, as to render it neceſſary for the troops ſoon to take to winter quarters, his majeſty laid aſide his deſign for the preſent, but at the ſame time determined to call the parliament together as early as poſſible, that they might ſettle the ſupplies for the enſuing year, and give him an opportunity of going over early in the ſpring to the Hague, to have an interview with the German princes, who propoſed to hold a congreſs or meeting there, in order to concert meaſures for the next campaign.

Accordingly, on the ſecond day of October the parliament met at Weſtminſter, and was opened by a ſpeech from the throne, wherein his majeſty told them, "That he had uſed his beſt endeavours for the reduction of Ireland, in which he had met

* A city of Piedmont in Italy, ſeventeen miles diſtant from Turin, the capital of Sardinia.

† Life of Leopold, p. 213, 214. French Continuation of Rapin.

with ſucceſs, and doubted not that he ſhould have been fully poſſeſſed of that kingdom, if the ſupplies had been given him in time laſt ſeſſion. He put them in mind alſo, that he had aſked no revenue for himſelf, but what he had ſubjected to be charged for the uſes of the war; recommended to them the clearing of his revenue, ſo as to enable him to ſubſiſt, and maintain the charge of the civil government: then addreſſing himſelf to both houſes jointly, told them, that he hoped they would proceed in their deliberations with ſpirit and concord; and that whoever ſhould go about to divert their attention from the important ſubjects he had recommended to them, could neither be his friends, nor friends to the kingdom *."

The lords and commons, in anſwer to this ſpeech, congratulated him ſeparately upon his ſucceſſes in Ireland, and on the queen's happy adminiſtration during his abſence. The commons particularly told him, "That he too freely expoſed his invaluable life, upon which the whole proteſtant intereſt of Europe depended; concluding, that they ſhould be ever ready to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power: and as the beſt and trueſt way of expreſſing their gratitude, would endeavour effectually to ſupport his government againſt all his enemies †." As a proof of the ſincerity of theſe aſſurances, the very ſame day theſe addreſſes were preſented, the commons voted, purſuant to an eſtimate laid before them of the next year's charges, a ſupply of four millions (the largeſt ſum that had ever been aſked by a king of England) for the ſupport of the fleet and army, in order to compleat the reduction of Ireland, and for the more vigorous carrying on the war againſt France. Among other taxes for raiſing this ſum, one hundred thirty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred forty-one pounds per month, at three ſhillings in the pound, was laid upon lands: the exciſe upon beer and ale was doubled: a duty was laid on Eaſt-India goods and foreign-wrought ſilks, and ſeveral other goods imported; and a duty was impoſed upon new wines and ſpirits of the firſt extraction. A ſupply of five hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds was voted to be raiſed on theſe additional duties, for building ſeventeen third-rate ſhips, of ſixty guns each, beſides the ſhips already provided to be built ‡. They alſo reſolved that the ſum of one million ſhould be raiſed by the ſale of forfeited eſtates in Ireland, and that a bill ſhould be prepared for confiſcating theſe eſtates, with a clauſe empowering his majeſty to grant a third part of them to thoſe who had ſerved in the war. This clauſe was repealed, and many petitions were preſented againſt the bill by creditors and heirs who had continued faithful. Theſe petitions however were rejected by the commons, who on this occaſion ſuffered their zeal for the ſervice of the king, to get the better of that attention they owed to the lawful and juſt remonſtrances of their fellow-ſubjects, and they unanimouſly paſſed the bill §: but when it went up to the houſe of lords, that auguſt body thought it their duty fairly to examine the merit of thoſe petitions: this took up ſo long time, that the bill was dropped for the preſent ſeſſion.

The exciſe-bill being ready, the king came to the houſe on the twenty-fifth of November, and gave it the royal aſſent: after which he made a ſpeech to both houſes, and thanked them for the large ſupplies they were raiſing, deſiring however that they would uſe all poſſible diſpatch, becauſe his preſence was required early in the following year at the Hague: at the ſame time he again put them in mind of providing for the civil liſt. His majeſty coming again to the houſe on the twentieth of December, paſſed the act for laying a duty upon Eaſt-India goods, the act for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion, and ſome others: and on the fifth of January the king, being impatient to be at the congreſs in Holland, came to the houſe, and gave the royal aſſent to the reſt of the bills of ſupply, together with a bill for appointing commiſſioners to ſtate the public accounts, in which there had been great miſmanagement; to a bill for raiſing the militia; to a bill for the relief of inſolvent debtors; and to another to prevent vexatious ſuits againſt ſuch as acted in defence of his majeſty and the kingdom. After which the king cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he aſſured both houſes, that he entertained the moſt grateful ſenſe of the liberality and diſpatch with which they had granted the public ſupplies, which ſhould be faithfully employed in the ſervices for which they were allotted: that he would make no grant of any of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, till that matter ſhould be ſettled in parliament, to the ſatisfaction of all parties: that he hoped they would take care to propagate, in their ſeveral counties, the ſame principles of zeal and attachment to his government, which they had ſo eminently diſplayed in parliament: and that he truſted the good underſtanding between him and his ſubjects, would be more than ſufficient to defeat the deſigns of their ſecret foes, and the attempts of their open and avowed enemies. Then the lord chief-juſtice Atkins declared it was his majeſty's pleaſure that the houſe ſhould adjourn themſelves to the twenty-firſt day of March ‖.

During this ſeſſion of parliament, a thankſgiving was ordered to be obſerved on the nineteenth of October, for the ſucceſſes in Ireland, and particular prayers appointed to be uſed on every Wedneſday and Friday during the war with France. On the fifteenth of the ſame month, the princeſs of Denmark was brought to bed of a daughter, baptized by the name of Mary, who died ſoon after. On the fourteenth of the ſame month a tranſaction happened, which greatly engaged the attention of the public. Captain James Campbell, brother to the earl of Argyle in Scotland, by the aſſiſtance of Archibald Montgomery, eſquire, and ſir John Johnſton, ſeized and forcibly married Miſs Mary Wharton, a rich heireſs of thirteen years of age; for which ſir John Johnſton was condemned to be hanged, and an act of parliament was afterwards obtained by the relations of the young lady, to ſet aſide the marriage between her and Mr. Campbell. For further particulars of this affair, the reader may conſult the fourth volume of the State Trials. And here we muſt not paſs unnoticed an attempt that was made by the Whig party, to revive the old impeachments againſt the marquis of Caermarthen (formerly earl of Danby) who had rendered himſelf extremely obnoxious to that party by his ſteady attachment to the Tories. This ſcheme was formed

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, ii. 384.
† Ibid.
‡ Proceedings of Houſe of Commons, ii. 386. § Ibid.
‖ Ibid. 338.

and

and conducted by fourteen leading men, of whom the earl of Shrewſbury was the chief. Their deſign however came to nought; for the earl having performed an acceptable piece of ſervice to the government about this time, in detecting ſome deſigns ſet on foot by the Jacobite party to diſturb the peace of the kingdom, the affair was dropped *.

I ſhall cloſe the occurrences of this year with a ſhort account of ſome material tranſactions relating to the increaſe of our colonies, trade, and manufactures. In this year, 1690, general Codrington, commander in chief of the Engliſh Leeward Iſlands, by the help of ſuccours from England, joined to the regiments he had raiſed in thoſe iſlands, retook from the French the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, in the Weſt Indies, ſending away the inhabitants to Martinico and Hiſpaniola, and peopling the place with our own ſubjects: he likewiſe retook the iſle of St. Euſtatia, of which the French had, the year before, diſpoſſeſſed the Dutch; as alſo the iſles of St. Martin and St. Bartholomew. He afterwards made an attempt upon the iſland of Guadaloupe; but in that he miſcarried.

In this ſame year ſir William Phipps, with a fleet and land-forces from New England, took the fort and town of Port Royal (ſince called Annapolis Royal), in the bay of Fundy, from whence the French had ſo greatly diſtreſſed our trade in America, by means of their privateers, as to acquire that place the appellation of the Dunkirk of America. King William, however, was obliged to reſtore it to France, by the treaty of Ryſwic, and it remained in their hands till the following reign.

Until about this year there was ſcarce any other kind of paper made in England but the worſt crown ſort; but the war with France occaſioning high duties to be laid on foreign paper, the French proteſtant refugees, in concert with our own few paper-makers, now began to manufacture white writing and printing paper, which in length of time has been brought to ſo great perfection, both for beauty and ſubſtance, that we now import only certain kinds of Genoa and Dutch paper. How great a ſaving this proved to the nation, may partly be conceived from what is affirmed by writers well verſed in thoſe ſubjects, viz. that to France alone, from whom we now take none, we paid annually for this article to the amount of one hundred thouſand pounds †. Beſides the many other benefits ariſing to England from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, it proved of infinite ſervice to the Engliſh colonies in America; and particularly in this year, when king William ſettled ſome hundreds of French refugee families on the ſouth ſide of James's River, in Virginia, above the Falls, where they have ſince much improved that naturally fine country ‡. But to reſume the chain of our hiſtory.

King William, having obtained the ſupplies he deſired of parliament, as hath been already related, embarked for Holland on the ſixteenth of January, 1691, in order to aſſiſt at the congreſs of the confederate princes and ſtates, appointed to be held at the Hague, to concert meaſures for the defence of the liberties of Europe againſt the encroachments of France. He was attended thither by the dukes of Norfolk and Ormond, the earls of Devon, Dorſet, Eſſex, Nottingham, Scarborough, Portland, Monmouth, and Selkirk, the biſhop of London, the duke of Schomberg and his brother count Schomberg, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction: he was convoyed by twelve men of war, under the command of rear-admiral Rooke. On the eighteenth, in the morning, they came off Goree iſland: the weather being very thick and hazy, they hailed a fiſhing-veſſel, which paſſed cloſe by them, and aſked the maſter what diſtance he thought they were from the ſhore; who replied, about a league and half: upon this the king, who was impatient to be on land, reſolved to quit his yacht, and put off in a boat. Accordingly three large ones being manned, his majeſty got into one, attended by the duke of Ormond, the earl of Portland, the lord-ſteward, and the lord-chamberlain, and was followed in the two others by mynheers Overkirk and Zuyleſtein, and other attendants upon his perſon. There was no doubt made but that his majeſty would land in an hour or two; but the ſea being rough, and the fog growing thicker, they quickly loſt ſight both of the ſhore and their own fleet; and night coming on, they were expoſed, in very ſevere weather, to the dangers of the ſea, and of falling into the hands of the enemy, for above eighteen hours, during which the king and all his attendants were many times in imminent danger of periſhing. Providence, however, was pleaſed to order it otherwiſe, and about eight the next morning, the boats reached the Goree: here his majeſty and his retinue went aſhore, and, after taking ſome refreſhment, of which they ſtood in great need, took boat again, and, about two in the afternoon, arrived at Oranien-Haak, in the neighbourhood of Maeſland Sluys: at Hinnſlaar-Dyke, a few miles from thence, he was met and complimented by the deputies of the States, who conducted him to the Hague.

On his arrival in that capital of the United Provinces, the ſtates-general, the ſtates of Holland,

* On the fifteenth of November the king ordered a new commiſſion to paſs the great-ſeal, conſtituting the lord Godolphin, ſir John Lowther, Mr. Richard Hampden, ſir Stephen Fox, Mr. Thomas Pelham, commiſſioners of his majeſty's treaſury. About a month after, his majeſty diſpoſed of the vacant biſhoprics of Ireland, and appointed ſir Charles Porter to be lord-chancellor of that kingdom, and one of the lords juſtices, in the room of the lord viſcount Sidney, who was recalled to be made one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, on the twenty-ſixth of December: in the beginning of which month, colonel John Cuts was made baron Cuts of Gowran, in the kingdom of Ireland. On the thirtieth of the ſame month George-William duke of Zell, eldeſt prince of the houſe of Brunſwick and Lunenburg, was made a knight of the garter, an honour which juſt before had been conferred upon the elector of Brandenburg, afterwards king of Pruſſia: and on the firſt of January, 1691, ſir John Trevor, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and firſt commiſſioner of the great-ſeal, was admitted into the privy-council.

† Anderſon on Commerce, vol. ii. p. 196, 197.

‡ By the return of the books of the hearth-duty at Lady-day 1690, the number of houſes in England and Wales were, one million three hundred and ninety-one thouſand two hundred and fifteen, which, at ſix perſons to a houſe, makes the number of ſouls ſeven millions nine hundred and fifteen thouſand two hundred and ninety, or very near eight millions; ſo that reckoning one million and a half in Scotland, and two millions in Ireland, which may be fairly done, there will appear to have been at that time at leaſt eleven millions of ſouls in the three kingdoms. My author makes the houſes in Yorkſhire to be one hundred and twenty one thouſand fifty-two; in Wales, ſeventy-ſeven thouſand nine hundred and twenty-one; and in London, Weſtminſter, and Middleſex, one hundred and eleven thouſand two hundred and fifteen. See D'Avenant's Eſſay on Ways and Means of ſupplying the War. London 1695.

the council of ſtate, and other colleges waited on him with their compliments and congratulations for his ſafety, after ſo great toil and hazard to his royal perſon. As his ſudden arrival had prevented the ſolemnity of a formal reception, he was ſolicited to make a public entry, which was accordingly performed on the twenty-ſixth of the month, with great pomp: triumphal arches were erected in the ſeveral principal ſtreets through which he was to paſs, with inſcriptions expreſſing his noble atchievements; the burghers appeared under arms, the cannon were fired, and the evening concluded with bonfires, illuminations, and other demonſtrations of joy. After this ceremony was over, his majeſty took his ſeat as ſtadtholder in the aſſembly of the ſtates, when he gave that reſpectable body a brief account of his ſucceſſes in England and Ireland, ſince he laſt parted from them; and concluded with the warmeſt aſſurances of ever continuing their good friend and ally. The heer Winchels, preſident of the aſſembly, then returned his majeſty an anſwer, in the name of the reſt, conceived in the moſt grateful and affectionate terms. After which the princes and other great men, who were already arrived to aſſiſt at the approaching conferences, were introduced, and paid their compliments to his majeſty.

And now was opened the moſt glorious congreſs that ever yet appeared of Chriſtian princes and miniſters, who aſſembled upon the moſt noble of all deſigns, that of oppoſing the encroachments of arbitrary power and oppreſſion, and ſecuring the peace, tranquility, and liberty of a whole continent.

The ambaſſadors and foreign miniſters preſent, were, from the emperor, the counts de Wenditſgratz and Borks, with the chevalier de Campecht; from the king of Spain, don Emanuel de Colonna; from the king of Denmark, the count de Rebenklam and M. Centhe; from the king of Sweden, count Oxenſtiern; from the king of Poland, M. Moreau; from the elector of Bavaria, the baron de Boomgarten and M. Prielmeyere; from the elector of Brandenburg, Meſſ. Van Dieſt and Smettau; from the elector of Saxony, M. Haxhauſen; from the elector of Treves, the baron de Leyen and M. Champagne; from the elector of Mentz, Meſſ. Talberg and Meyers; from the elector of Cologne, the general and baron Beruſaw and M. Soalmaker; from the elector Palatine, M. Hertermans; from the duke of Savoy, the count de Pielat and the preſident de la Tour; from the duke of Zell, Mr. Ziager; from the biſhop of Munſter, M. de Nort; from the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, the baron Gortz and M. Reppelaar; from the duke of Wolfembuttle, the baron Croſek; from the duke of Hanover, M. Klekk; from the duke of Holſtein Gottorp, M. Tourken; and from the prince of Liege, counſellor Mean: of king William's ſubjects, beſides thoſe already mentioned by name, who attended him out of England, were the lords Drumlanrigg and Durſley, and others. Many of the princes who had miniſters at the congreſs, aſſiſted alſo in perſon thereat, as the reader will find in the note at the bottom of the page *.

King William, as the ſoul of this grand alliance, opened the congreſs with a pathetic ſpeech, in which he laid before them "the imminent danger to which they were at preſent expoſed; plainly demonſtrated the impropriety of their former conduct, and the abſolute neceſſity of an immediate change of meaſures: that it was not time now to deliberate, but to act: that the enemy was already maſter of the principal fortreſſes which formed the barrier of the common liberty; and would ſoon be able to poſſeſs himſelf of all the inferior ones, if a ſpirit of diviſion, ſelfiſhneſs, and irreſolution, continued to influence them: that every one ought to conſider his own intereſt as involved in the general good: that the enemy's forces were numerous and powerful, and, if not prevented, would carry all things like a torrent before them: that it was in vain to oppoſe the pretenſions of injuſtice by unavailing complaints, unprofitable clamour, or fruitleſs proteſtations: that they were not the reſolutions of a peaceable diet, nor the hopes of ſome men of fortune built on a ſandy foundation, but powerful armies, bold enterprizes, and a prompt and vigorous execution, that muſt accompliſh the glorious work: that all theſe muſt inſtantly be employed againſt the common enemy, if they meant to check his progreſs, and to ſnatch from his hands the liberties of Europe, which he now held ſubjected to a cruel and heavy yoke. He concluded with aſſuring them, that for his own part he would not ſpare his forces, credit, or perſon, in order to effect ſo noble a deſign, but would come in the ſpring at the head of his troops, faithfully to make good his royal promiſes."

This ſpeech from a prince, in whom the whole confederacy placed an unbounded confidence, had ſo good effect, that this auguſt aſſembly ſpeedily came to a reſolution of employing two hundred and twenty-two thouſand men againſt France, of which the ſeveral princes and ſtates were to furniſh the following proportions: the king of England, twenty thouſand; the emperor, twenty thouſand; the king of Spain in Flanders, twenty thouſand; the States-General, twenty-five thouſand; the duke of Savoy, and the troops of Milan, twenty thouſand; the elector of Bavaria, eighteen thouſand; the elector of Saxony, twelve thouſand; the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, eight thouſand; the Circles of Suabia and Franconia, ten thouſand; the duke of Wirtemberg, ſix thouſand; the elector of Brandenburg, twenty thouſand; the prince of Liege, ſix thouſand; the elector-palatine, four thouſand; and the prince of Lunenburg, ſixteen thouſand.

* The electors of Brandenburg and Bavaria; the dukes of Lunenburg, of Zell, and of Wolfenbuttle; the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel; prince Chriſtian-Louis of Brandenburg; prince Waldeck; the prince of Naſſau, ſtadtholder of Frieſland; the prince of Naſſau-Saarburg, governor of Bois-le-duc; the prince of Naſſau-Dillemburg; the prince of Naſſau-Idſtein; the duke, adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg; the two princes of Anſpach; the landgrave of Heſſe-D'Armſtadt; the prince his brother; the duke of Saxe-Eyſenach; prince Philip palatine; the duke of Zulſback; the prince of Wirtemberg-Neuſtadt; the prince of Wirtemberg, and the prince his brother; the duke of Courland, and prince Ferdinand his brother; the prince of Anhalt-Zeerboſt; the landgrave of Homburg; three princes of Holſteinbeck; the duke of Holſtein, prince of Commerci; the prince palatine of Berkenfelt: to which we may add the princeſs of Naſſau-Friſeland, the princeſs Radzeville, the counteſs of Soiſſons, the princeſs of Saxe-Eyſenach, and other illuſtrious perſons. The moſt remarkable of the counts were, the counts of Horn, Erbach, Tiremont, de Broca, de Gryal, d'Arco, de Rivera, de Sanfray, de Lippe, de Eſpenſe, de Fugger, de Denhof, de Carelſon; with the barons of Pallant and Spain, the Rhinegrave and his brother; the marquiſſes of Caſhlemonlayo, Caſtanaga governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, and the generals Chauvert, d'Elwicht, Barfus, d'Autel, Valfi, &c.

These engagements however were so badly observed by several of the contracting parties, that England and Holland were forced to bear almost the whole expence and burden of the war. The next thing the assembly did, was to adjust the operations of the war, which was done among the princes themselves with such secrecy, that even their own ministers were not admitted to a knowlege of them. It is remarkable, that in this solemn interview there prevailed such an easy freedom, and such perfect unanimity and concord amongst the several princes, that none of those disputes happened on points of ceremony, which too often interrupt and retard negotiations of this kind.

The congress broke up about the beginning of March, and king William was preparing to return to England, when his departure was retarded, by advice that the French had collected all their forces, in order to take the field before the confederates could be ready to oppose them; and that Lewis in person had invested the city of Mons, accompanied by the dauphin, the dukes of Orleans and Chartres, and an army of 80,000 men. William upon this dispatched prince Waldeck to Halle, near Brussels, which was appointed for the general rendezvous of what forces could be drawn together: the king himself followed on the twenty-seventh of March, where he found an army of fifty thousand men; but, through the neglect of the Spaniards, so miserably deficient in all kind of necessaries for a march, that before the troops could be put in motion, news arrived of the reduction of the place: the governor being reduced to the last extremity, after having in vain waited for relief, was obliged to capitulate on the first of April, and surrendered the town on very honourable terms. After this disappointment, there remained nothing to require the immediate presence of king William on the continent, who therefore returned to the Hague, and embarking for England, on the 13th day of April arrived safe in London *.

Here he found, that during his absence the Jacobites had resumed their favourite scheme, in concert with France, of restoring king James. The persons chiefly concerned in this conspiracy were said to be the earl of Clarendon, the bishop of Ely, the lord viscount Preston (a Scottish peer) and his brother Mr. Graham: and William Penn the famous quaker, the lord Preston, Mr. Ashton a servant of king James's queen, and Mr. Elliot, were pitched upon to go over to France, and concert measures at the court of St. Germains. With this view they hired a vessel of one Mr. Prat of Barking in Essex, who, suspecting something from the eagerness the conspirators shewed to get under sail, and the high price they offered for their passage, communicated the matter to the earl of Caermarthen, who reported the same to the queen and council; whereupon proper persons were dispatched to board the vessel, which lay off Gravesend, when the three conspirators were found concealed in the hold. The lord Preston, who had letters about him from the chiefs of the conspiracy to king James, endeavoured to secrete them, but was discovered, and the papers taken from him. Upon examination they were found to contain several circumstances of intelligence, and other matters of a very treasonable and dangerous tendency. Hereupon a bill of high-treason was preferred, and found against the offenders by the grand jury. The lord Preston and Mr. Ashton were brought to their trials on the sixteenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth of January. Their design of going to France, and the treasonable papers found upon them, some written in the lord Preston's hand, and some in Mr. Ashton's, were fully proved; and for these practices they were found guilty and condemned. Ashton was executed, but lord Preston lay a long time under conviction by a reprieve, and his sentence was at last remitted. Elliot was not tried, there appearing no evidence against him. The earl of Clarendon was sent to the Tower, where he remained some months, and was afterwards confined to his own house in the country; an indulgence which he owed to his near relationship to the queen, who was his first cousin. The bishop of Ely, Graham, and Penn, absconded, and a proclamation was issued for apprehending them as traitors.

The discovery of the bishop of Ely's concern in this conspiracy, furnished the king with a fair pretext for filling up the bishoprics that had been so long vacant by the non-compliance of their former possessors with the act of parliament, requiring all ecclesiastics to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance on pain of deprivation. Accordingly, the archbishopric of Canterbury was conferred upon Dr. Tillotson, in the room of Dr. Sancroft, who was now formally deprived. Dr. Simon Patrick, bishop of Chichester, was translated to the bishoprick of Ely, in the room of bishop Turner; Cumberland, to that of Peterborough, in the room of bishop White; Moore to Norwich, in the room of bishop Lloyd; Grove to Chichester, void by the translation of Cumberland; Dr. Fowler to the see of Gloucester, in the room of Frampton; and Dr. Beveridge, rector of St. Peter's in Cornhill, was nominated to the bishopric of Bath and Wells, in the room of bishop Kenn; but Beveridge refusing the offer, it was bestowed upon Dr. Kidder. Soon after their majesties nominated Dr. Sharp, dean of Canterbury, to the archbishopric of York, in the room of archbishop Lamplugh; Dr. Ironside, bishop of Bristol, to succeed Dr. Henry Crofts, lately deceased, in the bishopric of Hereford; and Dr. John Hall to be bishop of Bristol. Loud and vehement were the complaints of the deprived clergy and their friends on this occasion; the kingdom was filled with pamphlets, in which every effort of learning and resentment was exerted to blacken the character of those in power: the justice of a lay deprivation was warmly denied: the distinctions of De Jure et De Facto were now revived, and applied to the church-government, as it had formerly been to the civil administration. To frustrate these efforts of the malcontents, the court employed their engines to answer and recriminate; and, not content with that, recourse was had to the more powerful eloquence of the law: a proclamation was issued against papists and other disaffected persons, in which all magistrates were enjoined to make search

* A few days before his arrival, great part of the palace of Whitehall was consumed by fire, through the carelessness of a female servant.

and apprehend thoſe who ſhould, by ſeditious diſcourſes and libels, preſume to defame the government.

The reader will readily perceive how ſtrangely change of circumſtances operates upon the weak mind of man, ſince he cannot but recollect that the very practices which were now ſo ſtrongly condemned by the preſent government, had proved the principal means of bringing about the Revolution; and that the very prelates who were now outed from their ſees, had rendered themſelves reſpectable throughout Chriſtendom by the brave ſtand they had made in the late reign, when the religion and civil rights of the ſubject were invaded. Candour and a regard for truth has drawn from me this obſervation: I find myſelf obliged, by the ſame motives, to acknowlege that the perſons appointed to fill the places of theſe prelates, were remarkable for their moderation, piety, and learning, and moſt of them ſhining ornaments to the Engliſh church. But to return from this digreſſion:

His majeſty having ſettled affairs at home as well as the ſhort ſpace of time would admit, reſolved to ſet out for Holland, in order to command in perſon the confederate army in Flanders, agreeable to the promiſe he had made the allies at the congreſs; but firſt he gave the neceſſary orders for the total reduction of Ireland, that he might have nothing to t all off his attention from the war on the continent: and having appointed general Ginckle commander in chief of the army in that kingdom, his majeſty embarked at Harwich on the ſecond of May, ſet ſail with a fair wind for Holland, attended by a ſquadron of men of war under rear-admiral Rooke, landed the next day near Maeſland-ſluyce, and arrived the ſame evening at the Hague, where we ſhall leave him to take a view of the operations in Ireland.

The French king, who ſtill perſevered in ſupporting king James's deſperate fortune, had ſent his friends in that kingdom a large ſupply of proviſions, cloaths, and ammunition, together with three thouſand regular troops, under the command of M. St. Ruth, a brave and experienced general, who had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Germany. On the other hand, general Ginckle, who in conduct and courage yielded to few commanders of his time, having been lately reinforced by a body of troops under major-general Mackay (returned from the reduction of the Scots Highlanders) took the field in the beginning of June, and inveſted the town of Ballymore, which was defended by a thouſand men, under colonel Bourke. The batteries being raiſed quickly, made ſuch a breach in a place of no great ſtrength, that nothing remained in a few days but to give a general aſſault; however, the enemy ſaved our troops that trouble, by ſubmitting at diſcretion, after a ſix days ſiege only. There were taken ſeven hundred and eighty men, beſides four field-officers, and near three hundred of the Rapparees, or Iriſh free-booters, who had mixed themſelves with king James's forces to wait the fortune of war.

The general having put the town in a better condition of defence, marched from thence on the eighteenth of June: and being joined the ſame day by the prince of Wirtemberg, encamped at Ballymony paſs, from whence he advanced the next day to Athlone, ſituated on the other ſide the Shannon, and ſecured by the Iriſh and French army under St. Ruth, which was encamped in its neighbourhood. The Engliſh town was taken by ſtorm in two days, many of the Iriſh were killed in the attack, and more drowned by falling into the river, in their haſty retreat over the bridge to the Old-town. After this ſucceſs, batteries were planted on the twenty-ſecond againſt the Iriſh town, which did ſuch execution, that the caſtle and other ſtrong buildings were ſoon laid in ruins. The enemy, who hung out French colours, made a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance; inſomuch that on the thirtieth our general held a council of war, to conſider whether it was adviſable to continue the attack, or draw off: but the duke of Wirtemberg, the generals Mackay, Talmaſh, Ruvigny, and Tetteau, expreſſed themſelves ſtrongly againſt ſuch a meaſure, and propoſed paſſing the Shannon in order to attack the enemy, offering themſelves to be the firſt to conduct that attempt. Their opinion having prevailed, a detachment was ſent to paſs at a ford a little to the left of the town. Though the river was deep and rapid, the bottom ſlippery and full of ſtones, and the paſs defended by a baſtion which the enemy had erected on purpoſe; yet our Engliſh troops, whoſe courage and heroiſm ever increaſe with danger and difficulties, regardleſs of aught but glory, threw themſelves into the river, which they waded, amidſt the thickeſt of the enemy's fire; and having gained the other bank, threw in their hand-grenadoes, and then diſcharged ſuch a furious volley of ſmall-ſhot, that the enemy, unable to ſuſtain the charge, abandoned their works. This brave detachment being ſupported by freſh battalions, the Engliſh in an hour's time made themſelves maſters of the town, with the loſs of not more than fifty men. Mackay, Tetteau, Talmaſh, and la Meliorere, performed miracles on the occaſion, while general Ginckle, by his example, exhortations, and happy diſpoſition of his men, ſecured us victory. The French general St. Ruth, by an effect of that vanity and preſumption, which on many occaſions is but too much the characteriſtic of his countrymen, treated the attempt of the Engliſh to force the paſſage of the Shannon, with a contempt that did little credit to that prudence and circumſpection for which he had been hitherto diſtinguiſhed. In vain did Sarsfield preſs him to ſend ſuccours to the town: he laughed at that officer's apprehenſions, and it was not till too late that he found himſelf convinced, that no enterprize was too difficult for Engliſh courage. When we had got poſſeſſion of the place, he indeed ordered ſome detachments to march and drive our troops out again; but the thunder of the cannon from the town, which on our entering it was immediately turned againſt him, quickly made him glad to conſult his own ſafety by a precipitate decampment.

General Ginckle having put a garriſon into Athlone, and ordered the fortifications to be repaired, ſet out on the tenth of July in purſuit of the French and Iriſh army, who made a ſtand near Aghrim, a town about ten miles diſtant from Athlone. Here St. Ruth encamped in a very advantageous ſituation; and having by draughts from different garriſons encreaſed his army to twenty-five thouſand men, while ours under general Ginckle did not exceed eighteen thouſand, he reſolved to hazard a general engagement. Ginckle, notwithſtanding his diſparity of numbers, reſolved to fight the enemy. On Sunday the twelfth day

of

of July both armies came to action. Of this famous battle of Aghrim, Story in his History of the Wars of Ireland, and other writers, gives us the following account.

The morning of the day appointed for making the attack proved so foggy, that general Ginckle could not begin any operation till about twelve o'clock, when the army crossed the river Suck, on the banks of which it was encamped, opposite to that of the enemy, whose center was posted on a rising ground, uneven in many places, and intersected with banks and ditches lined with musqueteers, and secured in front by a large bog almost impassable: their right was defended by intrenchments and by two Danish forts, and their left by the castle of Aghrim. The English having effected their landing, marched up to the edge of the great bog, and endeavoured to force the only two places by which it was passable, in order to gain ground on the other side. The enemy made a most furious resistance, and our horse were several times repulsed: but at last the troops on the right carried their point, by means of some field-pieces properly placed, and admirably well served. So much time however was unavoidably spent in these manœuvres, that the general would have put off the battle till the next morning; but a confusion that he observed in the enemy's camp, making him apprehensive that they intended to decamp in the night, he changed his resolution, and ordered his troops to prepare for the charge.

At five in the evening the left wing of the English attacked the right wing of the Irish, from whom they met with such a warm reception, that it required the utmost efforts of their courage and resolution before they could compel them to give ground. The Irish musqueteers who lined the ditches were strongly supported by their horse, placed behind them, and maintained their posts with a most heroic obstinacy; nor would they stir from one side of the ditch, till the English presented their pieces from the other; and then, having lines of communication, they presently took post in the next ditch, where they continued to make the same resolute defence. St. Ruth perceiving that his men were in danger of being overpowered, immediately reinforced them from his center and left wing: this motion being observed by major-general Mackay, that vigilant officer instantly ordered two regiments to go round the bog, and fall upon the enemy's left wing, weakened by the detachments sent off, as already mentioned; and at the same time our center advanced through the middle of the bog, tho' up to their waists in mud and water. After having, with unspeakable difficulty, gained the other side, they found themselves obliged to ascend a rugged hill, fenced with ditches and hedges; and these were lined with musqueteers, sustained at proper distances with squadrons of horse: there the enemy made such a resolute stand, and fought with such perseverance, that they pushed our men back into the middle of the bog, which St. Ruth perceiving, cried out in a bravado, "That now he had the English at a disadvantage, and would drive them back to the gates of Dublin." Our men were indeed most miserably hampered, and in a confusion that might have been attended with the most fatal consequences, had not general Talmash in this critical moment hastened to their relief with some fresh men, and gave orders to the broken regiments to halt and face about, which they obeyed with an unparalleled readiness and alacrity: they then in their turn charged the Irish (who had advanced upon them into the center of the bog) with such fury, as to kill above three hundred of them before they could retreat out of it; and marching forward regained the old ground from which they had been so lately driven.

While the infantry was thus engaged, Ruvigny's regiment of French protestant horse, which had formerly been duke Schomberg's, and sir John Lanier's being posted on the right, Lanier's was afterwards drawn to the left, where they did very great service; and the right wing of the English horse were in the mean time making the best of their way to succour the foot, being sensible of their extreme danger, and that all lay at stake. The cavalry, besides being exposed to a most furious fire from the enemy's dragoons, who were posted under a cover, were likewise obliged to press and tumble over a very dangerous pass; but having bravely surmounted all these difficulties, they lodged themselves at last in a dry ditch, in the hottest of the enemy's fire from Aghrim-castle, and some old walls and houses adjoining.

The battle now seemed doubtful for some time, or if there was any advantage, it was possessed by the enemy, to whose side victory appeared to be leaning: but major-general Mackay having timely reinforced the left wing with a body of horse and dragoons, first turned the balance in favour of the English. Ruvigny, who had distinguished himself by his diligence, courage, and activity, during the whole action, putting himself at the head of his own regiment of horse and another, scoured the side of the bog, and bore down all before him; which St. Ruth perceiving, resolved to attack him in an hollow way, which he knew he must be obliged to pass in his march to sustain the center. With this view he ordered a brigade of his own horse from the right wing to march up to the left; and putting himself at their head, began to descend Kircommodon-hill, towards the place which he saw the English endeavouring to pass; but when he came near this place, where the main stress of the battle was fought, he was killed by a cannon-ball.

The death of the French general decided the fate of the day: the French and Irish were so much discouraged thereby, that Sarsfield, who was second in command, in vain endeavoured to recover them from their disorder. Ruvigny observing the confusion they were in, pressed boldly on, and falling upon them sword in hand, drove them with very little resistance to the top of the hill, where their camp had lain; then their whole line giving way at once, they threw down their arms, and betook themselves to flight. They were hotly pursued for the space of three miles, and suffered a most dreadful slaughter; but night coming on, with a thick misty rain, prevented our men from getting between them and an advantageous post near Loughbreak. However, it was computed that there were no less than seven thousand of the Irish slain on the spot, while the English had only six hundred killed, and nine hundred and sixty wounded: a very inconsiderable loss, if we reflect on the great superiority of the enemy before the engage-

engagement! The Iriſh took ſhelter in Limerick, where they reſolved to make a final ſtand; in hopes of receiving ſuch ſuccours from France as would enable them either to continue there, or obtain good terms from king William *.

General Ginckle, having allowed a few days for the refreſhment of his men after this hot encounter, marched to Galway, the moſt conſiderable place left in the poſſeſſion of the Iriſh, next to Limerick, and by a trumpet ſummoned the lord Dillon, the governor, to ſurrender the town. Though he at firſt refuſed, yet, upon part of the Engliſh army paſſing the river, and ſeizing a fort the Iriſh were building, he changed his reſolution, and ſurrendered the place on the twentieth of July, upon advantageous articles, and the garriſon were ſafely conducted to Limerick; to which place, the laſt refuge of the deſpairing Iriſh, general Ginckle ſoon bent his march, and came before it on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt.

The very next day the Engliſh made themſelves maſters of Ireton's and Cromwell's forts, which were now ordered to be called Mackay's and Naſſau's, becauſe gained under theſe commanders. Two days after, caſtle Connel and caſtle Garrick, two ſmall forts ſtanding upon the Shannon, three miles below the town, were attacked, and the garriſons of both made priſoners of war. The batteries were then opened againſt Limerick, and the attack of the place was carried on with all imaginable vigour till the ſeventeenth of September; but the reſiſtance of the enemy was ſo obſtinate, and the place ſo very defenſible, that a council of war was held in the Engliſh camp, to debate whether it would not be moſt eligible to paſs the river and deſtroy the enemy's forage, and then turn the ſiege into a blockade, rather than hazard the lives of the troops in fruitleſs attacks. The former expedient was preferred, and ſome ſteps taken towards putting it in practice, which filled the enemy with the greateſt joy, who took it for granted, by what they ſaw the Engliſh doing, that they ſhould ſoon be rid of ſuch troubleſome gueſts. Their ſatisfaction however was of ſhort duration; for upon a ſecond conſultation it was reſolved to preſs the ſiege, and at all events endeavour to make ourſelves maſters of the town. In purſuance of this reſolution, the Engliſh, in the night of the eighteenth, formed a bridge of boats over the river, about a mile above the camp, and a ſtrong party of horſe and foot was ſent over it; which ſtruck the enemy that guarded the oppoſite ſide of the river with ſuch a panic, that they threw down their arms and fled in haſte. On the twenty-ſecond general Ginckle himſelf paſſed the Shannon with a ſtrong detachment of horſe and dragoons, ten battalions of foot, and fourteen pieces of cannon, leaving Wirtemberg, Mackay, and Talmaſh, to command on the hither ſide of the river. The ſiege was now preſſed with redoubled vigour, and the batteries continued to play againſt the town with great fury: at length, the Engliſh having taken ſeveral of the out-forts, and made a lodgment within ten yards of Thomond-bridge foot; the Iriſh, finding themſelves cut off from all hopes of relief, determined to capitulate, which they did on the twenty-ninth of September; and on the firſt of October the lords juſtices of Ireland arrived in the Engliſh camp, where they ſettled all the articles of the capitulation, which were finally concluded on the third of the ſame month. By theſe articles, which were twenty in number, the Iriſh were all indemnified, and reſtored to the enjoyment of all the liberty in the exerciſe of their religion which they poſſeſſed in the reign of Charles II. They were admitted to all the privileges of ſubjects upon taking the oaths of allegiance, without being obliged to take the oath of ſupremacy: and not only the French, but as many of the Iriſh as choſe to go over to France, had free liberty ſo to do. In virtue of theſe articles, Limerick, and all other towns, forts, and caſtles, that yet remained in the hands of the catholics, were to be ſurrendered up within a limited time. Accordingly, the Engliſh were put in poſſeſſion of the place on the fifth; the French and many of the Iriſh were ſent away in tranſport veſſels, the remainder of their army in the field ſubmitting to be included in the amneſty.

By the ſurrender of Limerick, Ireland was reduced to the ſubjection of the crown of England, and a ſolid peace eſtabliſhed there, which has to this day continued without any interruption. Ginckle returning to England, was received with the higheſt applauſe, and, together with his general officers, feaſted by the city of London: nor was this all; for the commons, on the meeting of the parliament, in token of their gratitude for the important ſervices the general had been of to the ſtate, ordered ſeven of their members to attend him with the thanks of their houſe. His majeſty ſoon after created him earl of Athlone, and baron of Aghrim, that he might perpetuate to his poſterity the honour of his glorious atchievements; and to enable him the better to ſupport his dignity, he was gratified with a grant of lands in Ireland to a very large amount †.

The events at ſea this year were not very conſiderable. The Smyrna fleet being expected home this ſpring, and the Engliſh and Dutch having a joint concern therein, to the amount of ſeveral millions, both nations were extremely apprehenſive of its being attacked by the French fleet, then cruiſing off the Chops of the Channel and in the Bay of Biſcay, under admiral Tourville; and therefore ſtrict orders were ſent to admiral Ruſſel, to uſe his utmoſt care for its preſervation, which he executed with equal induſtry and ſucceſs: for having appointed ſingle ſhips to cruize for them on every point of the compaſs, he croſſed with the main fleet to Cape Clear on the Iriſh coaſt; and being off Kinſale, received advice that the Smyrna men were ſafely arrived in that harbour. Upon this he reſolved to conduct them as far as Scilly, and then, if they had a fair wind, to leave them to proceed up the Channel, having firſt taken the neceſſary precaution of ſending a frigate before to Plymouth, that he might be ſatisfied none of the enemies ſhips were upon the coaſt. After parting with this fleet, the admiral determined to go off Uſhant; and if the French were gone from thence, to follow them to Belleiſle; but not ſeeing any thing of them, he returned back towards our own coaſt; and arriving in the Channel, he ſent ſir Cloudeſley Shovel to look into Breſt, where he ſaw

* Story's Life of King William. Burnet. Tindal. † Ibid.

about forty ſail coming out of that port, which proved to be a fleet of merchant-ſhips from Bretagne, eſcorted by three men of war. Sir Cloudeſley on this occaſion made uſe of an excellent ſtratagem to decoy theſe ſhips into his hands: he knew the French had intelligence that a ſmall ſquadron of their fleet had made prize of ſeveral Engliſh merchantmen: he therefore ordered part of his ſquadron to put out French colours, and the reſt to take in theirs. By this method he thought to deceive the French, who might naturally ſuppoſe it that ſquadron with their prizes. This ſucceeded in part; but the greater number of the French diſcovered the cheat time enough to get ſafe back into port *. Towards the latter end of July admiral Ruſſel fell in with a convoy going to the French fleet with freſh proviſions. Some of theſe were taken, and from them he learnt that count Tourville had orders to avoid fighting; and though for the ſpace of a month Ruſſel did all he could to come up with them, yet they ſtill eluded his vigilance. The ſeaſon being over for action, Ruſſel wrote to be recalled; but before he could receive an anſwer, was overtaken by a violent ſtorm on the ſecond of September off the Land's End, which obliged him to bear up for ſo dangerous a port as Plymouth, where the Warwick, a third-rate, and the Coronation, a ſecond-rate, were loſt in coming to an anchor, and many others were in the utmoſt danger.

The admiral immediately gave orders for refitting ſuch ſhips as had been damaged in the ſtorm, and left ſir Cloudeſley Shovel at Plymouth to ſee it performed, ſteering himſelf with the reſt of the fleet for Spithead. Here he received orders to form a ſquadron of thirty ſail of Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, to be ſent to the coaſt of Ireland; and he accordingly appointed ſir Ralph Dalaval, vice-admiral of the blue ſquadron, to the command, who attempted four times to execute that duty, and was as often forced back by contrary winds †. Thus ended the naval operations of the year 1691, very little to the honour, profit, or ſatisfaction of the nation. Loud complaints were made againſt admiral Ruſſel for miſmanagement; whereupon the houſe of commons ordered the admiral's inſtructions, and the letters written to and by him, to be laid before them, which ſufficiently cleared him from all blame. It is now time to return to king William, whom we left at the Hague.

We have already ſeen that the French had taken the field much earlier than the confederates. Luxemburg, with an army of forty thouſand men, was advancing to beſiege Bruſſels, while the marquis de Bouffiers with another army ſat down before Liege. William, upon advice of theſe motions, loſt no time in putting himſelf at the head of his troops, and arrived in time not only to cover the former place, but likewiſe to raiſe the ſiege of the latter. The confederate army was now ſuperior to that of the enemy, and the king did all in his power to bring Luxemburg to an engagement; but that able commander, who was perfectly ſkilled in every art of war, as well defenſive as offenſive, ſo managed matters as to baffle all the king's endeavours, who perceiving he could not bring what he intended to bear, cauſed the fortifications of Beaumont, a place which he had made himſelf maſter of, to be demoliſhed, and marched the army towards Aeth, from whence he departed the ſeventh of September for Loo, leaving the forces under the command of prince Waldeck. In his abſence the French became ſomewhat more daring, yet not till they found they had gotten the confederate army at an advantage: for the prince having remained ſome time in the neighbourhood of Aeth, to cover and ſecure the adjacent country from the inroads of the enemies parties; and having, as he thought, provided effectually for that purpoſe, he moved off towards Benain; when Luxemburg, taking the advantage of this motion, advanced by great marches, and with ſeveral choſen ſquadrons of his beſt horſe fell upon the rear of the confederate army, as it was paſſing a little river and defile near Caſoire, charging ſo furiouſly, that after a terrible fight, the firſt line of the confederates gave way, and fell behind the ſecond; which, after ſuſtaining very hot charges, gave ground alſo; but their officers exerting themſelves with unparalleled bravery, ſo animated the men by their example and exhortations, that they ſoon returned again to the fight. Whereupon the French horſe, fearing to be encompaſſed by our infantry, retired, and left the confederate army to march on without any farther moleſtation. In this encounter we loſt one thouſand men: nor had the enemy much occaſion to boaſt; for notwithſtanding the great diſadvantage at which they had taken the allies, they had five hundred of their men left dead upon the place; among whom were ſeveral officers of note, and a great many afterwards died of their wounds. The ſeaſon being now far advanced, nothing of moment was farther attempted during this campaign, but both armies returned into winter-quarters. In the mean time, the duke de Noailles, with the army that acted againſt Spain, beſieged and took Urgel in Catalonia, while a French ſquadron commanded by the count d'Etrées bombarded Barcelona and Alicant ‡.

The confederates had propoſed to act vigorouſly in Italy againſt the French; but the ſeaſon was far advanced before they were in a condition to take the field. The elector of Bavaria was nominated to the chief command; but Catinat had already over-run Piedmont, and the duke of Savoy ſaw himſelf reduced to the brink of ruin, almoſt all his places of ſtrength being in the hands of the enemy, who now laid ſiege to Coni, a fortified town about thirty miles from Nice. The garriſon was reduced to ſuch extremity, that, unleſs ſpeedily relieved, nothing remained for them but to ſurrender the place, the loſs of which would have been attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. To prevent therefore, if poſſible, this additional calamity, prince Eugene, brother to the duke of Savoy, was ſent with a convoy of proviſions and two thouſand horſe. At Magliano he was joined by ſix thouſand militia. M. Bulonde, who by Catinat's orders conducted the ſiege, hearing of their approach, thought proper to quit the place, and ſeek for his ſafety in a retreat; which he performed with ſo much haſte and confuſion, that he left behind him ſeveral pieces of cannon, mortars, bombs, arms, ammunition, tents, proviſions, and utenſils, with

* Burchet's Memoirs. Campbell's Lives of Admirals. † Kennet. Burchet. Columna Roſtrata. ‡ Burnet. Boyer. Kennet.

all his ſick and wounded; for which he was, on his arrival in Catinat's camp, immediately put under arreſt. The inglorious retreat of the French from before Coni gave no ſmall reputation to the duke of Savoy's army, and that prince's affairs aſſumed a more favourable aſpect from this period *. Catinat retired with his army towards Villa Nova and Aſti, while La Hoguette, another French general, who had forced the paſſes of Aoſte, which opened an entrance into the Verceillois, and threatened Turin with a bombardment, was obliged to abandon his poſt, and retreat with his forces into winter-quarters.

The Imperialiſts, under the command of prince Lewis of Baden, had alſo the good fortune to gain a ſignal victory over the Turks at Salankamen, on the nineteenth of Auguſt this year, in which Kuperli the grand vizier was killed; and the prince of Baden afterwards took the town of Peterwaradin in Lower Hungary: but this did not put an end to the war between the emperor and the Turks; the Imperialiſts were ſtill obliged to keep the greateſt part of their forces in Hungary, and could not furniſh their quota of troops againſt France, which was a great diſadvantage to the allies. It is obſervable that the French have ſeldom entered into a war with their neighbours, but they have brought the Turks into Chriſtendom, who uſually make a powerful diverſion in their favour. Our attention muſt now be turned to affairs at home.

King William, after leaving the army, continued ſome time at the Hague, regulating the operations of the next campaign; and then embarking for England, attended by a ſquadron of men of war under the command of ſir Cloudeſley Shovel, arrived at Margate on the nineteenth of October; and three days after, viz. on the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month, both houſes of parliament met for the diſpatch of buſineſs. The ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech from the throne, wherein his majeſty told the two houſes, "That he hoped the ſucceſs his forces had met with in Ireland would be a great encouragement to them to aſſiſt him with freſh ſupplies. He recommended to them the keeping a ſtrong fleet at ſea, and an army of ſixty-five thouſand men aſhore, that they might annoy the enemy in the moſt ſenſible part; adding, that they had now an opportunity of eſtabliſhing their future quiet and proſperity, which if they neglected they might never more regain †."

Both houſes hereupon congratulated his majeſty upon his happy return, after ſo many hazards in his voyage to Holland, as alſo on the ſucceſs of his arms in Ireland, promiſing to aſſiſt him in carrying on a vigorous war againſt France, in order to procure an honourable peace to his own dominions, and to ſecure his neighbours from the common oppreſſor ‡. A proclamation was alſo publiſhed for keeping a thankſgiving on the twenty-ſixth of November, "for his majeſty's preſervation from the great and manifeſt dangers in his voyage to and from Holland, and for the wonderful ſucceſs of the Iriſh war, whereby their majeſties were now happily eſtabliſhed in the full poſſeſſion of their three kingdoms." Addreſſes were alſo preſented to the queen, acknowleging her prudent care in the adminiſtration of the government during the king's abſence §.

Notwithſtanding theſe warm and loyal proceedings, it ſoon appeared that there was a very ſtrong party formed againſt the government. Theſe were the Tories, who by no means approved of the maxims or conduct of king William: they inveighed both in private and public againſt the folly and extravagance of keeping on foot a ſtanding army; they inſiſted that England ought only to aſſiſt her allies with ſome auxiliary troops, and that the management of affairs at ſea was chiefly to be regarded. To this the advocates for the court replied, that without the interpoſition of England the grand alliance would never have taken place, nor could a ſtop have been put to the ſpreading conqueſts of the ambitious Lewis, who muſt ſoon have reduced both Flanders and Holland, and in them have deſtroyed the commerce, and even the liberties, of this kingdom. The arguments againſt continental connections were ſo much to the taſte of the public, that the preſent government was in general greatly cenſured. Another principal cauſe of diſcontent was the evident partiality the king ſhewed to the Dutch over the Engliſh; and it was the general cry of the nation, that the former were the only perſons favoured and truſted, while the Engliſh were wholly overlooked. It muſt be confeſſed that king William took too little pains to obviate this general diſguſt, which ſpread both among the Engliſh officers and nobility, or to gain the affections of his Britiſh ſubjects. He continued ſhut up all day with one or two particulars only, and thoſe his own countrymen; and the ſullen reſerve and ſilence he obſerved when he did admit any of our nobility to an audience, gave them as much diſtaſte as a denial would have done. The earl of Marlborough thought that his ſervices were not ſufficiently rewarded, and began to ſpeak the language of a diſcontented perſon ‖. Let us now attend the proceedings of the parliament.

The commons on the ninth of November voted upwards of a million and a half for the ſervice of the navy and ordnance, and upwards of two millions for the ſervice of the land forces, for the enſuing year 1692, beſides the ſupplies given the year before for the civil liſt, and other uſes; ſo that there were about five millions of money raiſed this year ¶.

The king coming to the houſe of peers on the

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* The miſcarriage of the French before Coni, made ſuch an impreſſion on the mind of Louvois, the miniſter of Lewis, that he could not help ſhedding tears when he imparted the news to his maſter. Lewis replied, with great compoſure, "You are too eaſily affected with a trifle. You are plainly ſpoiled by good fortune. For my part, who remember to have ſeen the Spaniſh troops in Paris, I can bear greater misfortunes with indifference." Memoires du Marquis de la Farre.

† Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, ii. 389.

‡ Ibid. § Ibid.

‖ Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 85.

¶ By a continuance of the exciſe upon beer and ale, &c. by a land-tax, amounting to 1,651,702 l. being about three ſhillings in the pound; by a poll-tax, and by tonnage and poundage, or the duties on merchandize, which were aſſigned the laſt year for the ſupport of the civil government for four years.

By the poll-tax granted this ſeſſion, all perſons (excepting the poor) were to pay twelve-pence per quarter for one year; all tradeſmen who were worth three hundred pounds, ten ſhillings

the twenty-fourth of December, gave the royal aſſent to ſeveral acts *. After which his majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, wherein he thanked them for their reſolutions to aſſiſt him, but preſſed them to haſten the remainder of the ſupplies, that the enemy might not get the ſtart of him in the field, as they had done in the laſt campaign. But the diſpatch ſo much deſired by the king was retarded by ſeveral incidental affairs which engaged the atention of the houſe: one was a conteſt between the Eaſt India Company and ſome private merchants: the matter was referred to the examination of a committee; and the Company's defence was ſo little to the ſatisfaction of the examiners, that the houſe addreſſed the king to diſſolve the preſent Company, and grant a charter to a new one. The king returned this anſwer; "It is a motion of very great importance to the trade of this kingdom: I will conſider of it, and in a very ſhort time give the commons a poſitive anſwer †." However, his majeſty in the mean time was pleaſed to confer the honour of knighthood on ſir John Goldſborough, who was going to India in quality of the Company's commiſſary-general. The next affair that came before the parliament was the pretended diſcovery of a plot, by one Fuller, a priſoner for debt in the King's-Bench, who fell upon this ſtratagem to procure his enlargement: but having trifled moſt egregiouſly upon ſeveral examinations, and not being able to make good the leaſt part of his ſham-evidence, the commons were ſo provoked at his inſolence and preſumption, that they voted him "a notorious impoſtor, cheat, and falſe accuſer, who had ſcandalized his majeſty's perſon and government, abuſed the houſe of commons, and falſly accuſed ſeveral perſons of honour and quality:" and they farther reſolved, "That an addreſs be preſented to his majeſty to command his attorney-general to proſecute the ſaid impoſtor." Fuller was accordingly proſecuted, and ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory; which ignominious puniſhment he underwent with a ſurpriſing effrontery.

The public buſineſs met with a farther and more conſiderable interruption, by a very warm conteſt that aroſe between the two houſes, on occaſion of a bill for regulating trials in caſes of high-treaſon; which being paſſed by the commons, was ſent up to the lords for their concurrence, who on the firſt reading added the following clauſe to it: "That upon the trial of any peer or peereſs for treaſon, or miſpriſion of treaſon, ALL the peers who have a right to ſit and vote in parliament, ſhould be duly ſummoned to attend twenty days at leaſt before the trial, and ſhould vote at the trial of ſuch peers or peereſſes:" and with this amendment the bill was ſent back to the commons, who rejected to the clauſe, which occaſioned ſeveral conferences between both houſes; in which Charles Montagu, afterwards earl of Halifax, diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a manager for the commons; as did the duke of Bolton, the marquis of Halifax, the earls of Mulgrave, Rocheſter, Nottingham, Monmouth, and Stamford, for the lords ‡. After a long time waſted in fruitleſs arguments in both ſides, neither of which would give way to the other, the bill was dropped for the preſent, but it paſſed with the ſaid clauſe a few years afterwards.

The funds for the enſuing year being at length ſettled, the king came to the houſe on the twenty-fourth of February; and having given the royal aſſent to the money-bills, and ſeveral acts relating to civil polity §, he cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſhort ſpeech, in which he thanked his parliament for the zeal and attachment they had ſhewn to his government, and the liberality and diſpatch with which they had provided for the neceſſities of the ſtate, acquainting them at the ſame time with his intention of repairing ſpeedily to the continent. Then the parliament was adjourned to the twelfth day of April, and afterwards prorogued to the twenty-ninth of May.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion, Dr. Wellwood, a Scottiſh phyſician, was taken into cuſtody, and reprimanded at the bar of the houſe of commons, for having reflected upon that houſe in a weekly paper, entituled Mercurius Reformatus; but as it was written in defence of the government, the king appointed him one of his phyſicians in ordinary. But the moſt remarkable incident during this ſeſſion, was the diſgrace of the earl of Marlborough, to whom his majeſty ſent the earl of Nottingham, ſecretary of ſtate, ſome day in January, to acquaint him, that he had no farther occaſion for his ſervices, and therefore demanded all his commiſſions. Numberleſs were the conjectures of the public, on the cauſe of this nobleman's diſgrace: it was ſaid that he had incurred the king's diſpleaſure by ſome ſpeeches reflecting upon the Dutch favourites, particularly the earl of Portland (Bentinck) and the earl of Rochford (Zuyleſtein); it was alſo alleged that the king having formed a deſign to ſurprize Dunkirk, had communicated it to the earl of Marlborough, and he had told it to his lady, who is ſuppoſed to have acquainted her ſiſter, lady Tyrconnel with the ſecret, by whom it was revealed to the king's enemies; and that his majeſty thereupon thought proper to remove ſo imprudent a perſon from any place of truſt: thus much is certain, that the earl was not employed again, nor called to council, till after the peace of Ryſwick ‖. His counteſs was alſo forbid the court; and the princeſs of Denmark was deſired to diſmiſs her from her fa-

lings per quarter; all gentlemen and reputed gentlemen having eſtates of three hundred pounds per annum, and all clergymen and diſſenting teachers having eccleſiaſtical benefices or contributions of the value of eighty pounds per annum, twenty ſhillings per quarter; and every lord of parliament, ſpiritual and temporal, ten pounds per quarter, and all nonjurors double.

* To an act for granting certain impoſitions upon ale and beer; to an act for abrogating the oath of ſupremacy in Ireland, and appointing other oaths; and to an act for aſcertaining the tithes of hemp and flax; and on the Thurſday following to the land-tax.

† Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, ii. 391, 392.

‡ Ibid. ii. 393.

§ Viz. an act for explaining and ſupplying the defects of former laws for the ſettlement of the poor; an act for the encouragement of the breeding and feeding of cattle; an act for abrogating the oath of ſupremacy in Ireland, and appointing other oaths; an act for taking away clergy from ſome offenders, and bringing others to puniſhment; an act againſt deer-ſtealing; an act for repairing the high-ways, and ſettling the rates of carriage of goods; and an act for the relief of creditors againſt fraudulent deviſes. Pr. Houſe of Com. ii. 407.

‖ Life of Duke of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 71. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 90.

mily, which ſhe refuſing to do, it occaſioned a quarrel between her and the queen her ſiſter; upon which her royal highneſs retired from court, and removed to Sion Houſe, which ſhe borrowed of the duke of Somerſet. Great endeavours were uſed on this occaſion by the diſcontented party at home to get the princeſs to head their faction; but her highneſs gave not the leaſt encouragement to their meaſures, but continued to obſerve the ſame unblameable conduct which ſhe had made the ſole rule of her actions ever ſince the acceſſion of their majeſties to the crown.

Before I cloſe the tranſactions of the year 1691, I ſhall juſt take notice of an unſucceſsful expedition of our coloniſts from New England, againſt the French in Canada. It ſeems that the government of New England, finding the French very troubleſome neighbours, ſent out a fleet, in the ſummer of this year, of thirty-two ſail, with two thouſand land-forces on board, for the attack of Quebec; but this armament being eight weeks in ſailing up the river of St. Lawrence, they thereby gave the enemy time to bring all their ſtrength for the defence of the place, before which our people were repulſed, obliged to reimbark, and, in coming down the river, loſt many of their ſhips upon the rocks and ſhoals: and when two thouſand Engliſh and fifteen hundred Indians had marched over-land from New York, Connecticut, &c. they found no canoes to tranſport them over the lakes, and were therefore obliged to return home. In this unfortunate and ill-conducted expedition, the province of New England contracted a debt of one hundred and forty thouſand pounds; and there were ſaid to have been upwards of one thouſand lives loſt, by the different accidents attending it *.

As ſoon as Lewis XIV. perceived that it was impoſſible to ſupport the war in Ireland any longer to advantage, he came to a reſolution of employing the forces that were ſtill left king James, to ſerve his purpoſe another way: with this view he entered into a correſpondence with the Jacobite party in England for an invaſion on the coaſt of Suſſex: and though for this deſign it was neceſſary to draw together a great number of tranſports, as well as a conſiderable body of forces, yet he had both in readineſs before it was ſo much as ſuſpected here, ſo extremely bad was the intelligence of our court at that time. The land army conſiſted of fourteen battalions of Engliſh and Iriſh troops, and about nine thouſand French, commanded by the marſhal de Belfondes; ſo that in all there were full twenty thouſand men †. The fleet of tranſports conſiſted of three hundred ſail, and was well provided with every thing neceſſary for the invaſion: in ſhort, nothing was wanting to the execution of the deſign in the beginning of April, but the arrival of count d'Eſtrées's ſquadron of twelve men of war, which was to eſcort the embarkation, while Tourville cruized in the Channel with the grand fleet, which was alſo ready to put to ſea, but detained by contrary winds. Things being in this promiſing ſituation, king James ſent over colonel Parker, and ſome other agents of his, to give his friends intelligence of his motions: theſe arrived about the latter end of January 1692. This officer, with one Johnſon, had formed a plot for aſſaſſinating king William; but before they could execute their barbarous deſign, his majeſty, having ſettled all affairs at home, embarked for Holland: the fifth of March, and arrived ſafely at the Hague, from whence he ſoon after went to Loo ‡.

In this interval king James, finding his queen big with child, that there might be no more diſputes about her majeſty's delivery, ſent over letters, directed to ſeveral lords who had formerly been members of his council, as well as to divers ladies of quality and diſtinction §, acquainting them with his queen's pregnancy, and requiring them to attend as witneſſes at the labour. This invitation, however, was not accepted by any of thoſe to whom it was addreſſed. Thoſe among them who wiſhed well to his intereſt were reſtrained, by fear of incurring the reſentment of the preſent government, while the Revolutioniſts thought it a matter of little concern whether James's queen was really in a ſtate of child-bearing or not. Not long after, king James ſent over a printed declaration, dated at St. Germain's, in which he openly avowed his intentions of uſing all poſſible means to recover the throne of his anceſtors, and boaſted of the powerful aſſiſtance he expected from France; at the ſame time exhorting all his faithful ſubjects to continue their fidelity to him: he offered pardon and rewards to all of the prince of Orange's ſoldiers, or others, who would come in to him; and proceeded ſo far as to except by name from the ſaid indemnity no leſs than thirteen noblemen, two biſhops, ſeven barons, and a great number of clergy and gentlemen.

All this time colonel Parker, and other agents, were employed in inliſting men privately in the counties of York and Lancaſter, and the biſhopric of Durham, while Mr. James Fountaine, as lieutenant-colonel to the lord Montgomery, and colonel Holman, were forming two regiments of horſe in London, who were to join king James on his landing. In their zeal for their old maſter's ſervice, however, they overſhot the mark: for having entertained a notion that rear-admiral Carter was diſaffected to king William's government, they applied to him; and he having given the queen and council information thereof, he was ordered to feign an inclination to join the conſpirators; which he did ſo effectually, that they credulouſly gave into the ſnare, to the deſtruction of their plot and their

* Britiſh Empire in America. Anderſon.

† Hiſtoire Militaire, tome ii. 473, 577.

‡ Before the king went abroad he made the following promotions: Thomas earl of Pembroke, in the beginning of March, was made lord privy-ſeal, being ſucceeded as a commiſſioner of the admiralty by Charles lord Cornwallis; ſir Edward Seymour, bart. and Charles Montagu, eſq. were made lords commiſſioners of the treaſury, in the room of ſir John Lowther, vice-chamberlain of the houſhold, and Thomas Pelham, who reſigned; and Henry lord viſcount Sidney, principal ſecretary of ſtate, reſigning that office, was conſtituted lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

§ The letter was directed not only to the privy counſellors, but likewiſe to the ducheſſes of Somerſet and Beaufort, the marchioneſs of Hallifax, the counteſſes of Derby, Mulgrave, Rutland, Nottingham, Lumley, and Danby, the ladies Fitzharding and Fretchville, thoſe of ſir John Trevor ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, ſir Edward Seymour, ſir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, ſir Thomas Stamford lord mayor of London, ſir William Aſhhurſt and ſir Richard Levett ſheriffs; and laſtly to Dr. Chamberlain the famous practitioner in midwifery. State Tracts, vol. ii. p. 234.

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good friend's fleet; for they preſently ſent over an expreſs to the lord Melfort, James's ſecretary, to acquaint him with their having corrupted Carter, who would take care of the officers of his ſquadron. They likewiſe ſent a liſt of the ſhips that compoſed the Engliſh fleet, deſiring lord Melfort to lay the ſame before the French king, and preſs him to ſend peremptory orders to Tourville to attack them before they could be joined by the Dutch ſquadron from Holland. Lewis, pleaſed to find his ſchemes in ſo fine a way of ſucceeding, commanded Tourville to put to ſea, and fall upon the Engliſh fleet at all events, without waiting for being joined by the ſquadron under count d'Eſtrees, while king James repaired to La Hogue, on the coaſt of Normandy, ready to embark with his army.

The court of England muſt certainly have been in great conſternation when they heard that James was on the coaſt of France with an army ready to invade them, and the Dutch ſquadron not yet come over to join our fleet. Queen Mary, however, who had the adminiſtration during the king's abſence, behaved upon this occaſion with great wiſdom and firmneſs of mind; for without diſcovering any apprehenſions of danger, ſhe took all the precautions that were neceſſary to prevent it, by publiſhing a proclamation requiring all papiſts to quit the cities of London and Weſtminſter; another for aſſembling both houſes of parliament; and a third for apprehending the following noblemen and gentlemen, who were ſuppoſed to be in her father's intereſt, namely, the earls of Scarſdale, Litchfield, Newburgh, Middleton, and Dunmore; the lords Griffin and Forbes; ſir John Fenwicke, ſir Theophilus Oglethorpe, ſir Andrew Forreſter, and others. Theſe proclamations were iſſued on the fifth of May, and the next day the earls of Huntingdon and Marlborough, with the lords Brudenell and Fanſhaw, were ſent to the Tower; and Mr. Edward Ridley, Mr. Knevitt, Mr. Haſtings, and Mr. Robert Ferguſon, to Newgate, on violent ſuſpicion of high-treaſon, in abetting and adhering to their majeſties enemies. The trained-bands of London and Weſtminſter, amounting to about ten thouſand men, were drawn out in Hyde-Park, and reviewed by the queen in perſon. Orders were likewiſe ſent to admiral Ruſſel, then lying at St. Helen's, to haſten out to ſea, in whatever condition the fleet might be.

King William, as ſoon as he arrived in Holland, had taken care to haſten the naval preparations there with unuſual diligence; ſo that the Dutch fleet was ready to put to ſea much ſooner than had been expected, or at leaſt much ſooner than it had done the year before, and in a much better condition: in ſhort, the Dutch ſquadron under admiral Allemonde, of thirty-ſix ſail, joined our fleet at St. Helen's about the middle of May; and the admiral was ſoon after farther reinforced by the ſquadron under ſir Ralph Delaval from the Mediterranean, and admiral Carter from the Channel *. While they lay at St. Helen's, admiral Ruſſel received a letter from the earl of Nottingham, as ſecretary of ſtate, written by queen Mary's directions; wherein he was informed, "That a ſcandalous and malicious report was ſpread, as if ſome of the officers of their majeſties fleet were diſaffected, or not hearty in their ſervice, and that her majeſty had been thereupon induced to order the diſcharge of many of them; but her majeſty charged the admiral to acquaint his officers, that ſhe was ſatisfied this report was raiſed by the enemies of the government, and that ſhe repoſed an entire confidence in their fidelity, and had reſolved not to diſplace ſo much as one of them †." Upon this the flag-officers and captains drew up a very dutiful and loyal addreſs, dated from on board the Britannia, at St. Helen's, May 15, 1692, which was tranſmitted to court, and preſented by the lords of the admiralty to her majeſty, who was pleaſed to return this gracious anſwer, which was publiſhed that ſame night (May 17) in the Gazette ‡: "I always had this opinion of the commanders, but I am glad this is come, to ſatisfy others."

The whole confederate fleet being now in a body, admiral Ruſſel weighed anchor from St. Helen's on the eighteenth of May, and ſteered over to the coaſt of France. Next morning about three o'clock, the ſcouts to the weſtward of the fleet made the ſignal for diſcovering the enemy. The admiral immediately gave orders for forming the line of battle, which by eight o'clock was in good order, having the Dutch ſquadron in the van, our red ſquadron in the center, and the blue in the rear. Tourville was confounded at the ſight of the combined ſquadrons: he might, as he was to windward, have avoided an engagement; but he had received poſitive orders to fight, on the ſuppoſition, as we have already mentioned, that the Dutch and Engliſh ſquadrons had not joined. Full of that implicit obedience which every Frenchman thinks it his duty to pay to the commands of his ſovereign, he reſolved to fight at all events §, and bore down upon our fleet with great reſolution.

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* Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 464.
† Campbell's Lives of Admirals, vol. iii. p. 63.
‡ No. 2767.
§ For the information of our readers, we ſhall here give an abſtract of the force of the reſpective fleets.

The English Fleet.

Red Squadron.

Rates.	Men.	Guns.
5 Firſt	3,835	500
3 Second	1,800	270
16 Third	6,400	1100
7 Fourth	1,860	350
31	13,895	2,220

The Right Honourable Edward Ruſſel, Eſquire, Admiral, Commander in Chief.
Sir Ralph Delaval, Vice-admiral.
Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, Rear-admiral.

Blue Squadron.

Rates.	Men.	Guns.
1 Firſt	780	100
7 Second	4,655	636
18 Third	7,740	1270
6 Fourth	1,500	304
32	14,675	2,310

Sir John Aſhby, Admiral.
George Rooke, Eſquire, Vice-admiral.
Richard Carter, Eſquire, Rear-admiral.

tion. About half an hour after eleven he, in our ſhip the Royal Sun, of one hundred and four guns, brought to, and began the fight with admiral Ruſſel, within leſs than muſket-ſhot; in which poſture he lay about an hour and a half, plying his guns very ſmartly; but then began to tow off in great diſorder, his rigging, ſails, and top-ſail-yards, being very much damaged.

About noon the wind ſhifted to the north-weſt, ſo that five of the enemy's blue ſquadron poſted themſelves three a-head and two a-ſtern of their admiral, and fired very briſkly till after three. The admiral and his two ſeconds, captain Churchhill and captain Aylmer, had all theſe ſhips to deal with. About four there was ſo great a fog, that the enemy could not be ſeen; and as ſoon as it cleared up, the French admiral was ſeen towing away northward: upon which admiral Ruſſel crowded ſail after him, and made the ſignal for the reſt of the fleet to chace. While this paſſed between the admirals, ſir Cloudeſley Shovel was got to windward of Tourville's ſquadron, and engaged them; but the fog growing darker than before, they were forced to anchor. The weather afterwards clearing up a little, the French followed their flying admiral, while the Engliſh purſued with all the canvaſs they could ſpread; and the Engliſh blue ſquadron having again fallen in with the enemy, engaged about three quarters of an hour, till the latter, having loſt four ſhips, bore away for Conquet Road. In this ſhort action admiral Carter was killed, whoſe laſt words ſufficiently refuted the opinion the Jacobites had formed of him; for finding himſelf mortally wounded, he recommended it to his captain to fight the ſhip as long as ſhe could ſwim *.

The next day, the twentieth of May, proved ſo dark and foggy, that it was eight o'clock before our fleet deſcryed that of the enemy, and then there followed a general chace, the French crowding away to the weſtward. About four in the afternoon both fleets came to an anchor near Cape La Hogue. On the twenty-ſecond, about ſeven in the morning, our fleet reſumed the chace with all the ſucceſs they could deſire: about eleven the French admiral ran aſhore near Cherbourg, where ſhe was burnt by ſir Ralph Delaval, together with the Admirable, a ſhip of 102 guns, the Conquerant of eighty, and three others of leſſer force. Eighteen other ſhips of the fleet took ſhelter in La Hogue, where thirteen of them were burnt by admiral Rooke, who at the ſame time deſtroyed a great number of tranſports loaded with ammunition, in the midſt of a terrible fire from their fort, and in ſight of king James's camp. Sir John Aſhby, with the blue ſquadron and ſome Dutch ſhips, purſued the reſt of the fleet which eſcaped, through the Race of Alderney, among ſuch rocks and ſhoals, that the Engliſh could not attempt to enter without running the moſt imminent danger of being daſhed in pieces †.

Beſides the Royal Sun, of one hundred and four guns, the French loſt another ſhip of one hundred and two, one of ninety, two of eighty, four of ſeventy-ſix, four of ſixty, and two of fifty guns ‡. If indeed ſir John Aſhby could have come up with thoſe that took ſhelter in St. Maloes, it had in a good meaſure put an end to the French power at ſea. As it was, it muſt be acknowleged a moſt glorious victory, and perpetual praiſe is due to the memory of the brave men who atchieved it. From this time to the peace concluded in 1697, the French did not attempt to engage the Engliſh fleet at ſea, but contented themſelves with prejudicing our trade by their ſmaller ſhips of war and privateers.

The loſs of the French fleet was a fatal ſtroke to king James, who now ſaw all his hopes ſwallowed up at once; and, according to Burnet and ſome other authors, he wrote a letter to the king of France, wherein, after lamenting his own ill fortune, which he ſaid had proved contagious to all his friends, he intreated his moſt chriſtian majeſty no longer to concern himſelf for a prince ſo fated to diſappointments; "Since, ſays he, I doubt not to hear of the quick return of your majeſty's wonted triumphs over both your enemies and mine, when my intereſt ſhall be no longer intermixed with yours." Lewis endeavoured to ſooth his affliction by the warmeſt expreſſions of friendſhip, and a promiſe never to forſake him in his moſt deſperate fortunes.

Admiral Ruſſel, having ordered ſir John Aſhby to ſcour the French coaſt as far as Havre de Grace, returned to England to refit his damaged ſhips (none of which were loſt in the late glorious victory) and ſupply the fleet with proviſions. As ſoon as news arrived of the fleet's being anchored at Spithead, the queen ſent down thirty thouſand pounds to be diſtributed among the ſailors, and gold medals for the officers, to expreſs the ſenſe ſhe had of their fidelity and courage. She alſo gave orders for the bodies of admiral Carter and captain Haſtings (of the Sandwich) the only two

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The Dutch Squadron.

Rates.	Men.	Guns.
9 Firſt	4,515	796
10 Second	3,766	772
9 Third	2,925	640
8 Fourth	1,845	406
36	13,051	2,614

Admiral Allemonde.
Vice-admiral Callemberg.
Rear-admiral Vandergoes.

The French Fleet.

The Van.
26 Ships, from 90 to 60 Guns.

The Center.
25 Ships, from 104 to 54 Guns.

The Rear.
12 Ships, from 94 to 54 Guns.

So that admiral Ruſſel had ninety-nine ſhips of the line under his command, and count Tourville but ſixty-three, ſome of which were detached in the time of action. It is however to be remarked, that though the confederate fleet had this great ſuperiority over the French, yet ſcarce one half of it could engage, which was owing to the diſpoſition made by admiral Ruſſel, upon notice that the enemy was at hand; for he made a ſignal for the blue ſquadron, under ſir George Rooke, the vice-admiral, to tack northward, in order to engage the French the ſooner, in caſe they had ſtood that way; but the fog which uſhered in the day diſperſing about four o'clock in the morning, they were ſeen ſtanding to the ſouthward. Burchet, 138, 139. Campbel, iii. 64, 65.

* Burchet. Campbell. Burnet.
† Campbell.
‡ Burchet, 146.

officers of note who loſt their lives in the engagement, to be honourably interred, at the charge of the crown. At the ſame time, in order to make the moſt of the conſternation the French were thrown into by their late defeat, it was reſolved to make a deſcent either at St. Malo's, Breſt, or Rochfort. Accordingly, in the latter end of July, ſeven thouſand men were embarked for that purpoſe, under the command of the duke of Leinſter; and the nation conceived the moſt ſanguine hopes of this expedition; but by ſome unaccountable negligence in the miniſtry, the whole ſcheme vaniſhed into air: and the ſoldiery, after having lain upwards of a month on board, were ſent over to ſerve in Flanders, where they arrived on the twenty-ſecond day of Auguſt. The general reflection of the more ſenſible part of the nation on this occaſion was, that the victory, which the favour of heaven and the bravery of our men had procured us, thoſe who were entruſted with the management of public affairs had neither ſpirit nor ſagacity to improve. The Dutch openly exclaimed againſt the treachery of the king's counſellors, affirming, that every thing that was tranſacted in the cabinet at Whitehall, was ſo ſpeedily betrayed to the French, that it was in vain to hope for any ſucceſs from deſigns concerted there. After the ſending theſe troops into Flanders, the great ſhips were ordered round to Chatham, and the reſt of the fleet divided into ſquadrons, as was judged moſt convenient for the ſervice; and thus ended the naval tranſactions of this year. From England we will now paſs over to the continent, and take a view of the military operations there.

Lewis XIV. to conſole himſelf for the diſgrace he had lately ſuſtained in the defeat of his fleet, laid ſiege to Namur, the ſtrongeſt place in the Netherlands, both by its ſituation, which is at the confluence of the Sambre and the Maeſe, and by its citadel, which is built on a rock. His army conſiſted of one hundred and twenty thouſand men, with part of which he inveſted the town on the fifteenth of May, while Luxemburg with the reſt covered his operations. The ſiege was puſhed with ſuch vigour and reſolution, that in eight days the French made themſelves maſters of the town, and of the citadel in twenty-two, while the duke of Luxemburg prevented king William from paſſing the Mehaigne, who had advanced to the banks of that river, at the head of eighty thouſand men, to raiſe the ſiege. After this conqueſt, Lewis returned again to Verſailles, and Luxemburg ſtill continued to make head againſt the army of the confederates *: and now it was that the battle of Steinkirk was fought, ſo famous for the military art and courage diſplayed there.

King William, rightly judging that it would be ſome reflection either on his conduct or courage, to have ſuffered a place of ſuch importance as Namur to be taken in his view, earneſtly ſought an opportunity to retrieve his reputation. With this view he formed a deſign to ſurprize Mons; but being diſappointed in this enterprize alſo, he determined to fight the French at all hazards, eſpecially as he had juſt received a reinforcement of eight thouſand Hanoverians. Marſhal Luxemburg had pitched his camp in a very advantageous poſt, covered by a wood and thick hedges, between Enghien and Steinkirk. Here king William reſolved to attack him, upon the information of ſome perſons who were thought to underſtand the nature of the ground, though it was found to be narrower, and more difficult of acceſs than the king had been made to believe it was. However, on Sunday the twenty-fourth of July, the army was ordered to march by break of day, and attack the enemy in their camp. The prince of Wirtemberg began the attack: the French were all aſleep in their tents, never dreaming of ſuch a viſit, and one entire brigade was cut in pieces before the marſhal knew any thing of the matter. He was then very ill; a fatal circumſtance at a time when uncommon activity was required: but the greatneſs of the danger ſeemed to give him new ſtrength: he changed his ground; gave a field of battle to his army which before was pent up; recovered the right wing, which was all in confuſion; rallied his men three ſeveral times, and three times charged at the head of the houſhold troops; and all this in leſs than two hours. He had with him in his army the duke of Chartres, a grandſon of France, who was then not above fifteen years old, and conſequently could be of but little ſervice in any great operation; but his preſence contributed much to animate the ſoldiers. A grandſon and a grand-nephew of the great Condé ſerved alſo under Luxemburg as lieutenant generals: the one was the duke of Bourbon, the other the prince of Conti. Theſe two were rivals in courage, ambition, and fame, and exerted themſelves in a memorable manner to retrieve the fortune of the day. All theſe princes put themſelves at the head of the rallied troops, and made a moſt furious and deſperate reſiſtance. Wirtemberg, unable to contend with ſuch ſuperior numbers, ſent ſeveral meſſages to count Solmes, ſolliciting a reinforcement: but that nobleman, from ſome pique he had conceived againſt the Engliſh, diſregarded his requeſt. The king being informed of the danger his troops were expoſed to, ſent orders to the count to march to their aſſiſtance; but the horſe, on account of the unevenneſs of the ground, could be of no ſervice; ſo that the Britiſh troops, with a few Dutch and Danes, ſuſtained the whole fury of the fight. At length Boufflers, who was poſted with a ſtrong body of dragoons at ſome diſtance from the field of battle, coming up and joining the French army, the confederates, unable to withſtand this additional ſuperiority, gave way, though the retreat was performed in good order; for the French, contenting themſelves with having thus retrieved their affairs, did not offer to moleſt them. On the other hand, king William would not venture to renew the engagement, for fear of expoſing his whole army to the danger of a defeat, and therefore drew off his forces. In this attack, which was a very deſperate one, we loſt five or ſix thouſand men at leaſt; and among them lieutenant-general Mackay, ſir John Lanier, the earl of Angus, ſir Robert Douglas, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. The loſs of the French was alſo very conſiderable, both in private men and officers of rank; and they would have ſuffered ſtill more, had it not been for the treachery of

* Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV.

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one Millevoix, ſecretary to the elector of Bavaria, who had for a conſiderable time made it his practice to ſend intelligence to the enemy of all the plans agreed upon by the allies in their councils of war. Being detected on this occaſion, he was hanged on a tree on the right wing of the confederate army.

But a ſcene of greater treachery was about this time happily brought to light: for the French court, finding that they could not deſtroy king William in open war, reſolved to take him off by ſecret villainy; and an attempt was now ſet on foot againſt his life by the management of Barbeſieux, ſecretary of ſtate to Lewis XIV. and one colonel Parker, who had fled to that court. Grandval, a French knight of a deſperate fortune, was encouraged with conſiderable ſums in hand, and ſtill more conſiderable promiſes, to aſſaſſinate the king of England as he ſhould ride out at the head of the troops, or upon any other advantage as he could find it, by laying in ambuſh and ſhooting at him. Troops were accordingly ordered to be near at hand, to ſupport and bring him off as ſoon as the murder was perpetrated. Grandval took two other perſons into the confederacy as his aſſiſtants; one Du Mont, and Leefdale a Dutch papiſt. Theſe three had ſeveral times attempted to put their helliſh purpoſe in execution, as well at Loo, while the king was there, as in the camp. Du Mont had entered into the confederate army as a deſerter, in order to have the fairer opportunity: but being at length diſcouraged by ſeveral diſappointments, and ſtruck with horror at the thought of the villainy he was engaged in, he made a full diſcovery of the whole plot. Hereupon Grandval was ſeized as he was ſkulking about the king's quarters; and being examined before a court-martial, for ſome time obſtinately denied any knowlege of the intended aſſaſſination, till being confronted with Du Mont, and ſome papers produced, in which the whole plan of operations was laid down, he at length confeſſed the deſign, with all the circumſtances that had attended it from time to time, and made a full diſcovery of the perſons who had ſet him on and were to ſupport him *. Upon full evidence of his guilt he received ſentence of death, as in caſes of high-treaſon, and was drawn, hanged, and quartered, his head and quarters being, by way of terror, ſet upon poles without the camp. Du Mont and Leefdale were allowed to eſcape with their lives, on account of being evidences to convict Grandval.

Not long after the battle of Steenkirk, the count Sericlas de Tilly fell in with a ſtrong detachment of French, ſent out of Namur to put the country under contribution, whom he totally defeated, taking four hundred priſoners, and amongſt them thirty officers, ſome of conſiderable note, who were ſent to Hays: amongſt the ſlain was the marquis of Hocquincourt. Our army being about the ſame time reinforced by the recruits from England under the duke of Leinſter, a detachment from the camp, under the command of lieutenant-general Talmaſh, was ſent towards Newport, when they poſſeſſed themſelves of Furnes, a very important poſt, and fortified it; and ſoon after ſeized on Dixmuyde, with the villages, and all the dependent territories. Many ſkirmiſhes happened during theſe tranſactions, but none worthy of notice here. In Germany the town of Reinfeldt was inveſted this year by count Tallard. On the ſide of Italy, the duke of Savoy made an invaſion into Dauphine, but ſoon retired; and the ſeaſon now advancing to cloſe the campaign, many of the troops were ſent into winter-quarters, and the reſt had their rendezvous appointed for ſome time longer, to prevent the enemy making incurſions. King William having conferred the command of the allied army on the elector of Bavaria, embarked for England on the fifteenth day of October, arrived at Yarmouth the eighteenth, was met by the queen at Newhall on the twentieth, and proceeded to his capital, where he was received with great acclamations by the people.

In the courſe of this year the proteſtant intereſt in Germany received a conſiderable addition of ſtrength, by the creation of a new electorate, in favour of Erneſt Auguſtus duke of Hanover, through the application and interpoſition of king William. After a tedious negotiation, the duke of Hanover was honoured with the inveſtiture, under the title of Elector of Brunſwick, and created great marſhal of the empire; but as he had not attained the conſent of all the electors, he was not as yet admitted into the college †.

During the king's abſence, a ſham plot was diſcovered by one Young, a priſoner in Newgate. This miſcreant had formed a pretended aſſociation in favour of king James; to which he had counterfeited the hands of the earls of Marlborough and Saliſbury, Sprat biſhop of Rocheſter, the lord Cornbury, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Clarendon, and ſir Baſil Firebrace. This paper was artfully dropped in the biſhop's hall, where it was found by the king's meſſenger, in conſequence of Young's information. The biſhop was thereupon apprehended; but the forgery being ſoon after fully detected, his lordſhip was ſet at liberty; and the earl of Marlborough, who had been impriſoned in the Tower, was admitted to bail. Young the impoſtor was afterwards brought to his trial at the King's-Bench bar, and ſentenced to ſtand three times in the pillory, and to continue in priſon till he ſhould pay a fine of one thouſand pounds.

Now it was that the affair of the Glencoe men in Scotland was greatly talked of throughout the kingdom, and repreſented as bad as the maſſacres at Paris and in Ireland, and the whole blame laid upon the king as his act and deed, though the Scottiſh parliament, upon making a ſtrict enquiry

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* Lewis the Great, the pattern, as his admirers ſtile him, of every princely virtue, madame de Maintenon his favourite miſtreſs, Paparel pay-maſter to his army, and almoſt all his principal miniſters, were privy to this deſign; and it is even ſaid that king James himſelf approved of this undertaking: a very ungrateful return (if true) for the care that king William always ſhewed of his life. Life of Will. III. p. 289.

† In the beginning of September this year, the ſhock of an earthquake was felt in London, and in many other parts of England, as well as in France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Violent agitations of the ſame kind had happened about two months before in Sicily and Malta. In the former, eſpecially, no leſs than an hundred thouſand perſons are ſaid to have periſhed on the occaſion. Soon after, the town of Port-Royal in Jamaica was almoſt totally deſtroyed by an earthquake, about fifteen hundred perſons being buried in the ruins. Burnet. Kennet.

into this affair in the year 1695, reſolved, "That the perſons concerned in it had exceeded his majeſty's inſtructions for ſuppreſſing the Highland rebels who had not accepted the indemnity that was offered by the time prefixed in the proclamation." I ſhall, however, relate the ſtory with all its circumſtances, as given us by biſhop Burnet (in the ſecond volume of his Hiſtory of his own Times, p. 88, &c.) and leave the reader to make his own reflections upon it.

"There was at this time (in the beginning of this year 1692) a very barbarous maſſacre committed in Scotland, which ſhewed both the cruelty and treachery of ſome of thoſe who had unhappily inſinuated themſelves into the king's confidence. The earl of Braidalbin formed a ſcheme of quieting all the Highlanders, if the king would give twelve or fifteen thouſand pounds for doing it; which ſum was remitted down from England, and this was to be divided among the heads of the tribes or clans of the Highlanders. He employed his emiſſaries among them, and told them, the beſt ſervice they could do king James was to lie quiet, and reſerve themſelves to a better time; and if they would take the oaths, the king would be contented with that, and they would have a ſhare of this ſum that was ſent down to buy their quiet; but this came to nothing: their demands roſe high: they knew this lord had money to diſtribute among them: they believed he intended to keep the beſt part of it himſelf; ſo they aſked more than he could give. Among the moſt clamorous and obſtinate of theſe were the Macdonalds of Glencoe, who were believed guilty of much robbery and murders, and ſo had gained too much by their pilfering war to be eaſily brought to give it over. The head of that Valley had ſo particularly provoked lord Braidalbin, that as his ſcheme was quite defeated by the oppoſition which the other raiſed, ſo he deſigned a ſeverer revenge. The king had by a proclamation offered an indemnity to all the Highlanders that had been in arms againſt him, upon their coming in by a prefixed day to take the oaths. The day had been twice or thrice prolonged, and it was at laſt carried to the end of the year 1691, with a poſitive threatening of proceeding to military execution againſt ſuch as ſhould not come into his obedience by the laſt day of December.

"All were ſo terrified that they came in; and even Macdonald went to the governor of Fort-William; but he being only a military man, could or would not tender them, and Macdonald was forced to ſeek for ſome of the legal magiſtrates to tender them to him. The ſnows were then fallen, ſo that four or five days paſſed before he could come to a magiſtrate. He took the oaths in his preſence on the fifth or ſixth of January, when, by the ſtrictneſs of the law, he could claim no benefit by them. The matter was ſignified to the council, and the perſon had a reprimand for giving him the oaths when the day was paſt.

"This was kept up from the king, and the earl of Braidalbin came to court to give an account of his diligence, and to bring back the money, ſince he could not do the ſervice for which he had it. He informed againſt this Macdonald as the chief perſon who had defeated that good deſign; and that he might gratify his own revenge, and render the king odious to all the Highlanders, he propoſed that orders ſhould be ſent for a military execution on thoſe of Glencoe. An inſtruction was drawn by a ſecretary of ſtate to be both ſigned and counterſigned by the king (that ſo he (lord Braidalbin) might bear no part of the blame, but that it might lay wholly on the king) that ſuch as had not taken the oaths by the time limited ſhould be ſhut out of the benefit of the indemnity, and be received only upon mercy: but when it was found this would not authorize what was intended, a ſecond order was got to be ſigned and counterſigned, that if the Glencoe men could be ſeparated from the reſt of the Highlanders, ſome examples might be made of them, in order to ſtrike terror into the reſt. The king ſigned this order without any enquiry about it; for he was too apt to ſign papers in a hurry, without examining the importance of them. This was one effect of his ſlowneſs in diſpatching buſineſs: for as he was apt to ſuffer things to run on till there was a great heap of papers laid before him, ſo then he ſigned them a little too precipitately: but all this while the king knew nothing of Macdonald's offering to take the oaths within the time, and of his taking them ſoon after it was paſt when he came to a proper magiſtrate. As theſe orders were ſent down, the ſecretary of ſtate writ many private letters to Livingſtone, who commanded in Scotland, giving him a ſtrict charge and particular directions for the execution of them, and the paſſes in the Valley to be kept, deſcribing them ſo minutely, that the orders were certainly drawn by one who knew the country well. He gave alſo a poſitive direction that no priſoners ſhould be taken, that ſo the execution might be as terrible as poſſible. He preſſed this upon Livingſtone with ſtrains of vehemence, that looked as if there was ſomething more than ordinary in it: he indeed grounded it on his zeal for the king's ſervice, adding, that ſuch rebels and murderers ſhould be made an example of.

"In February 1692 a company was ſent to Glencoe, who were kindly received, and quartered over the Valley, the inhabitants thinking themſelves ſafe, and looking for no hoſtilities. After they had ſtaid a week among them, they took their time in the night, and killed about ſix and thirty of them, the reſt taking the alarm and eſcaping. This raiſed a mighty outcry, and was publiſhed by the French in their gazettes, and by the Jacobites in their libels, to caſt a reproach on the king's government as cruel and barbarous, tho' in all other inſtances it had appeared that his own inclinations were gentle and mild rather to an exceſs. The king ſent orders to enquire into the matter; but when the letters writ upon this buſineſs were all examined, which I myſelf read, it appeared that ſo many were involved in the matter, that the king's gentleneſs prevailed on him to a fault, and he contented himſelf with diſmiſſing the maſter of Stair from his ſervice. The Highlanders were ſo inflamed with this, that they were put in as forward a diſpoſition as the Jacobites wiſhed for to have rebelled upon the firſt favourable opportunity; and indeed the not puniſhing this action with a due rigour was the greateſt blot of this whole reign, and had a very ill effect in alienating the Scottiſh nation from the king and his government." Let us now return to the affairs in England.

His majeſty, on his arrival at Kenſington, received a congratulatory addreſs from the lord-mayor and aldermen, with whom he dined in public by invitation. A day of thankſgiving was alſo appointed for the victory at ſea, and his majeſty's happy eſcape from the perils and dangers of war, and the private attempts of his enemies againſt his royal perſon. On the fourth of November the parliament met, when the king in his ſpeech to both houſes thanked them very cordially for their laſt ſupplies; congratulated them upon the victory obtained at ſea; condoled them on the bad ſucceſs of the laſt campaign by land, obſerving, that the diligence of the French in augmenting their forces was ſuch, that it would be abſolutely neceſſary to have as great a force to oppoſe them; and demanded a ſupply ſuitable to the exigence. He expreſſed great concern at the ſending ſuch large ſums out of the kingdom for the payment of the troops; an inconvenience, he ſaid, that he wiſhed they could find ſome way to remedy. He intimated a deſign of making a deſcent upon France, and hoped that his parliament would give ſuch ſpeedy diſpatch to the ſupplies, that the preparations might be timely and effectual: he declared that he had no intereſt but what was theirs, nor any other view but that of making them a happy people. "Hitherto, added he in concluſion, I have never ſpared my own perſon for the good and welfare of this nation; and I am ſo ſenſible of your good affections to me, that I ſhall continue ſo to do with great chearfulneſs upon all occaſions, wherein I may contribute to the honour and advantage of England *."

There was at this time a ſtrong party formed in the upper houſe againſt the meaſures of the government, which party was chiefly under the direction of the earl of Marlborough; ſo that, inſtead of receiving the king's ſpeech with that applauſe which was expected, they immediately fell upon an enquiry into the commitment of thoſe peers who had been lately impriſoned. This enquiry was conducted with great animoſity; but the king having agreed to releaſe theſe lords upon their bail, the affair at laſt was entirely compromiſed.

The commons, by occaſion of the thinneſs of the houſe, adjourned to the eleventh of November, when they preſented an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for his ſpeech, and another deſiring that the ſtate of foreign alliances might be laid before them; and on the twelfth a bill was introduced for regulating trials in caſes of high-treaſon; they alſo voted thanks to admiral Ruſſel, and the commanders and ſeamen of the fleet, for their behaviour in the late fight off La Hogue. However, it having been much talked abroad that this victory had not been improved as it might have been, ſeveral inſtructions, orders, and reſolutions of councils of war, concerning the laſt ſummer's expedition at ſea, and the intended deſcent after the victory, were called for and examined by the houſe; and ſir John Aſhby, one of the admirals, was particularly examined in relation to the French men of war that eſcaped through the Race of Alderney into St. Malo's; when that officer gave an account of the proceedings of the ſhips under his command in and after the engagement, ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the houſe, that they directed their ſpeaker to acquaint him in form, "That the houſe took notice of his ingenuous behaviour at their bar, and that he had given an account to the ſatisfaction of the houſe, and was diſmiſſed from farther attendance †." Admiral Ruſſel was alſo examined the ſame day, in relation to the miſcarriage of the intended deſcent, who juſtified himſelf by the orders he received from the earl of Nottingham, ſecretary of ſtate; and the earl ſhewed that thoſe orders had been dictated to him by a ſuperior power; whereupon the matter was dropped, though not till ſeveral ſevere ſpeeches had been made againſt the miniſters in general, and his lordſhip in particular: the commons thought fit, however, again to teſtify their approbation of the admiral's conduct.

The houſe next proceeded to take into conſideration the article of ſupplies; and the proper eſtimates being laid before them, they reſolved to grant the whole ſum demanded, which amounted to about five millions, viz. near two millions for the charge of the navy and ordnance, two millions and upwards for the land-forces, including the extraordinary charges of the office of ordnance in relation to the land-ſervice, and the charge of the tranſports, hoſpitals, and other contingencies. Beſides which, the ſum of ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds was granted to make good the deficiencies in the late quarterly poll. The civil liſt was provided for in the former ſeſſion, ſo that the expences of the government, ordinary and extraordinary, for the enſuing year 1693, could not be computed at much leſs than ſix millions of money.

In order to raiſe theſe ſupplies, a tax of four ſhillings in the pound was impoſed upon all lands, according to their yearly value; and all offices and employments of profit, except military offices in the army or navy. They likewiſe empowered his majeſty to borrow money on the credit of this tax at the rate of four per cent. and farther enabled him to raiſe one million on the general credit of the Exchequer by granting annuities. This was the firſt annuity-act, and was the principal means of involving this nation in debt. A third way of raiſing money was, by levying additional duties on goods and merchandize imported and exported, particularly the ſum of eight pounds on every ton of French wines. A new impoſition of eight per cent. was alſo laid on the capital ſtock of the Eaſt-India Company, eſtimated at ſeven hundred forty-four thouſand pounds; of one per cent. on the African; and of five pounds on every ſhare of the ſtock belonging to the Hudſon's-Bay Company; and they empowered his majeſty to borrow half a million on thoſe funds which were entirely ſet apart for carrying on the war ‡.

A bill was brought in this ſeſſion for incapacitating perſons having certain civil and military employments, to ſit in the houſe of commons, which paſſed the lower houſe, but occaſioned long and warm debates in the houſe of peers; in which the earl of Mulgrave diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a particular manner, by a ſpeech he made in favour of the bill. He obſerved, that the commons were the repreſentatives of the people: "But if, after

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, ii. 408. † Ibid. ii. 410. ‡ Ibid. ii. 411, 412.

they are choſen, ſays he, they ſhall change their dependency, engage in employments plainly inconſiſtent with the great truſt repoſed in them, what are the people to expect from them? A commoner who has a command in the army muſt have a divided duty; and perhaps his troops or regiment may be in ſome action abroad, and he muſt either have the ſhame of being abſent from them at ſuch a time, or from that houſe where he is entruſted with our liberties. There is another ſort of incapacity worſe than this, proceeded he, I mean that of parliament-men having ſuch places in the Exchequer, as the very profit of them depends on the money given to the king in parliament: Would any of your lordſhips ſend or entruſt a man to make a bargain for you, whoſe very intereſt ſhall be concerned to make you give as much as he poſſibly can?" After ſeveral other arguments of the like tendency, he deſired the houſe "to conſider of what great conſequence it might be that ſo many votes ſhould be free, when upon one ſingle voice might depend the whole ſecurity or loſs of the nation; adding, that the people could never be brought to bear patiently ſo great a provocation as the being debarred from a ſecurity in their repreſentatives; and would be eaſily perſuaded, by thoſe whoſe intereſts it was to inflame their minds with diſcontent, that all thoſe vaſt ſums which had been, and ſtill muſt be, raiſed towards carrying on the war, were not diſpoſed of in ſo fair a manner as they ought to be; and I am afraid, concluded he, that their money is not *given*, but *taken*." This bill however was thrown out, after a long debate, by a majority of two voices only; the argument againſt paſſing it being, that it ſeemed to eſtabliſh an oppoſition between the crown and the people, as if thoſe who were employed by the one were not fit to be truſted by the other. Various attempts have ſince been made to procure an act of this kind, but always without ſucceſs, for reaſons that are too obvious to be repeated.

Another bill was introduced much about the ſame time for eſtabliſhing triennial parliaments, which, after having paſſed both houſes, was rejected by his majeſty, who ſeems to have had no mind to part with a parliament which had been ſo liberal to him in their ſupplies.

A complaint was made to the houſe of commons ſoon after of a pamphlet, entitled, King William and Queen Mary Conquerors, which tended to make the lives and eſtates of the ſubject depend entirely on the will of the ſovereign. The houſe was ſo alarmed at the pernicious tendency of this book, that they ordered it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, together with biſhop Burnet's Paſtoral Letter to the Clergy of his Dioceſe, in which this notion of conqueſt had been firſt advanced. After which both houſes, in order to ſhew their ſentiments of the matter, came to this reſolution, That the aſſertion of king William and queen Mary being king and queen by conqueſt, was highly injurious to their majeſties *rightful* title to the crown, inconſiſtent with the principles on which this government was founded, and tended to the ſubverſion of the rights of the people *. The lords ſhortly after taking into conſideration the ill ſucceſs of the campaign in Flanders, reflected ſeverely on count Solmes, as the principal cauſe of the defeat at Steinkirk, and preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, humbly entreating that the commanding officer of the Engliſh forces ſhould be a native of his majeſty's dominions; that Engliſh officers might take rank of thoſe in the confederate armies who did not belong to crowned heads; and laſtly, that no foreigner ſhould ſit at the board of ordnance. To this addreſs the king only replied, that he would take it into conſideration. They next proceeded to enquire into the failure of the intended deſcent upon the French coaſt, and paſſed ſome votes reflecting on the conduct of admiral Ruſſel; but the commons ſtill adhered to their former opinion, and repeated their thanks to that admiral for his fidelity, courage, and conduct.

There was a grievance at this time much complained of, namely, the preſſing landmen for the ſea-ſervice by the officers of the navy, who carried them over to Holland, and there ſold them to the officers of the army; which infamous practice would in all probability have paſſed unnoticed, had not a ſervant belonging to one of the members of parliament been thus ſpirited away. Sir John Trevor the ſpeaker being ordered to lay this oppreſſion before his majeſty, the king was pleaſed to expreſs a juſt reſentment on the occaſion, and ordered that no officers ſhould preſume to preſs landmen for the future, on pain of being caſhiered. The parliament next proceeded to take into conſideration the ſtate of Ireland, concerning which they examined a number of witneſſes, and then both houſes preſented addreſſes to his majeſty †; wherein they complained of the conditions that had been granted the Iriſh on the ſurrender of Limerick, and of the king's diſpoſal of ſome of the forfeited eſtates and effects in that kingdom; as alſo of the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers for want of pay in that kingdom, which, they ſaid, they hoped they had provided for. They complained of the recruiting of his majeſty's troops with Iriſh papiſts, of the ſelling the forfeited eſtates at under rates, to the prejudice of the revenue, the embezzlement of the ſtores in the towns and garriſons taken from king James, as alſo of the forfeited eſtates and goods; and repreſented that certain additions made to the articles of Limerick, after the ſaid articles had been ſigned, had given great encouragement to the Iriſh papiſts, and conſiderably weakened the Engliſh intereſt in that country. Theſe abuſes they moſt humbly beſought his majeſty to redreſs, particularly that the ſoldiers might be paid their arrears, and that no Iriſh papiſt might ſerve in the army there; that no grant might be made of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, till there be an opportunity for ſettling that matter in parliament, &c. &c. To which the king anſwered in general terms, That what was amiſs ſhould be remedied. It was however noticed, that he granted large portions of theſe eſtates to the lord Portland and other of his favourites afterwards.

On the fourteenth day of March 1693, the king came to the houſe of lords, where, after having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills, he cloſed

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, ii. 413.

† On the ninth of March 1693.

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the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he thanked the parliament for the large ſupplies they had given him, recommended the peace of their reſpective counties to their care, as alſo the levying the taxes equally. He told them that his preſence was required abroad, but that he ſhould leave a ſufficient number of troops for the ſecurity of the kingdom, concluding, "That he ſhould continue to expoſe his perſon upon all occaſions, for the good and advantage of theſe kingdoms, aſſuring them that his hearty and ſincere endeavours ſhould never be wanting in any way to make England a great and flouriſhing nation;" and then by his majeſty's command the parliament was prorogued to the ſecond of May *.

During this ſeſſion of parliament, in the month of December, ſir John Trevor, ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons, was made Maſter of the Rolls, in the room of Henry Powle, eſq. deceaſed. He had enjoyed that place under king James. Sir Edward Ward was made attorney-general, which gave ſuch diſguſt to ſir Thomas Trevor, the ſollicitor-general, who thought he had a right to ſucceed to that office, that it was with great difficulty his friends could prevail on him not to reſign his own place. About the latter end of January the king thought fit to diſmiſs admiral Ruſſel, and gave the command of the fleet jointly to Henry Killigrew, eſq. ſir Ralph Delaval, and ſir Cloudeſley Shovel. George Rook, eſq. was appointed vice-admiral of the red, George lord Berkeley vice-admiral of the blue, captain Matthew Aylmer rear-admiral of the red, and captain David Mitchel rear-admiral of the blue. On the 16th of February his majeſty went down to Portſmouth to take a view of the fleet there; and dining on board with vice-admiral Rook, conferred on him the honour of knighthood; and now his majeſty being about to embark for Holland, was pleaſed on the twenty-third of March to conſtitute John Somers, the attorney-general, lord-keeper of the great-ſeal, and ſir John Frankland one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate: and at the ſame time ſir John Lowther, Henry Prieſtman, eſq. Anthony lord viſcount Falkland, Robert Auſten, eſq. ſir Robert Rich, Henry Killigrew, eſq. and ſir Ralph Delaval, were appointed lords commiſſioners of the admiralty.

We ſhall cloſe this year, 1692, with ſome remarks on the ſtate of our trade. Immenſe was the loſs that England ſuſtained in the two firſt years of her wars with France, by the captures made of her merchant ſhips by the French privateers; for by an account laid before the parliament this year, it appeared that they had taken from us no fewer than three thouſand ſail of trading veſſels great and ſmall; whereas we had during the ſame ſpace of time taken from France only ſixty-nine merchant ſhips: an alarming difference! But on the other hand, to balance in part this great misfortune, the ſtrict prohibition of commerce by both nations during this war, proved the occaſion of vaſt detriment to France, and advantage to us, by putting a ſtop to the importation of many of her moſt lucrative manufactures. Thus, in the firſt place, ſhe was deprived of a moſt profitable linen-manufacture in dowlas and lockram, chiefly manufactured in Normandy and Brittany, of which it was ſaid we took off to the value of two hundred thouſand pounds yearly. In the next place, France before this war manufactured ſuch good and cheap felt hats at Caudebec, Havre de Grace, and other places in Normandy, that by our prohibiting them we have gradually arrived at ſo great a perfection in that manufacture as to make them better, as well as cheaper, than the French can do. Again, before this war, the fine glaſs manufacture was almoſt entirely in the poſſeſſion of France, who not only furniſhed us with almoſt all the glaſs for our coaches and chairs, and our fine looking-glaſſes, but alſo with our fineſt window-glaſs, which was uſually called Normandy glaſs and French crown-glaſs: both which we have ſince made our own manufacture in the greateſt perfection. Laſtly, cutlery-ware, watches, toys, ribbands, &c. and particularly our broad ſilk manufacture, have been ſo greatly improved as even to out-do the French themſelves. Hence our reader will readily conceive how great a blow the French muſt have received by this decreaſe of their manufactures.

In this ſame year ſeveral French refugees, ſtudious to promote the intereſt of England, and to weaken France by impairing her manufactures, in conjunction with ſome Engliſh merchants, and being ſupported by the protection of the earl of Pembroke, whom they choſe their governor, erected themſelves into a company, called the Royal Luſtring Company, and obtained the king's patent, whereby they were reputed a body-politic, having the full and ſole privilege for the making of luſtrings and alamodes in England. On the twenty-ſixth of October this patent was read in full committee at their houſe in Auſtin-Friars; at which time the Company was aſſured by their governor of his majeſty's ſatisfaction in this undertaking to ſuch a degree, that all other encouragements might be expected for the promoting of it. And although by the change of faſhion theſe ſilks are not at preſent much in requeſt, yet the project greatly contributed to the improvement of the ſilk manufacture in general †.

I ſhall now proceed to the tranſactions of the year 1693.

King William having ſettled affairs at home on ſuch a footing as he thought moſt likely to enſure the peace of his dominions during his abſence, embarked for Holland, on the thirty-firſt of March, at Graveſend. On his arrival at the Hague, the ſecond of April, the elector of Bavaria, having been appointed by the king of Spain governor of his territories in the Netherlands, ſent the count d'Arco

* Among the laws enacted in this ſeſſion were theſe that follow. An act, enabling the inhabitants of Yorkſhire to diſpoſe of their perſonal eſtates by will. An act for raiſing the militia in the year 1693. An act authorizing the judges to impower any perſon, except common attorneys and ſolicitors, to take ſpecial bail upon all actions and ſuits, unleſs the party live within ten miles of the capital. An act to encourage the apprehending of highwaymen, entitling every perſon, who ſhould take a robber, to the ſum of forty pounds; within one month after conviction, as alſo to the horſe, furniture, and arms of the criminal, and ſuch money as may be found upon him. An act to prevent clandeſtine mortgages. An act for the better diſcovery of judgments in the courts of law. And an act to prevent malicious informations in the court of King's bench, obliging every informer, that he will effectually proſecute the perſon, againſt whom he complains. Pr. of the Houſe of Com. p. 415.

† Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 198, 199. Tindal, vol. ii. p. 41.

to wait on his majeſty, and compliment him on his arrival. The campaign this year began with ſeveral ſkirmiſhes on either frontier, with various ſucceſs. A party of one hundred Newburghers ſuddenly entering the village of Multerne, ſurprized eighty French horſe, which they brought priſoners, with their arms and baggage, to the general rendezvous; but in the mean while the French army broke into the Palatinate, and committed grievous outrages there, burning and plundering in ſuch a manner as to lay the whole country waſte. The war in Flanders was now puſhed on with vigour; the duke of Wirtemberg was ſent, with a ſtrong detachment of horſe and foot, to force the enemies lines, which they had drawn to ſecure that part of the Netherlands commonly called French Flanders. This he effected with much facility, and put the country for ſeveral leagues round under contribution, raiſing ſome millions of livres, and taking in ſeveral places much booty. This ſpirited enterprize greatly alarmed Luxemburg, the French general, who ſaw his honour at ſtake unleſs he performed ſome daring exploit to preſerve it: accordingly he formed the bold deſign of obliging Wirtemberg to withdraw his forces. With this view he, in the firſt place, attempted, with fifty ſquadrons of horſe, ten battalions of foot, and ſome field-pieces, to fall upon part of the garriſons of Liege and Maeſtricht, conſiſting of eighteen ſquadrons of horſe and ſome regiments of foot, under count Tilly; but they, having received timely notice of his intentions, retreated over the river Sare, whilſt three ſquadrons of horſe kept the French in play, and beat back their advanced parties, thus ſecuring the retreat of their own foot.

Luxemburg, thus baffled in the firſt of his ſchemes, fell upon a ſecond, which was attended with greater ſucceſs. King William, upon his joining the army in Flanders, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſtrong camp of Landen, in Louvain; the allied army at that time did not conſiſt of above ſeventy thouſand men, and, beſides, was conſiderably weakened by the detachments the king was obliged to ſend off, to reinforce the neighbouring garriſons; whereas the French army amounted to no leſs than one hundred and twenty thouſand men. Luxemburg, conſcious of his ſuperiority over the confederate forces, and knowing that the king of England's camp muſt be greatly weakened by the many detachments lately ſent off, eſpecially that under the duke of Wirtemberg, reſolved to attack his majeſty in his camp, or at leaſt to fall upon the rear of his army, ſhould he attempt to retreat at the approach of the French. With this view he made a motion towards Liege, as if he intended to inveſt that place, and encamped at Heidelſheim, about ſeven leagues from the camp of the confederates. On the eighteenth of July O. S. he began his march, in four columns, and paſſed the Sare without oppoſition. The king had marched out, a few days before, to relieve Huy, which the French had inveſted; but on his way he had news by his ſcouts, that Huy had ſurrendered, and that the van of the French army was advancing towards him, which they believed to be the fore-runner of the motion of the whole army. This made him change his march; for, having ſent a detachment to ſtrengthen the garriſon of Liege, he directed his route to the neighbourhood of Heſpen, near Landen, and then halted to get more certain intelligence of the enemy's intention: there being informed that the whole French army was advancing againſt him, he reſolved to keep his ground, and immediately drew up his forces in order of battle; but his diſpoſition was ſo erroneous, that Luxemburg, as ſoon as he ſaw it, cried, "Now I believe that Waldeck is dead!" alluding to that general's known ſagacity in chuſing ground for an engagement.

Early next morning, the twenty-ninth of July, the French appeared on the high ground and hills of Gertruyden and Landen, and ſoon after deſcended, in good order, into the plains, though the cannon of the allies played on them very fiercely all the time. About eight in the morning they attacked the villages of Lare and Neer Winden (or Nerwinde) with great impetuoſity. Luxemburg and the princes of France, at the head of the houſehold troops, carried the village ſword in hand two different times; but the inſtant the marſhal turned another way, the allies retook it again. At length the French, out-numbering the confederates, preſſed on with reſiſtleſs fury, freſh men ſtill ſupplying the ranks that were broken by the well-ſerved artillery from the king's camp. Thus the battle increaſed, and held on till near ſun-ſet, when Luxembourg having carried the village of Neer Winden a third time, and the confederates being wearied out with the heat of the day, and their long fatigue, the French forced their camp with their horſe, and formed their lines, though with great loſs. After this, making way for their whole army to follow, William, who had through the whole day ſignalized himſelf by the greateſt efforts of courage and perſeverance, giving every where the neceſſary orders, and leading up in perſon ſeveral troops and battalions to the charge, ſeeing all loſt, and fearing that he ſhould be ſurrounded by the enemy's victorious troops, drew off his army, and retreated in as good order as ſo preſſing a ſituation would admit. After having paid the juſtice due to king William's perſonal courage, it muſt be acknowleged that Luxemburg ſhewed himſelf much the greater general, firſt by thoſe feints and ſtratagems that induced the confederates to weaken their army by detachments, and then by forcing them in a camp which they looked upon as inacceſſible. Few actions proved more bloody; there were about twenty thouſand killed, including both ſides, the French having loſt eight, and the allies about twelve thouſand men: the greateſt loſs of the latter fell on the foot, eſpecially the Engliſh, who fought bravely to the laſt: the duke of Ormond was wounded in ſeveral places, and taken priſoner; and the count de Solmes had his leg ſhot off by a cannon-ball, of which he died in a few hours. The allies loſt ſixty pieces of cannon and nine mortars. The enemy, though they had gained the day, had little reaſon to boaſt of their victory: beſides the common men, they loſt two thouſand officers, either killed or wounded, and were ſo much weakened that they either were not able or willing to purſue the confederates; while king William having ſent to the duke of Wirtemberg to join him, and in a little time the ſcattered ſoldiers coming to their colours, the army was ſo well recruited, that in a few days it took the field again, and marched againſt the enemy, who thought fit to retire, having had enough of hot work for one campaign. This battle was called the Battle of Landen by the allies, and by

the French the Battle of Neer Winden. The remaining part of the campaign produced nothing memorable, except the reduction of Charleroy, which, after ſuſtaining a regular ſiege of ſix-and-twenty days, ſurrendered, on the tenth of September, to the enemy on honourable terms.

The French were equally ſucceſsful in every other quarter, though the advantages they gained were generally purchaſed at a dear rate. In Catalonia they reduced Roſes and the caſtle of Ampurias, a circumſtance which threw the whole kingdom of Spain into the utmoſt conſternation. But no where did the confederates receive ſo entire a defeat as at Marſaglia, in Piedmont, where the duke of Schomberg commanded the troops in Engliſh pay, and thoſe celebrated generals, the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene, his brother, the reſt of that army. Catinat, the French general, obtained this victory by a ſtratagem never uſed before, which was making his ſoldiers ſcrew their bayonets over the barrels of their pieces, and charge with them loaded: the generals of the allied army obſerving bayonets at the end of the enemies muſquets, imagined they had been diſcharged, and were thrown into confuſion; when they found their miſtake, and were ſaluted with a terrible volley of ſhot. Soon after this action pikes began to be laid aſide, and bayonets to be uſed in their room, all over Europe. Duke Schomberg was mortally wounded, and taken priſoner by the French in this engagement, which was fought on the fourth of October.

The Engliſh were as unſucceſsful at ſea this year, as the allies had been by land. About the middle of May the fleet aſſembled at St. Helen's, and ſoon after were joined by the Dutch, when they made a formidable appearance *, and every one expected ſomething very conſiderable would be performed. It appeared, however, but too ſoon, that things were in a very diſtracted condition, and that the admirals had not proper orders to warrant their ſtriking any blow of moment, and were too much divided in their opinions to undertake any thing of themſelves: in ſhort, the only ſervice reſolved on, was that ſir George Rook ſhould convoy the merchant-fleet going to the Mediterranean, amounting in all to about four hundred ſail, belonging to England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Hamburgh, and Flanders. Had this deſign been executed as ſoon as taken, it had been honourable for the nation and fortunate for the merchants; but ſuch was the dilatorineſs of either the admirals or the higher powers, that it was the beginning of June before this fleet ſailed, and then we had no intelligence of the enemy's motions, but the admirals took their meaſures at random; a circumſtance which, however diſgraceful to our naval officers at that time, comes too well authenticated ‡ to warrant a doubt, and is too important to be concealed. It was reſolved that the combined fleets ſhould accompany the trading veſſels fifty leagues to the weſtward of Uſhant, but were then to leave ſir George Rooke, with a ſquadron of twenty-three ſhips of war, to proceed with them to their deſtined ports.

It was not long before the imprudence of theſe meaſures appeared: admiral Rooke had no ſooner arrived off Cape St. Vincent, on the coaſt of Portugal, than he diſcovered, on the ſeventeenth of June, the French fleet, amounting to eighty ſail, under the command of the counts de Tourville and d'Etrées. A council of war being called in this exigence, it was reſolved that orders ſhould be ſent to the ſmall ſhips that were near the land, and therefore not likely to keep up with the fleet, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours in the night to ſlip into the neighbouring ports of Faro, St. Lucar, or Cadiz, while the admiral ſhould ſtand off to ſea, with an eaſy ſail, for the protection of the reſt. About ſix in the evening, the French admiral and vice-admiral of the blue, which had the whole afternoon gained upon the ſquadron, notwithſtanding all the ſail they could make, came up with the leeward and ſternmoſt ſhips of the confederate fleet; theſe were Dutch men of war, commanded by the captains Schrijver and Vander Poel, who, finding there was no probability of eſcaping, tacked-in for the ſhore, and thereby drew the enemy after them, which ſaved the reſt of the fleet. The Dutch captains made a moſt obſtinate defence, and for five hours together bravely fought, firſt eleven and then ſeven of the enemy's ſhips, till at length, overpowered by numbers, they were conſtrained to yield. Admiral Rooke ſtood off all night with a freſh gale, and the next morning ſaw fifty-four ſhips of the convoy about him; he alſo deſcried five ſail of the enemy's ſhips to leeward, and one to windward, which laſt continued to dog him all that day. On the nineteenth the admiral ſent for the officers of the men of war and merchant-ſhips on board, in order to get an account of the condition they were in, and to concert the proper meaſures for ſecuring the remainder of the trade; the reſult was, that the admiral bore away for the Madeiras, where he hoped to meet with a part of his ſcattered fleet; and having provided himſelf at that place with wood and water, of which he ſtood in need, he ſet ſail for Ireland, and on the third day of Auguſt arrived at Corke, with about fifty ſail, including ſhips of war and trading veſſels.

Had the French admirals purſued their advantage properly, there is hardly any probability that any part of the men of war or merchant-ſhips could have eſcaped; but either from a wrong diſpoſition of their fleet, or from their orders not being obeyed by the commanders of the reſpective ſhips, they made but a very poor uſe of their prodigious ſuperiority; not but that the Engliſh and Dutch trade ſuſtained a ſevere loſs by this attack: according to the beſt accounts, the marquis de Coetlogon took ſeven large Smyrna ſhips, and burnt or ſunk four more at Gibraltar; and M. de Tourville and the count d'Etrées took two Dutch men of war, burnt a rich pinnace and an Engliſh man of war, took twenty-nine merchantmen, and deſtroyed about fifty more: the value of the cargoes and the men of war together, was computed at twenty millions of French livres, or one million ſterling; whereas had the French admirals exerted themſelves properly, they muſt have been gainers four millions. The ſieur Du Mont, who then wrote a political journal in Holland, ſpeaks thus of the matter: "It is certain that the French miſſed taking the greateſt part of the convoy; and that ſir George

* Of the Engliſh there were ſix firſt rates, nine ſecond, twenty-ſix third, five fourths, two fifths, and three ſixths, beſides thirteen fireſhips; of the Dutch, ſix firſt rates, three ſecond, fourteen third, ſix fourths, three ſixths, and ſix fireſhips: in all one hundred and two ſail. Burchet. Campbell.

‡ See Burchet, Kennet, Burnet, State Tracts, and in ſhort all the Memoirs of that time.

Rooke upon this occaſion acquired infinitely more honour than thoſe who commanded the French fleet: for the one, unable to reſiſt ſuch as attacked him, in the midſt of threatening danger, by his prudence, dexterity, and courage, ſaved the beſt part of the fleet committed to his charge, at a time that the others ſuffered themſelves to be deprived, by the ſuperior ſkill of this admiral, of a booty which, if they could have kept it, fortune put into their hands." The French admirals next made an attempt to ſurprize Cadiz, but found the deſign impracticable. They then bombarded Gibraltar, where the merchants ſunk their ſhips to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands, who afterwards ſailed along the coaſt of Spain, burnt ſome Engliſh and Dutch ſhips at Malaga and Alicant, and then returned to Toulon about the latter end of September.

On the nineteenth of the ſame month fifteen Dutch ſhips of the line of battle, and two frigates, were ordered by his majeſty to Holland, and twenty-ſix men of war and ſeven fire-ſhips were aſſigned for the winter fleet, which it was then thought would have put an end to the naval operations of this year; but it ſoon after appeared that there was yet a ſecret expedition to be undertaken, in order to check the immoderate boaſting of the French for their late ſucceſsful exploits by ſea.

Our trade had ſuffered moſt terrible loſſes for a conſiderable time by the privateers from St. Malo's: never did one port ſend out ſo great a number of theſe cruizers, nor any place acquire, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, ſo much wealth, without engaging in any trade. The ſea was covered with their cruizers from the Channel to the Mediterranean, and their very names were dreaded by the merchants of London, Amſterdam, and Cadiz. The repeated complaints of the ſufferers by this depredatory war ſo alarmed our government, that a reſolution was taken to make a deſcent and deſtroy St. Malo's, the neſt of theſe formidable enemies to our trade: and commodore Benbow, in conjunction with captain Philips, a famous engineer, was appointed to the command of this expedition, who, with a ſquadron of twelve men of war, four bomb-ketches, and other veſſels, ſailed for St. Malo's, where they arrived on the ſixteenth of November, and about four in the afternoon came to an anchor before the place. After bombarding the town for three days, on the night of the nineteenth, taking advantage of a freſh gale of wind, a ſtrong tide, and very dark weather, they ſent in a fire-ſhip of an extraordinary conſtruction *, and which was intended to reduce the town to aſhes: this it would unavoidably have done, but for an accident; for when ſhe had got, unperceived by the enemy, within piſtol-ſhot of the place where they intended to have moored her, a ſudden flurry of wind drove her upon a rock, from which all the ſkill of thoſe on board could not get her off. At laſt, the engineer who was on board finding her beginning to open, and fearing ſhe might ſink, ſet fire to her; the exploſion of which was ſo terrible as to ſhake the whole town like an earthquake, unroofed three hundred houſes, and broke all the glaſs and earthen-ware for three leagues round. The inhabitants were ſtruck with ſuch conſternation, that a ſmall body of troops might eaſily have taken the place: but the miniſtry, by an effect of their uſual inattention, or ſomewhat worſe, had ſent out this ſquadron without a ſingle ſoldier on board. Sir George Rooke's ſquadron was by this time arrived in England, and laid up. Thus ended the naval expeditions of this year, as little for the honour of the Engliſh nation as any that had ever been ſet on foot.

The diſcontents begotten by ſuch a continued ſeries of miſcarriages, were too violent to be dormant: every mouth in the nation was opened againſt the miniſters, whom they ſcrupled not openly to accuſe of treachery. It was affirmed that the French court was privately acquainted with all the deſigns of ours, and were thereby enabled to take their meaſures for rendering them ineffectual; while the Engliſh remained, or affected to remain, in the moſt profound ignorance of the ſchemes of our adverſaries. The weight of this accuſation fell chiefly on the earl of Nottingham, Killigrew, and Delaval, two of the admirals, the marquis of Caermarthen, and the earl of Rocheſter. Certain it is, theſe perſons were all then known to have been ſtrongly attached to the late king, and were not yet reconciled to the preſent government, though poſſeſſing lucrative and honourable poſts and employments under it. It is not for us raſhly to aſſert that the accuſations againſt theſe perſons were abſolutely true: it is ſufficient to remark, that the proofs alleged in ſupport of them were very ſtriking, and that their conduct had given but too much occaſion to unfavourable ſurmiſes.

While we were thus pining under our loſſes in England, the French were ſtarving amidſt their victories: that kingdom was afflicted with a dreadful famine, which ſwept off many thouſands; and the whole nation was reduced to poverty and diſtreſs. Lewis XIV. in this conjuncture thought it his duty to free his people, if poſſible, from the burthen of that ruinous war in which his ambition had involved them. With this view he attempted to conclude a ſeparate peace with ſome of the allies; but as his demands were ſtill ſo high as to afford the allies no proſpect of a juſt peace, theſe offers were rejected.

The campaign being now cloſed in Flanders, king William returned to England the latter end of the month of October, when his firſt care was to quiet the murmurings among his people, by making a total change in his miniſtry. The earl of Nottingham, ſecretary of ſtate, was now laid aſide, and his department filled by the earl of Shrewſbury. The command of the fleet was taken

* The reader may not be diſpleaſed to ſee a deſcription of this famous engine of deſtruction: I ſhall therefore give it a place in this note, as I find it in Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, vol. iii. p. 103, 104. The French writers ſay that this was one of thoſe dreadful machines, ſtiled Infernal, which the Dutch made uſe of to deſtroy the bridge over the Schelde, when the prince of Parma beſieged Antwerp in the year 1585. The reader will perceive by the following deſcription, that it was in fact a fire-ſhip, contrived to operate when moored cloſe to the town walls. It was a new ſhip of about three hundred, or, as the marquis de Quincey ſays, 350 tons. At the bottom of the hold were one hundred barrels of powder: theſe were covered with pitch, ſulphur, roſin, tow, ſtraw, and faggots; over which lay beams bored through, to give air to the fire, and upon theſe lay three hundred carcaſſes, filled with granadoes, chain ſhot, iron bars, and the bottoms of glaſs bottles. There were ſix holes or mouths to let out the flames, which were ſo vehement as to conſume the hardeſt ſubſtances, and could be checked by nothing but the pouring in of hot water.

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out of the hands of the commiſſioners, and committed ſolely to the gallant admiral Ruſſel: in a word, the Tory party were in general forced to make way for their adverſaries the Whigs, ſuch only of the former who were thought ſtaunch to the preſent government being continued in office. Theſe meaſures were chiefly owing to the repreſentations of the earl of Sunderland, who had acquired a conſiderable influence with his majeſty, and had found means to perſuade him that the Whigs were his only true friends, while the Tories, under a mark of pretended loyalty to him, were in their hearts devoted to the intereſts of the late ſovereign: and yet it ſeems hard to reconcile this imputation with the conduct they had obſerved ever ſince the Revolution; for no parliament ever contributed more bountifully to the neceſſities of the ſtate than this (which was chiefly compoſed of thoſe called Tories) had done. It is no wonder indeed that king William ſhould ſhew diſtinguiſhing marks of favour to the earl of Sunderland, who, by the intelligence he afforded him when prince of Orange, and the double part he acted towards king James, contributed principally to the ſucceſs of the Revolution: but I ſhall forbear entering into remarks, in which it will be impoſſible to pleaſe all my readers.

On the king's coming over a thankſgiving was obſerved for his preſervation in the field, and his ſafe return. The parliament meeting on the ſeventh of November, his majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, wherein he took nótice of the ſeveral diſadvantages the confederates had received by land, and of our own miſcarriages at ſea: "The former, he ſaid, were occaſioned by the ſuperior numbers of the enemy in all places: as to the latter, he told them he would make them the particular objects of his ſtrict enquiry; promiſed to inflict condign puniſhment on ſuch as ſhould, upon trial, appear to have been wanting in their duty; and would uſe his utmoſt endeavours that our naval power ſhould be rightly managed for the future. He recommended to the parliament the increaſing our forces by ſea and land, as the allies, he ſaid, had reſolved to increaſe theirs. He then concluded with deſiring the commons to take ſuch timely reſolutions that their ſupplies might be effectual, and our preparations in that forwardneſs, as to enſure the ſafety and honour of the nation §."

The commons, in anſwer to this ſpeech, unanimouſly reſolved, "that they would ſupport their majeſties and their government, and grant a ſufficient ſupply for the vigorous proſecution of the war." But before they proceeded upon that matter, they thought proper to make enquiry into the miſcarriages of the fleet laſt ſummer. Biſhop Burnet's account of this enquiry is ſo conciſe, and at the ſame time ſo ſtrong and to the purpoſe, that I think myſelf obliged to lay it before the reader, as the beſt information he can receive on this head.

"The enquiry into the conduct at ſea (ſays that right reverend author *), particularly with relation to the Smyrna fleet, took up much time, and held long. Great exceptions were taken to the many delays, by which it ſeemed a train was laid, that they ſhould not get out of our ports till the French were ready to lie in their way, and intercept them. Our want of intelligence was much complained of; the inſtructions that the admirals, who commanded the fleet, had received from the cabinet-council, were thought ill-given, and yet worſe executed: their orders ſeemed weakly drawn, ambiguous, and defective; nor had they ſhewed any zeal in doing more than ſtrictly to obey ſuch orders; they had very cautiouſly kept within them, and had been very careful never to exceed them in a tittle. They had uſed no diligence to get certain information concerning the French fleet, whether it was ſtill in Breſt, or had ſailed out; but in that important matter they had truſted general and uncertain reports too eaſily: nor had they ſailed far enough with Rooke to ſee him paſt danger. To all this their anſwer was, that they had obſerved their orders; they had reaſon to think the French were ſtill in Breſt; that therefore it was not ſafe to ſail too far from the coaſt of England, when they had, as they underſtood, ground to believe that they had left behind them a great naval force, which might make an impreſſion on our coaſt, when they were at too great a diſtance from it. The getting certain intelligence from Breſt was repreſented as impracticable. They had many ſpecious things to ſay in their own defence, and many friends to ſupport them; for it was now the buſineſs of one party to accuſe, and of another to juſtify their conduct. In concluſion, there was not ground ſufficient to condemn the admirals, ſince they had followed their inſtructions, ſo a vote paſſed in their favour." A proteſt, however, againſt this reſolution was entered by ſeveral peers †, who mentioned a number of facts which reflected greatly on the conduct of the admirals.

On the twenty-fifth of November the commons proceeded to take into conſideration the eſtimates and ſupplies for the enſuing year, when they voted the following ſums; viz. five hundred thouſand pounds to pay the arrears due to the ſeamen, two millions for the ſervice of the fleet, and two millions five hundred thouſand pounds and upwards, for the army, which it was reſolved to increaſe to the number of eighty-three thouſand one hundred and twenty-one men, including officers; and there appearing a deficiency of one hundred and eighteen thouſand pounds in the late annuity-act, this was agreed to be made good by enlarging the time for paying in the ſum of one million, intended to be raiſed by that act; and towards raiſing the money for the maintenance of the fleet, it was agreed that any perſon might add a ſecond life to the life already named in the annuity-act, upon paying thirty-five pounds more to every hundred already paid in; and a third life for the farther ſum of twenty pounds ‡.

The king coming to the houſe on the twenty-fifth of January, gave the royal aſſent to an act for raiſing four ſhillings in the pound upon lands; to an act for the importation of Italian thrown ſilk;

§ Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, ii. 415.
* Vol. ii. p. 125.
† The duke of Bolton, the earls of Berkely, Strafford, and Oxford, the lords Oſſulſton and Clifford, and the earls of Devonſhire and Stamford. Proceed. of the Houſe of Lords, i. 422.
‡ Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, ii. 431.

and

and to ſome other acts of leſſer moment; but he again refuſed the place-bill, which ſo piqued the commons that they paſſed, the next day, the following vote: "That whoever had adviſed the king not to give the royal aſſent to that bill, was an enemy to their majeſties and the kingdom §." They alſo drew up an addreſs, or repreſentation, which they preſented to his majeſty, wherein they expreſſed themſelves in the following terms: "That it was with great grief of heart they obſerved, ſince his majeſty's acceſſion, that this and ſeveral other bills had not obtained the royal aſſent, which they could not impute to any other cauſe than the inſinuations of particular perſons, who took upon them, for their own private ends, to adviſe his majeſty contrary to the advice given him by his parliament." To which addreſs his majeſty returned an anſwer, thanking them for their zeal, profeſſing his attachment to the conſtitution of the kingdom, aſſuring them that he was fully ſenſible of the abſolute neceſſity of a good underſtanding between the ſovereign and his people, and declaring that he would look upon all thoſe as his enemies who ſhould endeavour to leſſen that mutual confidence. This anſwer, however, appeared too vague and general to many in the houſe, and therefore they made a motion, "that his majeſty ſhould be intreated to return a more particular anſwer;" but the queſtion being put, it was carried in the negative by a great majority, two hundred and twenty-nine againſt twenty-eight.

On the ſixteenth of December, the earl of Bellamont having preſented articles of impeachment againſt Thomas, lord Coningſby, and ſir Charles Porter, two of the late lords juſtices in Ireland, the commons, after ſeveral debates, agreed that there were not ſufficient grounds to found a charge of high-treaſon upon. If the lords-juſtices had been guilty of any arbitrary and violent proceedings, the earl of Bellamont, by bringing a charge ſo much above the nature of the offence, defeated his own deſign.

But the lord Falkland, a member of the commons, did not eſcape ſo well; for Mr. Harley, one of the commiſſioners for taking and ſtating the public accounts, delivered a report to the houſe, which contained a charge of peculation againſt that nobleman, for having received from his majeſty two thouſand pounds, contrary to the uſual method of iſſuing and beſtowing the king's money. Upon examination he was found guilty of a high miſdemeanor and breach of truſt, and committed to the Tower, there to continue during the pleaſure of the houſe. He was, however, ſet at liberty a very ſhort time afterwards *.

The revenues of the city of London having in ſome former times been under bad management, the fund for the orphans of freemen was ſuffered to run ſo far in arrears, that the chamber of London was ſhut for ſeveral years: hereof great complaints were made at ſundry times; at length the magiſtracy coming into better hands, they, in this ſeſſion, obtained an act of parliament "for the relief of the orphans and other creditors of the city of London," by which the city was empowered to pay the yearly intereſt of theſe ſums at the rate of four per cent. This act conſiſted of ſeveral articles, extending to different charges on the city-lands, aqueducts, perſonal eſtates, and impoſing duties on binding apprentices, and admitting freemen, as alſo upon wines and coals imported into London ‡.

The Eaſt India company having, on the eleventh of November this year, 1693, obtained a new charter ‖, ſome merchants moved the houſe of commons againſt the ſame, entreating them to erect a new company; whereupon the houſe having examined the charter of the old company, the book of new ſubſcriptions, the ſtate of the preſent ſtock, and the petition of the merchants, reſolved, on the nineteenth of January, "that all the ſubjects of England have equal right to trade to the Eaſt Indies, unleſs prohibited by act of parliament." This gave the firſt hint to forming a new Eaſt India company by ſtatute.

Among other expedients for raiſing money this year, the parliament hit upon one that was not thought of before, which was by way of lottery, for which certain duties upon ſalt, beer, and ale, were aſſigned as a fund; and by this means a million of money was raiſed to defray the charges of the war.

On the twenty-eighth of February the royal aſſent was given to the bill for making good the deficiencies of the late annuity-act; to an act to prevent diſputes concerning the royal mines; and on the twenty-third of March to an act for granting certain aids on ſalt, and on beer and ale, to be a fund for the intended lottery. This ſeſſion is alſo memorable for the firſt erection of the preſent moſt uſeful and laudable corporation of the Bank of England, which has not only proved extremely beneficial to commerce, but has alſo, on many emergencies, been a great ſupport to the public credit

§ Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, ii. 432.

* Ibid. ii. 438.

‡ See Stat. 5 & 6 Will. & Mar. cap. x.

‖ This charter was in ſubſtance as follows:

"I. All ſubſcribers ſhall be members of the company.

"II. Seven hundred and forty-four thouſand pounds ſhall be the whole capital of the company.

"III. None ſhall ſubſcribe above ten thouſand pounds.

"IV. In general courts, one thouſand pounds ſtock to have one vote; nor none ſhall have above ten votes.

"V. Such as ſhall become proprietors by purchaſe, ſhall pay for their freedom five pounds, who (as alſo the new ſubſcribers) ſhall take the oaths appointed by law, and alſo the freeman's oath.

"VI. The governor, or, in his abſence, the deputy-governor, to have a caſting vote in all courts; each of them to have four thouſand pounds in their own right; and each committee-man one thouſand pounds. [They had not as yet got the modern name of Directors]

"VII. No permiſſion ſhall be granted for ſhips to India on a private account, on penalty of forfeiting the Charters.

"VIII. No private contract is to be made for ſale of the company's goods (ſalt-petre only excepted, ſold for the king's uſe), but all to be openly and publicly ſold; and no one lot (jewels excepted) to exceed five hundred pounds value.

"IX. The company ſhall annually export to India, of the growth and product of England, to the value of at leaſt one hundred thouſand pounds.

"X. The company ſhall annually ſupply the crown with five hundred tons of ſalt-petre, at thirty-eight pounds ten ſhillings per ton in time of peace, and at forty-five pounds in time of war.

"XI. All dividends of the company's profits ſhall, for the future, be made in money only.

"XII. A book hereafter to be kept by the company, wherein the value of their ſtock ſhall be entered, as atteſted upon oath; and to be viewed by all concerned: and the like as to all mortgages, alienations, tranſfers, and Aſſignments.

"XIII. The joint-ſtock of the company ſhall continue for twenty-one years; and one year before its expiration, books ſhall lie open for new ſubſcriptions to a new joint-ſtock." Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 199, 200.

of the nation: and it is, indeed, ſomewhat ſtrange that a public or general bank, capable of not only ſupporting its own credit by a paper-currency, for the benefit of trade (eſpecially in reſpect to large payments), but alſo for aſſiſting or ſupporting the national credit, was not ſooner eſtabliſhed in a country ſo much abounding in wealth and commerce.

We muſt not forget to obſerve, that a new corporation was erected by an act of parliament this ſeſſion, for the Greenland trade, by the name of the Company of Merchants of London trading to Greenland, with the uſual powers of ſucceſſion, &c. this company having already ſubſcribed forty thouſand pounds for that end: the maſter and only one third of the mariners of each veſſel employed in this trade, to be natives of this kingdom, the want of Engliſh harponeers being then very great; the ſhips were to be Engliſh built. This corporation was to exiſt for only fourteen years, from the firſt of October, 1694*.

On the twenty-third of March the Bank-act was paſſed, as was alſo another act for granting to their majeſties ſeveral duties on vellum, parchment, and paper; and a third for raiſing money by licenſing hackney and ſtage-coaches and chairs. Thus there were granted this ſeſſion, for the ordinary and extraordinary charges of the government, upwards of ſix millions. Beſides the acts of ſupply, and thoſe already mentioned, there paſſed ſeveral other acts, which the reader will find in the note at the bottom of the page†.

Theſe being all ready for the royal aſſent, and his majeſty being impatient to return to the continent, he came to the houſe of peers on the twenty-fifth of April, 1694, and cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſhort ſpeech, in which he thanked the commons for the large ſupplies they had given; and as the poſture of affairs made his abſence neceſſary, he recommended it to both houſes to preſerve the public peace; then the lord-keeper, by his majeſty's command, prorogued the parliament till the eighteenth of September; and ſoon after this prorogation the king beſtowed the following honours and preferments: lord Butler, brother to the duke of Ormond, was created lord Butler of Weſton in England, and earl of Arran in Ireland. The earl of Shrewſbury was dignified with the title of duke: the earl of Mulgrave was gratified with a penſion of three thouſand pounds, and the title of marquis of Normandy: Henry Herbert, eſq. was ennobled by the title of baron Herbert of Cherbury, in the county of Salop: the earls of Bedford and Devonſhire were promoted to the rank of dukes: the marquis of Caermarthen was made duke of Leeds: the earl of Clare, duke of Newcaſtle: lord viſcount Sidney, earl of Rumney: and the viſcount Newport, earl of Bradford. Peregrine Bertie was appointed vice-chamberlain to his majeſty, in the room of ſir John Lowther, who reſigned: admiral Ruſſel, ſir George Rooke, and ſir John Houblon, were appointed commiſſioners of the admiralty: Charles Montague was made chancellor and under-treaſurer of the Exchequer: and lord Godolphin, ſir Stephen Fox, ſir William Trumball, and John Smith, were conſtituted commiſſioners of the Treaſury.

There were ſeveral occurrences that happened in the year 1693 that muſt not be paſſed over in ſilence, though I choſe to give the preference to the proceedings in parliament, and to continue them to the end of the ſeſſion without interruption.

The whole preſbyterian party in Scotland were now again in the king's intereſt: the matters of the church were now brought into better temper than was expected. The epiſcopal clergy had more moderate terms offered them: they were only required to make an addreſs to the general-aſſembly, offering to ſubſcribe to a general confeſſion of faith, and to acknowlege preſbytery to be the only government of that church, with a promiſe to ſubmit to it; upon which, within a fortnight after ſuch ſubmiſſion and ſubſcription, if no matter of ſcandal was objected to them, the aſſembly was either to receive them into the government of the church; or if they could not be brought to that, the king was to take them into his protection, and maintain them in their churches, without any dependence on the preſbytery. The Scottiſh parliament augmented their taxes ſo as to proportion them to the maintenance of ſix thouſand three hundred men, to ſupply the magazines of the kingdom with arms and ſtores, and to ſatisfy the country for their arrears and quarters; ſo that the whole ſum then given amounted to one hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand pounds ſterling, to be raiſed in eighteen months, by a poll-tax, an exciſe upon beer and malt, and by continuing the ceſs upon land, which was then to laſt ſeven months and an half to ten months and an half beyond that term. Duke Hamilton, who had for ſome time withdrawn from buſineſs, was now prevailed on to reſume it, and was appointed his majeſty's high-commiſſioner to this parliament, which met on the eighteenth of April 1693. The Jacobite party, however, and the diſcontented Highlanders were very buſy all this year in cutting out work for the government; and they even made a propoſition, which if the court of St. Germains had accepted, as it appeared to be its intereſt to do, might have thrown the nation into great cabals and diſorders: this was no other than that king James ſhould offer to reſign his title in favour of his ſon, and ſend him to be bred up in England under the directions of the parliament till he ſhould be of age; but for ſome reaſons this was not complied with †.

A parliament had been ſummoned this year in Ireland; but they met full of diſcontent, ſo that the lord Sidney, the lord-lieutenant, diſmiſſed them before they had brought any of their bills to perfection. There were indeed great complaints of an ill adminiſtration in that government, chiefly in the revenue, in the paying of the army, and in the embezzling of the ſtores, which made much noiſe in England, and, as we have related, occa-

* Anderſon, ii. 200, 201.

† An act to prevent delays of proceeding at the quarterly ſeſſions of the peace; an act for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion; an act for the importation of ſaltpetre; an act for the exportation of iron and copper; an act for raiſing the militia; an act for ſtating the public accounts; an act for the building good and defenſible ſhips; an act for the better diſcipline of the royal navy. Tindal, from Sec. Vernon's MSS. Letters.

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ſioned both houſes of parliament to addreſs his majeſty upon the ſubject; the reſult of which was, that the king recalled the lord Sidney (who was afterwards made maſter of the ordnance) and put the government of Ireland into the hands of three lords-juſtices, viz. lord Capel, ſir Cecil Wych, and Mr. William Duncomb, who had lately been ambaſſador extraordinary to the court of Sweden.

On the twenty-fourth of November this year died the moſt reverend father in God, Dr. William Sancroft, late archbiſhop of Canterbury, who had retired to a little eſtate he had at Fretchingfield in Suffolk, where, by his own direction, he was buried in the church-yard of that place.

On the thirty-firſt of December prince Lewis of Baden arrived at Graveſend, and continued in England till the fourteenth of February; during which time he concerted meaſures with the king, and was treated with ſingular reſpect, and at a great expence, not only by his majeſty, but alſo by ſeveral of the nobility, particularly the duke of Ormond.

The duke of Schomberg, commander of the forces in Piedmont, in the pay of Great Britain, being killed, as has been related, at the battle of Marſaglia in the laſt campaign, monſieur de Ruvigny, who had been ſo inſtrumental in the reduction of Ireland, and for his ſervices had been lately honoured by his majeſty with the title of earl of Galway in that kingdom, was this winter appointed to the command of thoſe forces in the duke's ſtead, and at the ſame time received the character of his majeſty's envoy extraordinary to the duke of Savoy.

In the beginning of the year 1694 the nation ſuſtained a great misfortune in the fate of ſir Francis Wheeler, who with three men of war, and ſeveral Turkey ſhips of great value, were loſt in a moſt terrible ſtorm on the nineteenth of February, off Gibraltar-Bay, in the Mediterranean. The Suſſex, on board which the admiral was, foundered, and himſelf, with all his crew, to the number of five hundred and fifty, were loſt. The admiral's body was ſoon after found on a ſand-bank in his ſhirt and ſlippers, from whence it was conjectured that he had thrown himſelf over-board, in order to ſave his life, if poſſible, by ſwimming. His body was afterwards embalmed and ſent to England.

His majeſty having ſettled all affairs in England, embarked for Holland on the ſixth of May 1694, and after a very ſhort paſſage got ſafe into the Brill in Holland, from whence he ſet out for the Hague, where having preſided at an aſſembly of the States, he went to Loo; at which place he remained till matters were ripe for opening the campaign in Flanders, which, as we ſhall hereafter ſee, proved a very languid one.

In Spain indeed the French exerted themſelves with great activity, and their arms were attended with no leſs ſucceſs. Lewis, purſuing his project of obtaining a ſeparate peace, in order to relieve the miſeries his ſubjects ſuffered from famine, and the other melancholy conſequences of a long war, had applied to the court of Spain to induce them to accept a ſeparate peace, and to declare the duke of Anjou, one of his grandſons, heir to that crown; but theſe overtures being rejected, Lewis propoſed this ſpring to have forced the Spaniard into his meaſures, by invading that kingdom by ſea and land, and particularly on the ſide of Catalonia. With this view the marſhal de Noailles, taking the field early in the ſpring, advanced at the head of thirty thouſand men to the banks of the Ter, and forced the paſſage of that river on the twenty-eighth day of May, in the face of ſixteen thouſand of the Spaniſh forces encamped there to oppoſe him. After that he proceeded to Palamos, which he immediately inveſted; while the combined ſquadrons of Breſt and Toulon, under Tourville and d'Eſtrées, kept it blocked up by ſea. On the ſeventh of June the place was taken by ſtorm, and the French exerciſed great cruelties on the wretched inhabitants, which ſtruck the Spaniards with ſuch dread, that they immediately withdrew their garriſons out of Felieu de Quixolo and the caſtle of St. Elmo, with which they reinforced that of Gironne, a town well fortified, and capable of holding out a long ſiege: yet ſuch was the panic that prevailed among the ſoldiers, that it ſubmitted on the nineteenth of June, upon very humiliating terms. From Gironne Noailles led his troops before Oſtalric, a town on the road to Barcelona, which he carried without meeting with the ſmalleſt reſiſtance. This ſucceſs encouraged the marſhal, after having given his troops time to refreſh themſelves, on account of the extreme heat of the country at that ſeaſon, to attempt the reduction of Barcelona, the capital, and the only fortified town in the province of Catalonia now remaining to the Spaniards. His plan was to attack the town both by ſea and land at the ſame time, and upon meeting with the ſucceſs he expected, he intended afterwards to have ſecured the whole ſea-coaſt of Spain, deſtroying every town of any note he came to. Theſe deſigns however were happily fruſtrated, by the arrival of the Engliſh admiral Ruſſel in the Mediterranean, with a numerous fleet under his command.

King William having been previouſly informed of the enemy's deſign upon Barcelona, had reſolved to ſend a ſtrong fleet up the Mediterranean, as well to aſſiſt the king of Spain, as to prevent the Toulon ſquadron from coming into the Ocean, and thereby hindering the French from making any figure this year at ſea. With this view all imaginable pains had been taken both in England and Holland to fit out a more numerous fleet, and to ſend it earlier to ſea than in any year ſince the war began. Accordingly Ruſſel, who, as we have already obſerved, was again appointed to the command of the fleet, ſailed from St. Helen's on the third of May with the combined ſquadrons, conſiſting of fifty-two Engliſh, and forty-one Dutch ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, and other ſmaller veſſels: but when he came off Breſt, he found the ſquadron that had been fitted out there under Tourville, had already quitted that harbour. Upon which he determined to follow them: but being informed by the captain of a Swediſh ſhip, that there was a fleet of French merchant ſhips laying in an harbour near Conquet-Bay, he detached captain Pritchard, in the Monmouth, with the Roebuck and Reſolution fire-ſhips, to attempt the taking or deſtroying them. This ſervice Pritchard performed ſo effectually, that out of fifty-five ſail he burnt or ſunk thirty-five, and drove the man of war, which was to protect them, aſhore on the rock, where ſhe was loſt. The admiral, not having been able to find the Breſt fleet, returned

to St. Helen's, which he again left on the twenty-ninth; and, after having detached ſeveral of his ſhips to go upon the intended expedition againſt Breſt, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, he proceeded for the Mediterranean with the reſt. On the twenty-fifth of June he arrived off the Rock of Liſbon, where he was joined by rear-admiral Neville from Cadiz, together with the Dutch vice-admirals Callemberg and Evertzen, with ſixteen ſhips of the line, which increaſed the number of thoſe already under his command to ſixty-three. Ruſſel now made the beſt of his way for Barcelona, in order to ſave that city and the province of Catalonia from falling into the hands of the French, who had by this time blocked it up both by land and ſea. On his appearance before that place on the laſt day of July, the French admirals, not being able to look ſuch a fleet in the face, returned, purſuant to their orders, into the harbour of Toulon, and Noailles abandoned his enterprize. The ſiege of Barcelona was now raiſed, to the infinite joy of the king of Spain, whoſe empire was juſt before reduced to the moſt deſperate condition. The French durſt not appear at ſea while Ruſſel continued in the Mediterranean, which he did all the winter of this year; and it was now out of diſpute that France was no longer in a condition, as ſhe had vainly boaſted, to give laws to the other maritime powers *.

The death of the biſhop and prince of Liege towards the beginning of this year, gave the French a fair proſpect of embroiling the affairs of the confederates on that ſide; but the elector of Cologne being choſen in his room againſt the cardinal of Bouillon, whom the French court had put up and ſtrongly ſupported in this election, together with the great power of the allies in Flanders this campaign, changed the face of affairs, greatly to the diſadvantage of Lewis. The confederate army under king William's command took the field the latter end of June, and encamped at Mont St. André, conſiſting of thirty-one thouſand horſe and dragoons, and fifty-one thouſand foot, all prime troops; beſides a body of ſeven thouſand men under count Thian near Ghent. The French were not much inferior in number: but the dauphin of France, who commanded in perſon, declared that he had orders not to ſtir out of his camp ſo long as the allies continued in theirs; ſo that theſe two great armies continued looking at each other only, and waiting to take their advantages, till the latter end of the year, when king William attempted to paſs the Schelde, and force the French lines; but was diſappointed by an incredible ſwift march of the enemy, who thereby prevented the allies from penetrating into French Flanders, where, conſidering their ſtrength, they would in all probability have made ſome important conqueſt, or at leaſt ſecured winter-quarters. The king having in vain, by marches and counter-marches, endeavoured to bring the French to an engagement, gave orders for beſieging Huy, which was accordingly inveſted by the count de Tilly, in the beginning of September, and after a ſiege of ten days ſurrendered to the allies, by whom it was garriſoned. By this conqueſt the biſhopric of Liege was ſecured from the inſults of the French; and now the ſeaſon advancing for putting an end to the campaign on this ſide, William, after having ordered Dixmuyde, Deynſe, Nivove, and Tillemont, to be ſecured for winter-quarters to part of the army, quitted the camp on the laſt day of September. The dauphin ſoon afterwards left his army, and returned to Verſailles, and both camps broke up about the middle of October. Thus ended this fruitleſs campaign in Flanders, not a little to the mortification of the confederates, eſpecially the Dutch and Engliſh, who loudly complained of being obliged to bear the burthen of ſuch an expenſive war to ſo little purpoſe, either in point of honour or advantage.

On the ſide of the Rhine the prince of Baden, at the head of the Imperialiſts, being impatient of action, croſſed the river, and marched towards the French under marſhal de Lorges, who being apprized of the prince's motions, retired towards Landau. In this retreat however great part of his rear was cut off by the Imperialiſts, who, as the French ſtill retreated before them, advanced and plundered ſeveral towns in their way, and then returned unoppoſed, having raiſed contributions all over the adjacent country, and made a very conſiderable booty; and thus ended the campaign in Germany.

The war was carried on with as little ſpirit in Piedmont; for though the duke of Savoy had openly rejected the terms which had been offered him by France after his defeat at Marſaglia, he yet engaged in ſecret negotiations with that court, which made him neglect the military operations of the campaign, notwithſtanding the preſſing remonſtrances of Ruvigny, lord Galway, who, as we have before obſerved, had ſucceeded the duke of Schomberg in the command of the Britiſh forces in that country. Caſal indeed was blocked up by the reduction of Fort St. George, and the Vaudois gained ſome petty advantages in the Valley of Ragelas; but no enterprize of importance was attempted during the whole campaign.

King William, perſuaded that there was no way left effectually to humble France, but by carrying the war into her own bowels, had, before his departure from England, concerted a plan to make a deſcent on Breſt, and other places on her ſea-coaſt. The execution of this was committed to lieutenant-general Talmaſh. Accordingly, when admiral Ruſſel ſailed with the grand fleet for the Streights in June this year, the lord Berkeley, with thirty ſail of men of war and tranſports, having a body of ſix or ſeven thouſand men on board, under the command of the afore-named general, was ordered to make a deſcent at Camaret-Bay, near Breſt, in order to ruin that harbour, or render it uſeleſs to the French. There is a high rock or promontory that runs up from Camaret to the entrance of the harbour of Breſt, which whoever is maſter of, may command the ſhipping going in and out. This promontory is joined to the continent by a narrow iſthmus, which it was propoſed to poſſeſs ourſelves of, and which might be defended with four or five thouſand men againſt any force that could have been brought againſt it. By the poſſeſſion of this important ſpot, where we were to have built a fort, we ſhould not only have prevented the French from aſſembling their fleets

* Hiſtoire Militaire, tom. iii. P. Daniel. Burnet. Naval Hiſtory.

there

there as uſual, but have had it in our power to make incurſions into the province of Brittany at pleaſure. Had this ſucceeded, the French would not have had one port upon the Ocean fit for receiving their large men of war: but the French king being appriſed of the deſign, as indeed he was at this time of moſt that we formed, and ſenſible of the fatal conſequence it would be attended with, had taken care, under the conduct of the famous engineer Vauban, to have the iſthmus, the rock, and all the avenues to it, ſo fortified as to render it inacceſſible. An army had alſo been drawn down, twice the number of ours which was to attack them; and ſtrong batteries were raiſed, that commanded every place where there appeared the leaſt poſſibility of landing. Such was the ſtate of the place, when our fleet, having on board the lord Berkeley, general Talmaſh, the marquis of Caermarthen, the lord Cutts, and other brave commanders, arrived before it on the ſeventh of June.

The diſadvantages of making an attempt upon a place well prepared for annoyance, as well as defence, was warmly repreſented by ſeveral of the officers to general Talmaſh, and he was adviſed not to expoſe himſelf or his men: to which he anſwered, "This advice comes too late; the honour of the Engliſh nation is at ſtake, and therefore I muſt and will land." Hereupon the marquis of Caermarthen, with great bravery, ſtood in with ſeven or eight of the men of war, and came to an anchor very near the ſhore, in order to cover the deſcent of our troops. He had not been long in this ſtation before he found himſelf expoſed to a moſt terrible fire from ſeveral batteries, none of which they diſcovered till they felt the ſhot from them. The marquis, however, not in the leaſt daunted, kept up a briſk and continual fire from his ſhips, in return. The firſt eight hundred men that went on ſhore in the boats were commanded by general Talmaſh in perſon; who was no ſooner landed but he found the enterprize impracticable, and made a ſignal to retreat; but it happening to be tide of ebb, the boats ſtuck faſt upon the ooze, and the men being all the while expoſed to the fire from the batteries, and the troops in the entrenchments, no leſs than ſix hundred of them were ſlain; and a ſquadron of the French coming down to the ſhore, obliged thoſe that were left alive to lay down their arms and demand quarter. Upon this ſeveral other boats full of men, who were haſting from the fleet to land and join their comrades, returned on board with precipitation. The boat in which general Talmaſh was, did indeed fortunately get off, but not till that gallant officer had received a wound in his thigh by a ball, of which he died at ſea on his return to England. The ſhips that covered the deſcent were alſo very roughly handled, having loſt ſix or ſeven hundred of their men, and their maſts and rigging almoſt cut in pieces by the batteries from the ſhore. The marquis of Caermarthen however brought them all off, with infinite difficulty and hazard, except a Dutch frigate of thirty guns, which fell into the hands of the enemy: a council of war being now called on board the lord Berkeley's ſhip, it was reſolved to return immediately to Spithead *, where the fleet arrived on the fifteenth of June: there they found the queen's orders to call a council of war, to conſider how the ſhips and troops might be beſt employed. After ſeveral conſultations, it was reſolved to make ſome attempts on the coaſt of Normandy: accordingly, putting to ſea on the twenty-ſeventh of June, after being driven about for ſome time by hard and contrary winds, they arrived before Dieppe on the 8th of July, and on the twelfth they began to play upon the town, and continued firing without ceaſing for the ſpace of twelve hours, during which time they threw one thouſand one hundred bombs and carcaſes into the town: and the ſtreets being narrow, the houſes old, and moſt of them built of timber, the town was ſet on fire in twenty places at once; ſo that the far greater part of it was conſumed to aſhes. After this execution, the Engliſh ſquadron ſailed along the coaſt, and obliged the French troops quartered thereabouts to march night and day, in order to be ready, in caſe we ſhould attempt a deſcent, which however was no part of the admiral's orders. On the fifteenth, about noon, the lord Berkeley came off Havre de Grace, and about four o'clock began to bombard it. The marquis de Quincy ſays, that but very few houſes were deſtroyed on this occaſion: however, he owns that not only the inhabitants, but the ſoldiers, of which the French had poured in great numbers, laboured exceſſively in putting out the fires wherever the bombs fell, which muſt have been attended with great loſs of men. On the other hand, this could not be done without loſs on our ſide; for during this ſervice, which laſted, with intervals, ſix days, the Grenada bomb veſſel was blown up, with all the men on board, and ſeveral other of the ſmaller craft ſo ſhattered, that it was thought convenient to retire, and the fleet returned to St. Helen's on the twenty-fifth of July to refit. An attempt was afterwards made, by a ſquadron under ſir Cloudeſley Shovel, upon Dunkirk: but as that place was well fortified, and ſtrongly garriſoned, the deſign at laſt was found impracticable, and ſir Cloudeſley drew off his ſhips; but in his way home he came before Calais, and ſent the bomb-veſſel in, which diſcharged ſo many ſhells upon the town, that about forty houſes were ruined. After this the admiral returned with his whole ſquadron into the Downs. Secretary Burchet, in ſpeaking of theſe bombarding expeditions, gives it as his opinion (and indeed it ſeems to be a juſt one) that the expence the nation was put to by them, was more than equivalent to what the enemy ſuffered by them †.

* The marquis of Caermarthen, in his account of this deſperate action, does great juſtice to all the officers employed therein. He ſays (page 46.) "My lord Berkeley, during all this expedition, has had a great deal of unuſual trouble, by reaſon of the embarkation of the ſoldiers: notwithſtanding which, both by his advice at councils of war and iſſuing orders, which his lordſhip has done very methodically, he hath behaved himſelf, in my opinion, with all the conduct and prudence that could be expected from a gentleman in his ſtation. "Lieutenant-general Talmaſh, the earl of Macclesfield, my lord Cutts, and all the officers of the land-forces, I think, have ſhewn all the forwardneſs and readineſs imaginable for the attempting any thing that was poſſible to be done on this occaſion. There are no officers of note, that I can yet hear of, killed in this action but monſieur Lamote, and lieutenant-general Talmaſh died the Tueſday following of the wound he received in his thigh."

† Naval Memoirs, p. 234.

The government, however, ſeem to have ſeen the matter in another light; for a medal was ſtruck on the bombarding of Havre, which had on one ſide the king's head in profile, with theſe words, GULIELMUS MAGNUS INVICTISSIMUS: on the reverſe, Perillus' bull, with this inſcription, SUIS PERIT IGNIBUS AUCTOR; alluding to the French king's having begun this barbarous kind of war, by burning the Palatinate, and bombarding Genoa. In the exergue were theſe words, PORTUS GRATIÆ EXUSTUS ET EVERSUS BOMBARDIS ANGLO BATAVIS, 1694.

No domeſtic tranſaction of any moment happened in England during the king's abſence, if we except the affair of colonel Parker, who was apprehended and committed to the Tower, having been charged with a deſign to aſſaſſinate his majeſty ſome time before. This man, according to Mr. Oldmixon *, knew ſo much of the deſigns of the Jacobite party, that they uſed all their endeavours to get him out of priſon, as he was looked upon as the moſt daring and deſperate, as well as the moſt active and bloody, of all king James's agents. While he was in the Tower a perſon came and offered to procure him his liberty for two hundred pounds. Packer told him he ſhould have three: upon which, by this man's means, he got out of the Tower in the night of the eleventh of Auguſt, and made his eſcape to France, though a reward of four hundred pounds was offered for apprehending him.

The campaign in Flanders being cloſed, and his majeſty having ſettled the affairs of the confederacy at the Hague, embarked the eighth of November at Helvoetſluys, and the next day landed at Margate. He lay that night at Rocheſter: the day following he came to Kenſington; and on Monday the 12th the parliament met, when the king opened the ſeſſion with a ſhort ſpeech, wherein he obſerved, "That the deſigns of the French had been diſappointed by ſending a fleet into the Mediterranean, and this year a ſtop had been put to the progreſs of their arms; and earneſtly recommended the providing ſupplies to proſecute the war with vigour, as the only effectual means to procure an honourable peace. He put them in mind that the act of tonnage and poundage, given for the civil liſt, would expire at Chriſtmas; and hoped they would continue that revenue to the crown, and alſo take care for diſcharging the debt for the tranſport ſhips employed in the reduction of Ireland, which was ſtill undiſcharged †."

This ſeſſion proved the moſt unanimous and tranquil of any held during this reign: the ſupplies demanded by the government were very weighty; little leſs than five millions! ‡ but they were granted without any oppoſition. In order to raiſe this ſum, the land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound was continued; the ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage renewed for five years; and certain rates and duties were impoſed upon marriages, births and burials, bachelors and widows. An act was paſſed for laying additional duties upon coffee, tea, and chocolate, towards diſcharging the debt for the tranſport ſhips; and another, impoſing duties upon glaſs-wares, ſtone and earthen bottles, coals, and culm.

The commons, however, while they were ſhewing their loyalty to their ſovereign in the liberality of their grants, forgot not what they looked upon as their own intereſt and that of the nation; the triennial bill, or bill for the frequent meeting and calling of parliaments, was now inſiſted on afreſh, as the price of theſe compliances: and William, unable to reſiſt the repeated applications of his ſubjects, or unwilling to ruffle a parliament that appeared in ſuch a favourable diſpoſition for giving, gave the royal aſſent to this bill on the twenty-ſecond of December. It enacted, that a new parliament ſhould be ſummoned every third year; and that the preſent parliament ſhould ceaſe and determine before the firſt day of January 1696, unleſs their majeſties ſhould think fit to diſſolve it ſooner. Univerſal was the joy expreſſed by the people on the paſſing this act; they fondly imagined that the door was now effectually ſhut to all thoſe methods of corruption which long parliaments had given birth to; but they ſoon found themſelves miſerably deceived: candidates had ſtill the ſame ends to anſwer; miniſters had ſtill favourite points to carry; and, in proportion as the time was ſhorter for them to accompliſh their ends in, they were induced to bid up higher, and, more generally, to carry a majority.

About this period died Dr. John Tillotſon, archbiſhop of Canterbury, being in his ſixty-third year. He had filled the metropolitan chair from the deprivation of archbiſhop Sancroft in 1690. Few prelates ever left behind them a more excellent character: no writer ever exceeded, few, very few, have equalled him in ſacred compoſition, his ſermons being to this day read with equal pleaſure and inſtruction, by thoſe who do not deem it too unfaſhionable to peruſe works of that kind. He was ſucceeded by Dr. Tenniſon, biſhop of Lincoln, who was alſo indulged with the permiſſion of recommending Dr. Gardiner to the biſhopric from which he had been tranſlated. Moſt people, however, thought that Dr. Stillingfleet was better qualified for the archiepiſcopal function; but he had too little of the courtier about him to be truſted in a ſtation of that importance.

Queen Mary did not long ſurvive her favourite prelate. She was taken ill of the ſmall-pox; a diſtemper which had proved fatal to ſeveral of her family, on the twenty-firſt of December, and died the twenty-eighth, in the thirty-third year of her age, and in the ſixth of her joint reign. Mary, though perhaps not quite ſo perfect as her panegyriſts have made her, was certainly an excellent woman, and had many virtues which adorn the ſex. Her charity was extenſive, and without oſtentation. She was an example of conjugal affection, beyond moſt we meet with in her exalted ſtation, the will of the king her huſband being the ſole rule of all her actions; and to this only we can impute the little reluctance ſhe diſcovered in mounting the throne from which her father had been depoſed, by the aſſiſtance of that huſband to whom, probably, ſhe thought herſelf more ſtrictly bound, than by any other earthly ties. Her treatment of her ſiſter Anne is not perhaps ſo eaſily to be juſtified: all we ſhall therefore attempt to bring, in extenuation of her conduct in this reſpect is, that

* Page 94.

† Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, ii. 455.

‡ For the navy, 2,382,712 l. For the army, 2,382,000 l.

Mary was not exempt from thoſe failings which are the neceſſary attendants on human nature. She was in her perſon tall and well proportioned: her ſhape, till latterly, was eaſy and genteel, but began to be ſomewhat clogged: with a light brown complexion, and a viſage perfectly oval, ſhe had a quick and lively eye, and a pleaſing regularity of features: ſhe had a natural air of greatneſs that commanded reſpect, which was however tempered by a graceful countenance and an affable diſpoſition. Her apprehenſion was clear and ready; her memory exact; her judgment ſolid: equally able to bear proſperity or adverſity, ſhe ſeemed to add the courage of the other ſex to the ſoftneſs of her own.

The parliament, ſenſible that his majeſty's intereſt was extremely weakened by the queen's death, both houſes attended him on the thirty-firſt of December with the following addreſs, in which the lords led the way.

"We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, do with inexpreſſible grief humbly aſſure your majeſty of the deep ſenſe we have of the loſs your majeſty, and the whole kingdom, doth ſuſtain, by the death of that excellent princeſs our ſovereign lady the queen; moſt humbly beſeeching your majeſty that you would not indulge your grief upon this ſad occaſion, to the prejudice of the health of your royal perſon; in whoſe preſervation, not only the welfare of your own ſubjects, but of all Chriſtendom, is ſo much concerned. We further beg leave, upon this ſad occaſion, humbly to renew to your majeſty the hearty and ſincere aſſurances of our utmoſt aſſiſtance againſt all your enemies both at home and abroad, and of all other demonſtrations of the greateſt duty and affection that can poſſibly be paid by the moſt faithful ſubjects." To which his majeſty returned them his hearty thanks for their kindneſs manifeſted to him and eſpecially for the ſenſe they ſhewed of the great loſs he had ſuſtained, "which, ſays he, is above what I can expreſs *." The example of the two houſes was followed by the whole nation, and conſolatory addreſſes now poured in upon his majeſty from all quarters of the kingdom; but nothing gave him greater ſatisfaction than a letter he received from the princeſs of Denmark on this occaſion, and which we ſhall here inſert, for the reader's peruſal:

"Sir, I beg your majeſty's favourable acceptance of my ſincere and hearty ſorrow for your great affliction in the loſs of the queen; and I do aſſure your majeſty I am as ſenſibly touched with this ſad misfortune, as if I had never been ſo unhappy as to have fallen into her diſpleaſure.

"It is my earneſt deſire your majeſty would give me leave to wait upon you, as ſoon as it can be without danger of increaſing your affliction, that I may have an opportunity myſelf not only of repeating this, but of aſſuring your majeſty of my real intentions to omit no occaſion of giving you conſtant proofs of my ſincere reſpect and concern for your perſon and intereſt, as becomes, ſir,

Your majeſty's moſt affectionate ſiſter
and ſervant,

ANNE." †

This letter removing his majeſty's apprehenſions of the princeſs's forming a party againſt him, he liſtened to the inſtances of the earl of Sunderland, who brought about a reconciliation between them, and he made the princeſs a preſent of moſt of the late queen's jewels, and aſſigned her St. James's palace for her reſidence: but notwithſtanding theſe appearances of friendſhip, there ſeems to have ſtill ſubſiſted a jealouſy on the king's ſide: a few formal viſits paſſed between him and his ſiſter in-law, but he admitted her to no ſhare in public buſineſs, nor would he ſuffer his miniſters to attend her, or inform her of any of the tranſactions of ſtate. Biſhop Burnet tells us, that the king was inconſolable upon the death of his conſort, inſomuch that he could not for a long time give any attention to the buſineſs of royalty, ſeeming inſenſible of any thing but his great loſs. I ſhall only obſerve here, that this extreme tenderneſs is not very agreeable to the character generally given of William as an huſband; nor can we think he ſhewed any great reſpect to the memory of the deceaſed queen, by going to the houſe in perſon before ſhe was buried, to give the royal aſſent to the land-tax bill, which he might have done by commiſſion. Mary's corpſe having lain in ſtate at Whitehall till the fifth of March, was interred in Henry VII's chapel that evening, the ducheſs of Somerſet being chief mourner; and both houſes attending the ſolemnity, a funeral ſermon was preached in the Abbey on this occaſion by archbiſhop Tenniſon.

Before we put an end to the tranſactions of the year 1694, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention ſome occurrences which we could not ſo conveniently introduce in their proper order of time.

Towards the beginning of this winter the public attention had been engaged by the trial of ſome papiſts in Lancaſhire, who had been detected in a conſpiracy againſt the government. Their deſigns had been diſcovered by one Lunt, an Iriſhman; upon whoſe circumſtantial evidence orders were iſſued for taking the principal conſpirators into cuſtody; and they were ſoon after brought to their trials at Mancheſter, where the witneſſes for the crown proved that the priſoners, and particularly one Mr. Standiſh, of Standiſh-hall, had received commiſſions from the late king James to levy war againſt the preſent government; for which purpoſe they had bought up arms, and enliſted and maintained ſoldiers at their own expence. To corroborate this, captain Baker, and other officers employed in ſecuring the conſpirators, depoſed to the finding ſuch a quantity of arms in ſeveral of their houſes, as plainly indicated a treaſonable deſign to be on foot againſt the government. There was likewiſe found in Mr. Standiſh's cloſet the draught of a declaration, in the name of king James, which was to be publiſhed at his landing. Notwithſtanding the force of this evidence, the friends of the plotters found means to manage matters ſo, by corrupting ſome of the king's witneſſes, and getting others out of the way, that the accuſed gentlemen were acquitted, and ſeveral who had been taken into cuſtody were immediately diſcharged without trial. The affair was afterwards brought into parliament at the inſtance of the Jacobite party, who accuſed Lunt and his fellow-witneſſes of a conſpiracy againſt the lives and eſtates of the perſons

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, i. 443.

† Burnet. Conduct of the Ducheſs of Marlborough.

they

they had charged with the conſpiracy: but upon a fair and candid examination into the merits of the cauſe, the commons reſolved that there was ſufficient ground for the proſecution and trial of the gentlemen at Mancheſter; and that there was a dangerous conſpiracy againſt the king and government. The conſpirators, diſappointed in this quarter, preferred their complaints before the houſe of peers; but their lordſhips concurred in the vote of the commons, the earls of Rocheſter and Nottingham only excepted, who entered their proteſts againſt this reſolution. After this another indictment for perjury was preferred againſt Lunt and three more of the king's witneſſes at the Lancaſter aſſizes, and all of them were found guilty. They were likewiſe indicted by the crown for a conſpiracy againſt the lives and eſtates of the gentlemen accuſed. The deſign of the miniſtry in this indictment, was to diſcover the falſhoods which had been advanced by the witneſſes in favour of the gentlemen: but the latter not chuſing to abide that iſſue, dropped the proſecution, and the priſoners were releaſed.

On the twenty-eighth of September, 1694, the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company had a ſecond charter of regulations, which, after reciting the ſubſtance of the preceding charter, made the following alterations and explanations, viz.

I. "The Company may licence their own commanders and mariners [but none other] to trade on their own private account in ſuch commodities, and to ſuch value as a general court ſhall direct, provided entry be firſt duly made, as well as cuſtom paid, before landing the ſame.

II. "To the intent that the Company's annually exporting to India the value of one hundred thouſand pounds of Engliſh goods, may truly be proved, a juſt account thereof in writing, ſigned by the governor or deputy, ſhall be annually laid before the king and council, atteſted by the oaths of the proper officers; which goods ſhall not be re-landed, nor carried any where out of the Company's limits.

III. "Neither the governor, deputy, nor committee, ſhall lend out the Company's money, without the authority of a general court, &c.

IV. "If this and the two laſt charters ſhall not appear to be profitable to the crown, and either in whole or in part, then after three years warning all the ſaid three charters ſhall be determined and void, and the ſaid governor and Company ſhall no longer continue a corporation. Laſtly,

V. "This Company ſhall, by a writing under their common ſeal, declare their acceptance and ſubmiſſion to this and the ſaid two charters, or elſe they ſhall no longer act as a corporation."

Affairs in the Weſt-Indies had for ſome time been in a very bad ſituation: the French deſtroyed our trade by their privateers, diſturbed our ſettlements continually, and frequently made deſcents upon them, particularly on Jamaica, where they committed great devaſtation, and enriched themſelves by the booty they carried off in their different incurſions. The few ſhips of war we had in thoſe parts were ſo far from being able to defend our colonies with any effect, that ſeveral of them were taken by the enemy, inſomuch that the loſs of our colonies ſeemed no improbable, or indeed remote, conſequence; ſince all their trade was deſtroyed, and their coaſts plundered at will by their privateers that were equipped in whole ſquadrons from the ſettlements the French had eſtabliſhed in Hiſpaniola. Theſe advantages, however, ſeem not to have been ſo much owing to the ſuperior force or courage of the French in thoſe parts, as to the notorious want of public ſpirit and right management in us and the Spaniards. Our governors there had from time to time made the moſt preſſing inſtances to the miniſtry at home, to take more care of our concerns in the Weſt-Indies, by ſending proper ſquadrons, and with them a ſufficient ſupply of land forces, into thoſe parts: but other buſineſs intervening, and the Spaniards not appearing either willing or able to join us in the curbing the inſolence of the enemy, neither the council nor the admiralty ſeem to have thought any more about the plantations till towards the end of this year, when they were alarmed with an account of a briſk attempt made upon Jamaica by monſieur Ducaſſe, the French governor of St. Domingo. This officer ſailed in the month of June, with three men of war and twenty-three tranſports, having on board one thouſand five hundred men, for the coaſt of Jamaica, where they arrived on the twenty-fourth of the ſame month, and made a deſcent on Port Morant, which they found abandoned; and marching from thence up the country, they plundered, burnt, and deſtroyed all they found in their way, and carried off money and effects to a conſiderable value *, having found that their ſchemes of conqueſt were altogether impracticable: for the people of Jamaica, when they found their property in danger, aſſembled readily for its defence, and behaved themſelves ſo well in an engagement with the French, that it contributed not a little to make the latter lay aſide their deſign, and to hinder them from reſuming it afterwards †.

In this ſame year a beginning was made at home to the deſign of the now noble and magnificent hoſpital of Greenwich, for the reception of the decayed ſailors ſerving in the royal navy. King William and queen Mary had for ſome time had this eſtabliſhment much at heart, and they accordingly made a grant of the royal palace at Greenwich (a part of which, on the weſt ſide, had been begun to be rebuilt for a royal palace for king Charles II.) as alſo of a large adjoining ſpace of ground. For this end king William, after the death of his royal conſort, appointed by patent a number of commiſſioners for directing the building and endowing of this intended hoſpital, and granted a large ſum out of his civil liſt for that purpoſe; and his royal ſucceſſors were conſiderable benefactors to it. At length annual ſums were granted by parliament for the finiſhing of this truly noble ſtructure, which was fully compleated in the reign of his late majeſty king George the Second.

* See P. Charlevoix Hiſtoire de St. Dominique, tom. iii. p. 37.

† Britiſh Empire in America. Hiſt. of Jamaica.

WILLIAM III. alone. A. D. 1695.

THE death of queen Mary gave the enemies of the government a desirable opportunity to attempt distressing the nation, by pretending that the parliament was legally dissolved by her majesty's decease. This, however singular, was the opinion of her majesty's uncle the earl of Rochester, and of some others, who maintained it in the house of peers, though it was certainly very ill founded. The executive part of the government was by law in king William only, though the title, as well as the right, was declared to be in their majesties jointly. The calling of a parliament was undoubtedly an act of the executive power, and consequently it ought to have been understood in law as the special and immediate act of the king, though the writs ran in the joint names of both their majesties, as all other acts of state did, yet without impeachment or diminution of the king's authority. Upon this principle, and nobody's seconding the earl of Rochester in his motion in the house of lords, the parliament was held to be no way affected by her death, but proceeded in its deliberations as if no such accident had happened *. It is evident, if this could have been carried, and the parliament dissolved, things must have run into the utmost confusion; and therefore it is amazing that any man, who pretended the least regard for his country, should espouse so destructive a scheme, even though his sentiments had been opposite to those of the persons intrusted with the administration!

While the commons were employed in finding out ways and means for raising the money they had voted, they found their attention called off by the discovery of a surprising scene of bribery and corruption, in which not only the agents of the army, some members of parliament, but even the privy-counsellors themselves were deeply concerned. This discovery was made by a petition presented to the house by the inhabitants of Royston in Hertfordshire, January 12, complaining, that the officers and soldiers of the regiment belonging to colonel Hastings, which was quartered upon them, demanded and exacted subsistence-money in their quarters and upon their march, and were guilty of many other abuses. Upon this, colonel Hastings, his agent, Mr. Tracey Pauncefort, his brother Edward Pauncefort, major Montell, and the agents of some other regiments, were sent for, and examined before the house, who thought proper to commit Tracey Pauncefort to the Tower, for having refused to answer certain questions put to him; as they also did his brother, for having defrauded colonel Hastings's regiment of five hundred guineas. These two were soon followed by Henry Guy, esq. a member of the house, and secretary to the treasury, who was proved to have received a bribe of two hundred guineas, for procuring the payment of the arrears which were due to the regiment.

The house next proceeded to draw up an address to his majesty, which was presented on the fourth of March, and which we shall lay before the reader for his further insight into this shocking scene of military tyranny and corruption. The representation was as follows: "I. That the violences complained of from the soldiers, were in great measure occasioned by the ill practices of the agents of the army, who detained the soldiers pay, and converted it to their own use. II. By their intolerable exactions and extortions upon the officers and soldiers for paying money by way of advance, by charging more for the discount of tallies than they actually paid. III. That colonel Hastings in particular had compelled some officers of his regiment to take their cloaths from him at an exorbitant price, to promote his own private advantage, without any regard to his majesty's service, or to the discipline of the army. IV. That the said colonel Hastings had fraudulently detained five hundred guineas out of a bounty given by his majesty to the officers of his regiment, under pretence of having paid that sum as a bribe to obtain the said bounty; and had also taken two-pence in the pound out of the money due to the officers and soldiers, without having any warrant for making such deduction. V. That colonel Hastings's agent had refused or neglected to give an account of the pay due to the captains of his regiment and their companies, which tended apparently to the defrauding the officers and soldiers. VI. That many grievous and great deductions had been arbitrarily made by the agents, who had endeavoured to cover their frauds under the uncertain head of *contingencies*. VII. That colonel Hastings had discharged an ensign by putting another in his room, contrary to the true discipline of the army. VIII. and lastly, That the said colonel Hastings had taken money for recommending to commands in his regiment, to the discouragement of the officers who were to serve in his majesty's armies, who ought to be such as merited their commands, and not such as paid for them †." To all which abuses the house humbly intreated his majesty to give immediate redress. The king received this representation very graciously, and assured the house of his compliance with their request. Accordingly, colonel Hastings was cashiered, and his regiment given to sir John Jacob, his lieutenant-colonel. His majesty likewise appointed a council of officers to sit weekly, and examine all complaints against any officer or soldier; and published a proclamation for the strict discipline of the army, and the payment of quarters.

The commons however still continued to prosecute their enquiries, and on the seventh of March called before them several of the contractors for cloathing the army, particularly Mr. James Craggs and Mr. Richard Harnage, who refusing to be examined upon oath, or to produce their books, were committed: and a bill was brought in to compel the agents to discover their practices; but so great was the interest of the offenders, that the bill

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 140. † State Tracts, vol. ii. Proceed. House of Comm. ii. 444, &c.

was dropped; and it does not appear that either the agents or ſuperior officers of the army, who had cheated the ſoldiers, and defrauded the government in a moſt egregious manner, were ever puniſhed according to their demerits. The commiſſioners for licenſing hackney-coaches next came under cenſure, for having, by receiving bribes and other undue means, acted corruptly and arbitrarily, and his majeſty was addreſſed to remove three of them, who were accordingly diſplaced *.

But the affair of the Eaſt-India Company, and of the bill for ſatisfying the debt due to orphans of London, made the greateſt noiſe, on account of the high rank of thoſe concerned in this ſcene of iniquity. The Eaſt-India Company had been ſtruck at in ſeveral ſeſſions: their patent was repreſented as an illegal monopoly, and another company propoſed to be erected by parliament, or at leaſt the trade laid open to all his majeſty's ſubjects; which when the Company found the parliament inclined to concur in, they applied themſelves to ſome leading men, whom they gratified with conſiderable ſums to obtain a new charter, and an act of parliament to confirm it. The diſintereſted part of both houſes being greatly ſurprized, to hear the very members who had been moſt zealous againſt the Company's patent, now declare themſelves their warmeſt advocates, ſuſpected ſome iniquitous myſtery, and therefore reſolved to dive to the bottom of it, and to vindicate, if poſſible, the honour of parliament. The firſt enquiry ſet on foot was concerning the orphans bill, which was ſuppoſed to have been procured by the like undue influence †. A committee was accordingly appointed to inſpect into the books of the chamberlain of London, and of the Eaſt-India Company; and was alſo impowered to ſend for perſons and papers. After a due examination, the committee reported, "That they found an order made by the committee of the common-council of the city, directing the chamberlain to pay ſir John Trevor, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, one thouſand guineas; and another order for paying Paul Jodrel, eſq. clerk of the houſe, one hundred guineas, for his pains and ſervice in aſſiſting the orphans bill to paſs the parliament: that ſeveral other ſums were entered into the chamberlain's books, paid to Mr. Barret the city-ſollicitor, to defray the charge of drawing the ſaid bill, and making copies thereof; and of the petitions and orders relating to the ſame: among which payments were, five guineas paid to Mr. ſollicitor-general for his advice, five guineas to Mr. Harcourt, twenty guineas to Mr. Hungerford, chairman of the committee, for his pains and ſervice, and ſixty pounds to Mr. Jodrel; and they underſtood that the orphans had given bond to Mr. Smith and Mr. Charles Noyes to allow them twelve-pence in the pound when the bill paſſed: that the ſaid Noyes and Smith produced to the committee of the common-council a bill of their charges, amounting to upwards of three thouſand pounds monies diſburſed ‡." Upon theſe reports the commons reſolved, "That ſir John Trevor their ſpeaker receiving a gratuity of a thouſand guineas, after paſſing the orphans bills, was guilty of a high crime and miſdemeanor." Sir John Trevor, to his infinite diſgrace, was himſelf obliged to put the queſtion from the chair for his own expulſion. He did not think fit to offer any defence, but the next day abſented himſelf, and ſent the mace to the houſe, who thereupon choſe Paul Foley, eſq. their ſpeaker in his ſtead; at the ſame time, Mr. Hungerford the other member was expelled the houſe.

The commons next proceeded to enquire into the means by which the Eaſt-India Company had obtained their late charter, and appointed a committee (of which Mr. Foley was chairman) to inſpect the books of the ſaid company, when, upon examination, the moſt flagrant inſtances of venality and corruption were quickly manifeſted. It appeared that the Company had iſſued for the ſingle articles of ſecret ſervice, no leſs than one hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds, and that ſir Thomas Cook, one of the members of the houſe of commons, had been the chief manager of this infamous traffic. Cook, upon being examined, at firſt refuſed to anſwer; ſo that on the twenty-ſixth of March the commons enacted, "That ſir Thomas Cook, a member, having refuſed to give an account of the money of the Eaſt-India Company by him diſtributed, be committed to the Tower, and a bill be brought in to oblige him to give ſuch account." But this was dropped, and a bill paſſed to indemnify him upon making a due diſcovery. Hereupon he delivered in writing, to a committee of both houſes, an account of the diſpoſal of large ſums to ſeveral perſons §: but his diſcovery not being deemed ſatisfactory, a bill paſſed both houſes, which afterwards received the royal aſſent, for impriſoning ſir Thomas Cook, ſir Baſil Firebrace, Charles Bates, eſq. and James Craggs; and for reſtraining them from alienating their eſtates: and in conſequence of further diſcoveries made, the commons, on the twenty-ſeventh of April, drew up articles of impeachment againſt the duke of Leeds, preſident of the council, "for contracting and agreeing with the merchants trading to the Eaſt-Indies, or their agents, for five thouſand five hundred guineas, to procure a charter of confirmation and a charter of regulations, or by his agents and ſervants, with his privity and conſent." The articles of impeachment being preſented at the bar of the upper houſe, the duke pleaded Not Guilty, and the commons promiſed to make good the charge. The duke, however, ſent his ſervant Robart, who had received the money for him, out of the kingdom; and his abſence prevented the matter being ever brought to a trial: but the duke's character ſuffered an indelible ſtain from the diſcovery that had been already made.

On the ſecond of May the commons reſolved, "That the offer of any money, or other advantage, to any member of parliament, for promoting any matter whatſoever depending in parliament, was a high crime and miſdemeanor, and tended

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* Killigrew, Villiers, and Gee.

† The commiſſioners were, Mr. Paul Foley, ſir Richard Onſlow, Mr. John Pollexſen, ſir John Thompſon, Mr. Foot Onſlow, Mr. Thomas Pelham, ſir Samuel Bernardiſton, the honourable Mr. Thomas Wharton, and Mr. Francis Gwynn.

‡ See State Tracts, vol. ii. p. 481, &c. where the reader may ſee a more full account of of this matter; as alſo of the East India company's affairs, from whence the above extracts are taken.

§ To Francis Tyſſen, eſq. 10,000 l. to Mr. Richard Acton, 1,200 l. to Nathaniel Molyneux, 338 l. to ſir John Charden, 220 l. to P—— D——, eſq. 350 l. to captain John Germain, 382 l. to colonel Fitzpatrick, 1,000 guineas, and 40,000 to ſir Baſil Firebrace. Ibid.

to the ſubverſion of the conſtitution." By this time ſuch diſcoveries were made, and ſuch numbers of conſiderable perſons appeared to be concerned in the grand ſcene of corruption, that a full detection was equally dreaded by both parties; ſo that his majeſty, to put an end to the proceedings of the commons, who were about to impeach ſeveral other perſons, came to the houſe of peers on the third of May, and ſending for the commons, cloſed the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech:

"My lords and gentlemen, I am come to give you thanks for the ſupplies provided for carrying on the war in which we are engaged, and at the ſame time to conclude this ſeſſion, which cannot be continued any longer without manifeſt prejudice to the ends for which theſe ſupplies are given, the ſeaſon of the year making it ſo neceſſary for me to be abroad, that it were to be wiſhed our buſineſs at home would have allowed me to have been there ſooner.

"I will take care to place the adminiſtration of affairs during my abſence, in ſuch perſons on whoſe care and fidelity I can entirely depend; and I doubt not, my lords and gentlemen, but every one of you in your ſeveral ſtations will be aſſiſting to them. This is what I require of you, and that you will be more than ordinarily vigilant in preſerving the public peace." Then the lord-keeper, by his majeſty's order, prorogued the parliament to the eighteenth of June *.

The ſame day the king appointed the following high perſonages to be lords-juſtices of England for the adminiſtration of the government during his abſence, viz. Thomas lord archbiſhop of Canterbury; ſir John Somers, lord-keeper of the great-ſeal; Thomas earl of Pembroke, lord privy-ſeal; William duke of Devonſhire, lord-ſteward of his majeſty's houſhold; Charles duke of Shrewſbury, principal ſecretary of ſtate; Charles earl of Dorſet, lord-chamberlain of the houſhold; and Sidney lord Godolphin, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. It is remarkable, that neither the princeſs of Denmark nor her huſband were admitted into any ſhare of the adminiſtration; a neglect which could not but produce great heart-burnings in the friends of that princeſs, who was now heir-apparent to the crown.

His majeſty alſo about this time made the following promotions, viz. ſir William Trumbal was appointed ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of ſir John Trenchard, lately deceaſed; Henry lord Capel was conſtituted lord-lieutenant of Ireland; William de Naſſau, lord of Zuyleſtein, was created baron of Enfield, viſcount Tunbridge, and earl of Rochford; and Ford lord Grey of Werk was created viſcount Glendale and earl of Tankerville; and on the twelfth of May his majeſty embarked at Graveſend for Holland, from whence he ſoon after went to the army in Flanders.

The campaign of 1695 was a glorious one to king William and the allies, whoſe army being ſuperior to that of the French in the Netherlands, his majeſty reſolved to ſtrike ſome memorable blow. Accordingly, after having for ſome time amuſed marſhal Villeroy (who commanded the French army in the room of Luxemburg, who died the preceding winter) by ſeveral feints, he at length inveſted the city of Namur on the third of July. This place, the capital fortreſs in the Netherlands, was ſtrong by art and nature, before it fell into the hands of the enemy, ſince which it had received additional fortifications, ſo that it was looked upon as altogether impregnable. It was defended by a garriſon of fifteen thouſand choſen men, commanded by the count de Guiſcard; and marſhal Boufflers, who conducted a ſeparate army from that of Villeroy, though ſubjected to the other's orders, found means to throw himſelf into the town with ſeveral regiments, and thereby increaſed the garriſon to twenty or twenty-five thouſand men. It would be tedious to enumerate all the particulars of this celebrated ſiege, one of the moſt important events of the war. We ſhall therefore relate only the principal circumſtances.

It is however neceſſary to ſet before the reader the diſpoſition of the French army and that of the allies, for his better underſtanding what follows. The enemy, conſcious of their own inferiority, had thought proper to ſecure their late conqueſts, by a new line drawn between the Lys and the Schelde, and to make diſpoſitions for covering Dunkirk, Ypres, Tournay, and Namur; ſome of which they apprehended would be attacked by the allies. Mean while, the confederates formed two great armies in Flanders and Brabant: the firſt, compoſed of ſeventy-two battalions of foot, and eighty-two ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, was encamped at Aerſeele, Canghem, and Wanterghem, between Theildt and Deynſe, and commanded by the king in perſon, aſſiſted by the old prince of Vaudemont, the beſt general in the allied army after the death of prince Waldeck. The other army, conſiſting of ſixteen battalions of foot, and one hundred and thirty ſquadrons of horſe, encamped at Zellrich and Ham, on the road from Bruſſels to Dendermonde, under the command of the elector of Bavaria, ſeconded by the duke of Holſtein-Ploen, the earl of Athlone, and ſeveral other excellent generals. There was alſo a third little army, called the Body of the Maeſe, which lay encamped between Bref and Talais on the Mehaigne. This body conſiſted of eighteen battalions of Brandenburghers, and ſeven of Dutch, and thirty-two ſquadrons of horſe; the whole commanded by the baron de Heyden, lieutenant-general of Brandenbourg, and the count de Berlo, general of the Liege cavalry. On the other hand, the marſhal de Villeroy had drawn his army together at Liege, between Condé, Tournay, and Aeth: marſhal de Boufflers, with another body of about twelve thouſand horſe and foot, lay encamped about the Sambre; and monſieur Montal, with another ſmall body, was poſted between Ypres and the fort La Knocque.

King William having ſucceeded according to his wiſh, by drawing all the enemy's forces on one

* Few acts of any conſequence were paſſed this ſeſſion beſides the money-acts, and an act againſt clipping and coining. It appears that about this time the ſilver coin of the kingdom was ſo much diminiſhed by the villainy of clippers, as to be reduced near half in value, to the great detriment of trade, and embarraſſment of the public revenue. Various expedients were propoſed for remedying this grievance; but ſome of them were dangerous, and others impracticable. An act, however, paſſed, containing very ſtrict penalties againſt clippers; but the remedy was not perfected till the next parliament.

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ſide by his feigned marches, directed baron Heyden and the earl of Athlone to inveſt Namur, which was accordingly done. The king ſent them a plan of the ſiege, which he had previouſly formed, and which the elector of Bavaria highly applauded, as a well-concerted project. On the eleventh of July the trenches were opened, and the next day the batteries began to play with incredible fury.

It was natural to expect, that a place of ſo much importance as Namur, ſo ſtrong in its fortifications, and defended by ſuch a numerous garriſon commanded by a marſhal of France, would diſpute every foot of ground; and indeed it made a moſt bold and deſperate defence for near two months. During the ſiege marſhal Villeroy attempted to cut off prince Vaudemont, who commanded the army that covered the ſiege, conſiſting of fifty battalions of foot, and as many ſquadrons of horſe, encamped at Aerſeele. The French out-numbered the prince by more than two to one, and were very nigh ſurpriſing him in his trenches; but he effected a retreat to Ghent, in a manner hardly to be paralleled in antient or modern hiſtory. He firſt detached his baggage and artillery: theſe were ſoon followed by his infantry: laſtly, he drew off his horſe; and all this was performed with ſuch ſecrecy and addreſs, that the enemy had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of his deſign. Enraged to find himſelf thus baffled, Villeroy diſpatched Montal to attack the prince's rear; but the Frenchmen met with ſo warm a reception, that they were glad to retire, after having killed a few of the prince's men, and ſuffered very conſiderably themſelves. King William was ſo highly pleaſed with the prince's conduct, that he wrote him a letter with his own hand, wherein he acknowleged himſelf obliged to him; adding, "That he had given greater marks of a general conſummate in the art of war, than if he had gained a victory."

Villeroy, diſappointed in this attempt, afterwards endeavoured to ſurprize Nieuport, and was diſappointed there alſo. He then, with better ſucceſs, attacked the forts of Dixmuyde and Deynſe, both which ſurrendered to him without ſtriking a blow, though their garriſons conſiſted of near ſeven thouſand men, among whom were two garriſons of Engliſh; and what rendered this misfortune the greater was, that the French detained theſe garriſons priſoners of war, refuſing to ranſom or exchange them according to cartel; inſomuch that many of them, by the hardſhips they ſuffered, were forced into the French ſervice, and ſent quite acroſs France into Catalonia. The next ſtratagem Villeroy made uſe of to draw off the allies from the ſiege of Namur, was the bombarding of Bruſſels, which was executed with ſuch fury *, that within the ſpace of forty-eight hours two thouſand houſes and upwards, in the heart of the town, were reduced to aſhes; the ſtadthouſe, the great church, and ſeveral others, demoliſhed; and the very foundations of them thrown up by the bombs. The electreſs of Bavaria, who was then in the city, though removed out of danger from theſe miniſters of deſtruction, was yet ſo terrified by their dreadful and inceſſant noiſe, that ſhe miſcarried; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that ſhe eſcaped with life. This terrible deſtruction of a capital city, which by the cartel was to have been exempt from bombardments, was juſtified by the French, on account of the bombardments that the Engliſh had made upon the coaſt of France.

After the perpetrating of this unmanly revenge, Villeroy being conſiderably reinforced by all the troops that could be ſpared out of the garriſons, and the forces from the ſea-coaſts, marched directly towards Namur, with an army, as the French themſelves gave out, of no leſs than eighty thouſand men, and which came juſt time enough to be witneſs to the ſurrender of that important fortreſs. King William having taken up the camp which the French army had occupied when they covered the ſiege of that place, the marſhal found there was no attacking him, and therefore returned towards the Mehaigne; ſo that the garriſon now loſt all hopes of being relieved. It had indeed made a moſt noble reſiſtance, and never was military valour and ſkill more illuſtriouſly diſplayed than in the attack and defence of this place. The genius, or the ſuperior courage of the allies, however, at length ſucceeded. Count Guiſcard finding that the enemy, after having effected ſeveral ſucceſſive lodgments of great importance, were preparing for a general aſſault, ſurrendered the town on the fourth of Auguſt, and on the ſixth the French retired into the caſtle, againſt which twelve batteries were opened on the thirteenth. Boufflers made ſeveral bold attempts to break through the camp of the allies, but was always diſappointed, by the prudent precautions of king William. At length the garriſon being from near twenty thouſand, now reduced to little better than ſix thouſand, the marſhal thought proper to ſurrender, and the capitulation was ſigned on the evening of the ſecond of September. Villeroy, who lay emcamped at Gemblours, was no ſooner informed of the ſurrender of Namur than he paſſed the Sambre, near Charleroi, with great precipitation; and having reinforced the garriſon of Dinant with two thouſand men, retreated with the reſt of his army towards the lines in the neighbourhood of Mons.

On the fifth day of September the French garriſon marched out of the caſtle, when king William cauſed marſhal Boufflers to be arreſted and detained priſoner, by way of repriſal for the detention of the garriſons of Dixmuyde and Deynſe, contrary to the cartel eſtabliſhed between the two nations. Hereupon the court of Verſailles thought proper to give its parole of honour that the ſaid garriſons ſhould be reſtored, and the marſhal was immediately ſet at liberty. The reduction of Namur, in the ſight of an army of eighty thouſand men, ſeemed to eſtabliſh the military character of king William, and more than ever confirmed him in the confidence of the allies: the Dutch in particular teſtified their acknowlegements, by every poſſible mark of gratitude and reſpect. His majeſty now entruſted the command of the army to the elector of Bavaria, and retired to Loo, the uſual place of his receſs. Soon after both armies went into winter-quarters. We are not to ſuppoſe that ſo capital a conqueſt as that of Namur, could be gained

* On the 14th and 15th of Auguſt.

without a conſiderable loſs on the ſide of the victors: the allies left near twelve thouſand men before the place. Among the ſlain were the count de Rivera, the baron de Heckeren, and ſeveral other officers of note. Among the wounded were the prince of Holſtein-Norburgh, the prince of Heſſe-Homburgh, and ſeveral inferior officers. The elector of Bavaria diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a particular manner during the whole ſiege.

On the Rhine nothing was done this whole campaign; the army of the empire under prince Baden, and that of the French commanded by the mareſchal de Lorges, being ſo nearly equal, that neither of the two generals would venture upon a battle, but contented themſelves with watching the motions of each other: nor did Italy this year furniſh any military tranſactions deſerving notice ſince the ſiege of Caſal, which was yielded up to the duke of Savoy in fourteen days, to the ſurprize of all the world, as that place was eſteemed the ſtrongeſt perhaps in Europe: but it appeared afterwards that the duke and the French king were privately negotiating with each other; and it was conjectured that the latter made a voluntary ſacrifice of this fortreſs to the duke, in order to engage his forbearance during the remaining part of the campaign. The French made but a very indifferent figure in Catalonia this year. Admiral Ruſſel, who wintered at Cadiz, prevented them from forming the ſiege of Barcelona; upon which they retired to Palamos, which our admiral bombarded ſo furiouſly, that the greateſt part of the town and caſtle were laid in ruins: after which he retired again to Cadiz; there he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for ſecuring our trade in the Mediterranean from any interruption, by leaving a ſufficient force to fruſtrate the deſigns of the enemy, and even to aſſiſt the Spaniards in caſe they had ſhewn any activity in their own concerns. Having ſettled theſe matters, and given proper inſtructions to ſir David Mitchel, rear-admiral of the red, who was to be left with a ſquadron of twenty-three ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and bomb-veſſels, he turned his thoughts entirely to the carrying the reſt of the fleet back to England; which deſign he happily accompliſhed in the beginning of the winter.

I ſhall now conſider what paſſed at home, in reſpect to the deſign of humbling the French on the Ocean. The great men in the cabinet had determined to proſecute the methods of bombardment which had been ſet on foot the laſt year; and St. Malo's and Dunkirk were the places marked out to be demoliſhed. The fleet intended for this ſervice was in ſuch forwardneſs, that the lord Berkeley of Stratton, who was to command it, ſailed from Spithead on the twenty-third of June, and on the fourth of July came before St. Malo's. On the fifth the bombardment began about ſix in the morning, and was ſo vigorouſly purſued, that in about two hours time a great fire broke out in the eaſt part of the town, and vaſt clouds of ſmoke were ſeen aſcending in ſeveral places. About four in the afternoon another great fire broke out in the weſt part of the town. By ſeven in the evening the bomb-veſſels had ſpent their whole cargo of nine thouſand bombs and carcaſſes, and therefore the ſignal was given to put to ſea. This enterprize againſt St. Malo's was executed by ſix Engliſh and four Dutch men of war, nine galliots, fourteen flat-bottomed boats, and two brigantines. The loſs we ſuſtained on this occaſion was ſixty men, killed and wounded, by the enemy's fire from their batteries, and one bomb-veſſel ſunk. The bombardment laſted ſomewhat more than eleven hours, and laid the greateſt part of the town in ruins.

After this affair was over, it was reſolved to ſend a ſecond ſquadron to Granville, a place of great trade, under the command of captain Bembow, who on the eighth of July anchored before the place, and began the bombardment, which laſted from nine in the morning till ſix in the evening; and then the ſquadron ſailed away, leaving the town all in flames. After this the fleet ſailed to Portſmouth, in order to make the neceſſary preparations there for an attempt upon Dunkirk; the deſtruction of which port was eagerly deſired both by the Engliſh and Dutch, whoſe trade had ſuffered prodigiouſly from the enemy's privateers that were fitted out from thence. Lord Berkeley putting to ſea again with the fleet on the laſt day of July, came the next day before Dunkirk, which he battered for eight hours: but the French had in all places made ſuch ſtrong preparations for their defence, as rendered an attempt to land altogether impracticable. Two of the machines, called Infernals, were ſent in by the admiral, but did little or no execution. His lordſhip therefore drew off the fleet, and proceeded to Calais, which he bombarded without interruption for nine hours, in which time ſix hundred ſhells were thrown into the place. The magazine and the Rife-Bank were entirely burnt, ſeveral houſes deſtroyed, and many others very much damaged. It is remarkable, that notwithſtanding all the efforts of the enemy, and a prodigious fire from their batteries, we ſuffered very little loſs, only the captain of a ketch being killed by a cannon-ball.

Our trade however ſuffered ſeverely this year from the enemy's privateers, who, notwithſtanding all the vigilance of the government, and our uncontrolled dominion at ſea, found means to ſlip out of their ports, and take a number of our merchant ſhips. The marquis of Caermarthen, ſon to the duke of Leeds, a young and inexperienced nobleman, being ſtationed with a ſquadron off the iſles of Scilly, miſtook a fleet of merchant-ſhips for the Breſt fleet, and retired with precipitation into Milford-Haven, without taking any pains to be ſatisfied whether he was right or not in his conjecture. By this raſh ſtep, to give it no worſe a name, the Barbadoes fleet, then on its return home, was left a defenceleſs prey to the French privateers, who took a great number of them, and alſo five Eaſt-India ſhips, valued at a million ſterling. This occaſioned a great clamour at home, eſpecially on the part of the merchants of London, who complained loudly, that neither the admiralty nor the government took the care that was neceſſary for preſerving our trade. A French man of war at the ſame time fell upon our factory on the coaſt of Guinea, took a ſmall fort we had there, and deſtroyed it. Theſe loſſes ſenſibly abated the joy the nation would otherwiſe have felt from the ſucceſs of our arms on the continent.

In the courſe of this year a parliament was held in Scotland, which met the ninth of May; and three things were chiefly propoſed to their conſideration by the miniſtry of that kingdom, in virtue

of a letter ſent from his majeſty, juſt before his departure for Holland, to the marquis of Tweddale, his high-commiſſioner: for not only the duke of Hamilton, but his brother the duke of Queenſberry, died the laſt winter. The matters propoſed were theſe: 1. Supplies for the enſuing year. 2. Moderation in church affairs. His majeſty at the ſame time gave them his aſſurances of his maintaining preſbytery. 3. The advancement of trade. As to the ſupplies, this parliament granted one hundred and forty thouſand pounds for the maintenance of their forces by ſea and land. They alſo paſſed an act in relation to their kirk, in which however there was not one word in favour of epiſcopacy, or any thing that looked like a toleration of the members of the church of England; but the act that made the moſt noiſe in England was that for ſettling a trade and colonies in the weſtern plantations, it being propoſed to carry on a trade from thence to the Eaſt Indies, by the aſſiſtance of ſome wealthy merchants and interlopers in London, which alarmed the Eaſt India company greatly, and was the occaſion of a miſunderſtanding between the two nations, as will be related hereafter.

But this ſeſſion of the Scottiſh parliament was chiefly remarkable for its ſtrict enquiry into the affair of Glencoe (of which we have already given an account) when they entirely acquitted the king from any ſhare of guilt in that barbarous maſſacre, by unanimouſly reſolving, "That his majeſty's inſtructions to ſir Thomas Livingſtone contained no warrant for the execution of the Macdonalds: that the ſaid execution was a downright murder: that the Maſter of Stair's letters exceeded the king's inſtructions: that ſir Thomas Livingſtone had reaſon to give the orders he had given. They likewiſe ordered that lieutenant-colonel Hamilton ſhould be inſtantly arreſted, and brought to his trial for the murder of the Macdonalds: that Campbell of Glenlion, captain Drummond, lieutenant Lindſey, enſign Lundy, and ſerjeant Barber, who had been concerned in the ſaid maſſacre, ſhould be likewiſe proſecuted; and that an impeachment ſhould be lodged againſt the earl of Braidalbin, who had ſo groſsly impoſed upon his majeſty, and abuſed his authority." Notwithſtanding theſe reſolutions, by which the king appears to be ſo ſolemnly acquitted, his ill-judged lenity, in inflicting no puniſhments on ſuch inhuman delinquents, ſubjected him to much cenſure, which his enemies took care to improve with all their art, inſomuch as to deprive him of the affection of the Scots.

A parliament being aſſembled in Ireland this ſummer by the new lieutenant, the lord Capel, they granted the king a ſupply of one hundred and ſixty-three thouſand pounds, to be raiſed by a poll-tax, and a further ſum by additional duties of exciſe and on wine, foreign merchandize, &c. They alſo paſſed ſome acts for preventing the growth of popery, and the diſarming of papiſts. Let us now reſume the affairs of England.

King William arriving at Kenſington from Holland, the tenth of October, iſſued a proclamation the next day for diſſolving the parliament, and aſſembling another on the twenty-ſecond of November; and it having been repreſented to his majeſty how much it might conduce to his intereſt in the enſuing elections, to endeavour to gain the affections of his people, by a more open and familiar deportment than he had hitherto obſerved, he thought fit to go to the races at Newmarket this ſeaſon, where he was met and complimented by the vice-chancellor and heads of the univerſity of Cambridge. From thence he made a tour through Northamptonſhire, Lincolnſhire, Warwickſhire, and ſeveral other counties, viſiting the nobility and perſons of diſtinction, who vied with each other in the magnificence of their entertainments. In his progreſs he viſited the city and univerſity of Oxford, where he was received by the duke of Ormond, chancellor of that univerſity, the vice-chancellor, and the reſt of the members, in their academical habits; and an elegant entertainment was prepared in the Theatre, from the preſumption that his majeſty would honour them with his preſence at dinner: but an anonymous letter having been conveyed to his majeſty, in which the writer acquainted him that there was a deſign laid to poiſon him, he immediately ſet out for Windſor; nor could all the intreaties of the univerſity prevail on him to ſtay: he did indeed condeſcend to aſſign ſomething like a reaſon for his abrupt departure, by ſaying, "He only paid them this viſit to manifeſt his affection for them: that he had before ſeen the curioſities of the univerſity, and therefore did not propoſe the making any ſtay at this time."

On Friday the twenty-ſecond of November the new parliament met, in purſuance of the ſummons; and the commons being directed to chuſe a ſpeaker, elected Paul Foley, eſq. who was approved by his majeſty the next day, when the king made a ſpeech to both houſes, to the following effect:

"He engaged in the preſent war, he ſaid, by the advice of his firſt parliament; and the laſt had with great chearfulneſs aſſiſted him in carrying it on, and he doubted not but the preſent one would as willingly ſupport him in it by their ſupplies: that he could not but take notice on this occaſion of the ſignal bravery of the Engliſh forces during the laſt campaign, which had reflected equal honour on themſelves, and on the nation to which they belonged. He lamented, as a great misfortune, his having been obliged, from the beginning of his reign, to aſk ſuch large aids of his people; but, he obſerved, they were abſolutely neceſſary, for the effectual proſecution of the war. He took notice that the funds had been deficient, and the condition of the civil liſt ſuch, that he could not poſſibly ſubſiſt without their care. He told them, that compaſſion obliged him to mention the miſerable condition of the French proteſtants who ſuffered for their religion, and the redreſs of the ill ſtate of the coin, would prove a farther charge. He recommended to them the framing bills for the encouragement and increaſe of ſeamen, the advancement of trade, particularly that of the Weſt-Indies, and that the army might be properly recruited, without giving the ſubject cauſe of complaint; and concluded with exhorting them to uſe diſpatch, and to avoid heats and diviſions."

Hereupon the two houſes addreſſed his majeſty ſeparately, but to the ſame effect, congratulating him on his ſucceſſes this campaign, and his ſafe return; aſſuring him they would ſupport his government, and aſſiſt him in the proſecution of the war. The commons addreſſed his majeſty to appoint a faſt for the ſucceſs of their deliberations; and accordingly

cordingly the eleventh of December was appointed for London, and the eighteenth for the reſt of England. Great complaints being made to the houſe of the abuſe of written protections which had been given by the members, all ſuch protections were called in, and declared void in law: at the ſame time, however, it was declared, that their menial ſervants ſhould enjoy their uſual privileges, but no perſon ſhould be taken into cuſtody upon complaint of breach of privilege till this matter ſhould be examined. This order was not to extend to any breach of privilege upon the perſon of a member.

On the fourth day of the ſeſſion the bill was introduced for regulating trials in caſes of high-treaſon, which was ſuddenly paſſed thro' both houſes, tho' it had met with ſuch oppoſition in former parliaments, on account of the clauſe added by the lords, "That all the peers ſhould be ſummoned to attend at the trial of every peer and peereſs:" which amendment was now agreed to by the lower houſe *.

The commons next proceeded to take into their conſideration the ſupply for the year 1696, when, upon going through the accounts and eſtimates laid before them, they voted five millions twenty-four thouſand eight hundred and fifty-three pounds for that ſervice, viz. two millions and an half for the navy, and the reſt for the army and ordnance, to be raiſed on the following funds, viz. 1. By a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound. 2. By duties continued on wine, vinegar, tobacco, Eaſt India goods, and other merchandizes, from 1698 to 1701. 3. An additional duty upon all French goods, wines twenty-five pounds per ton, brandy thirty pounds per ton, vinegar fifteen ſhillings per ton; all other French goods twenty-five per cent. ad valorem, for the term of twenty-one years. 4. Duties upon low wines or ſpirits of the French extraction. 5. Duties continued upon ſalt, glaſs-wares, tobacco-pipes, &c. Purſuant to that part of the king's ſpeech relating to the civil liſt, and to the diſtreſſed condition of the French proteſtants, the commons alſo ſettled a fund for raiſing 500,000 l. a-year for the former, and 15,000 l. a-year for the relief of the latter †.

The neceſſity of amending our money at this time occaſioned ſeveral debates, which ended in a reſolution to proceed to a new coinage, by calling the diminiſhed ſilver-money into the mint by tale, whereby the people had good new ſilver coin returned them from the Mint. The next point to be determined was, whether the new coin, in its different denominations, ſhould retain the original weight and purity of the old, or the eſtabliſhed ſtandard be raiſed in value. Mr. Lowndes, ſecretary of the Treaſury, who was the chief advocate for the enhancing method, alleged in favour of his ſcheme, That the raiſing the ſtandard would prevent the exportation of our coin, as alſo the melting of it down; and that thereby people would be more induced to bring in their plate and bullion to the Mint. On the other ſide it was argued very juſtly, that the common conſent of all nations had fixed ſilver at one and the ſame price, or very nearly: that the worth of it was relative: that the weight and fineneſs, or the quantity of pure ſilver, and not the bare denomination, were the only rules which governed not only foreign nations in their exchanges and other dealings with us, but alſo our own people in their home-trade; ſince ſix ſhillings and three-pence, for which it was propoſed a crown-piece of the new currency ſhould paſs, would purchaſe no more of any commodity, nor go farther in paying bills of exchange, than five ſhillings of our unclipped preſent coin would purchaſe, becauſe the latter contained as much pure ſilver as the former: that this was clear in the caſe of guineas, now at thirty ſhillings, all commodities being raiſed in price in proportion to the ſaid price of guineas: that an ounce of ſilver was not even at preſent worth ſix ſhillings and three pence of our good coin, but only of the diminiſhed or clipped money, ſince one ounce of ſilver could not be worth more than another ounce of the ſame fineneſs; and with five ſhillings and two-pence per ounce of the new milled money they could buy as much bullion as they pleaſed: that with reſpect to the before-named argument, that the raiſing the denomination would keep our ſilver at home, it is of no weight, ſince nothing can keep or bring in money but our getting the balance of trade in our favour: for if we take more goods from foreign parts than they take from us, the balance muſt be paid them in our money, or in bullion, which is all one: that with regard to our home concerns in particular, there are many objections againſt raiſing the ſtandard. Firſt, All poor labourers, ſoldiers, and ſailors, would thereby be defrauded of part of their juſt wages, as would alſo creditors of part of their juſt debts, and the landlord of part of his rent, or elſe great confuſion and diſpute would ariſe about theſe matters. Theſe arguments were moſt judiciouſly and clearly handled, and the truth of them demonſtrated by the great Mr. Locke, in his excellent Treatiſe on Coin, which he publiſhed at this time, in anſwer to Mr. Lowndes's Eſſay for the Amendment of the Silver Coin.

In concluſion, the arguments of the philoſopher were deemed more convincing than thoſe of the projector; and the commons reſolved that the eſtabliſhed ſtandard ſhould be preſerved, with regard to weight and fineneſs; and that the loſs ariſing from calling in the old money, which was calculated at two millions ſterling (though it afterwards

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* By this act it is decreed, That perſons indicted for high-treaſon, or miſpriſion of treaſon, ſhould be ſupplied with a copy of the indictment five days before the indictment, and indulged with two counſellors to plead in their defence: that no perſon ſhould be indicted but upon the oaths of two lawful witneſſes ſwearing to the ſame overt-act, or at leaſt to different acts of the ſame treaſon: that in two or more treaſons of divers kinds, alleged in the ſame bill of indictment, one witneſs to one, and another witneſs to another, ſhould not be deemed two witneſſes: that no perſon ſhould be proſecuted for any ſuch crime, unleſs the indictment was found within three years after the offence was committed; except in caſe of a deſign or attempt to aſſaſſinate or poiſon the king, which ſhould not be ſubject to this limitation: that perſons indicted for treaſon, or miſpriſion of treaſon, ſhould be furniſhed with copies of the pannel of jurors, two days at leaſt before their trial; and ſhould have the ſame proceſs to compel their witneſs to appear, which is uſually granted to witneſſes againſt them: that no evidence ſhould be admitted of any overt-act not expreſsly laid in the indictment: and that this act ſhall not extend to any impeachment, or other proceedings in parliament; nor to any indictment for counterfeiting his majeſty's coin, his great-ſeal, privy-ſeal, ſign-manual, or ſignet. Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 3. Stat. 7 & 8 W. III.

† Id. iii. 22.

turned

turned out to be near two millions and an half) ſhould be borne by the public, and a fund ſettled for ſupplying the deficiency: accordingly, on the 31ſt of December the commons reſolved to raiſe one million two hundred thouſand pounds by a duty on houſes or windows, for ſupplying the deficiency of the clipped money. A proclamation was alſo iſſued, at the inſtance of the houſe, for calling in the clipped money by degrees, which occaſioned inexpreſſible confuſion, the receivers refuſing to take it for what it was coined, on pretence of its being clipped too near, or its being of bad alloy, &c. Whereupon the commons reſolved, "That the recompence for ſupplying the deficiency of the clipped money ſhould extend to all clipped money that was ſilver, though of a coarſer alloy than the ſtandard; and that the collectors and receivers of taxes ſhould receive all ſuch: that a reward of five per cent. ſhould be given to ſuch perſons as brought in milled or unclipped money: that three-pence per ounce ſhould be given for all wrought plate brought in to the Mint, above the value; and that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed in every county to pay and diſtribute the milled and broad unclipped money, and the new coined money, and to receive the clipped money." Theſe reſolutions were formed into a bill, with a clauſe to prohibit the melting down and exportation of our coin and bullion, and to prohibit the uſe of plate in public houſes: which article proved the beſt expedient to ſupply the mints with bullion, there being at this time ſcarce any public houſe in England that had not ſilver tankards, and other utenſils of the ſame metal; which the owners choſe rather to carry to the Mint and turn into ready money, than keep ſo much uſeleſs and dead ſilver at home. Means were alſo uſed for gradually reducing the price of guineas to near their juſt value in ſilver in foreign parts, the parliament with great judgment directing the manner of gradually lowering them, viz. from thirty ſhillings to twenty-nine ſhillings, twenty-eight ſhillings, twenty-five ſhillings, and laſtly to twenty-two ſhillings, whereby very little loſs accrued to individuals.

Thus in about a year's time, or a little more, our ſilver coin came forth from the Mint, the fineſt and moſt beautiful of any in Europe: and although many inconveniencies happened in trade till this recoinage was completed, yet in the end it aſtoniſhed and confounded all the enemies of this kingdom both at home and abroad, and procured great credit to Mr. Montagu (afterwards lord Halifax) who then had the chief management of the Treaſury.

It was on this occaſion that Mr. Montagu firſt ſet on foot a new circulating paper-credit, by iſſuing bills from the Exchequer, at the ſame time contracting (as has ever ſince been done) for their being circulated for ready money on demand: and as many of theſe firſt exchequer-bills were for ſums ſo low as five pounds and ten pounds, they were of ſingular uſe during the great ſcarcity of ſilver occaſioned by the re-coinage, as they were taken at the Exchequer for all payments of the revenue; and as, when re-iſſued, they were then allowed ſeven pounds twelve ſhillings per cent. intereſt, they ſoon aroſe, from a ſmall diſcount, to be better than par. Theſe have ſince been iſſued yearly; and the Bank of England has conſtantly, for many years paſt, been the contractor for their circulation at a certain premium; for which end the ſaid Bank takes annual ſubſcriptions for enabling it to circulate them. This famous re-coinage was performed at London, Exeter, Briſtol, Cheſter, York, and Norwich *.

While the parliament thus manifeſted their attachment to the preſent government, they likewiſe reſolved to ſupport the liberties of the ſubject. The king had a particular regard for the earl of Portland (Mynheer Bentinck) who had been a faithful ſervant to him, and had accompanied him from Holland at his coming to take poſſeſſion of the crown of theſe realms. To this nobleman he had lately made a grant of ſome lordſhips in the county of Denbigh, including part of the antient demeſnes of the principality of Wales. The vaſſals and tenants of theſe lordſhips preſented a petition to the parliament, remonſtrating againſt the legality of the grant, and inſiſting on the right which they had always enjoyed, of holding ſolely of the prince of Wales. The commons took the affair into conſideration; and finding the objections advanced by the petitioners to be well founded, addreſſed the king to recal his grant. His majeſty was not a little piqued at this addreſs, which ſeemed to reflect on his conduct. He promiſed however to recal his grant, and ſaid he would find ſome other waw of ſhewing his favour to the earl of Portland †.

In this remarkable year, the parliament, gentry, and merchants of Scotland, made a very great effort (perhaps the greateſt that had ever been made by one European nation in the firſt attempt) for eſtabliſhing a colony of their own people in America, and at the ſame time a company for trading to Africa and Eaſt India, which however proved in the end very fatal to Scotland. It was ſaid to have been underhand ſet on foot, and encouraged by the interlopers in the Engliſh Eaſt India trade, who finding that both king and parliament inclined to favour the company, flattered themſelves with hopes, that by encouraging the deſigns of the Scots, they might obtain their own particular ends.

Be that as it may, it is certain that the Scots had long lamented their being almoſt the only maritime country in Europe without the Mediterranean and Baltic Seas, which had no colony nor ſettlement out of Europe. This point had more eſpecially occupied their thoughts ſince the Reſtoration; but the arbitrary meaſures of king Charles II. and his brother the late king James, prevented their carrying this national concern. Upon the acceſſion of king William, they began to think more ſincerely about mercantile ſchemes; and in 1693 their parliament paſſed an act "for encouraging of foreign trade," by empowering merchants to enter into commercial ſocieties, more eſpecially for trading to Aſia, Africa, and America. And in this year, 1695, in the parliament of which we have already made mention, thay obtained a royal charter, incorporating a company to trade to thoſe parts.

It ſeems the king had, as uſual, empowered his commiſſioner (then the marquis of Tweddale) to promiſe his aſſent to any bill for the encourage-

* Anderſon. D'Avenant. Pr. Houſe of Com. iii. Pr. Houſe of Lords, ii. State Tracts, &c. † Pr. Houſe of Com. iii. 9.

ment of trade, provided it did not interfere with the commerce of England. The commiſſioner, not properly regarding this reſtriction, gave his aſſent to an act for eſtabliſhing a company trading to the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, empowering them to plant colonies, build cities, towns, or forts, in places uninhabited, or in others, with the conſent of the natives, veſting them with an excluſive right, and an exemption for twenty-one years from all duties and impoſitions. This act was likewiſe confirmed by letters-patent under the great-ſeal, without any further warrant from the crown. It had been framed by Mr. William Paterſon, the projector of the Bank of England and of the new Orphans Fund. He had lived ſome years in America, as well as in ſundry other foreign parts, and had entered far into ſpeculations relating to commerce and colonies. This gentleman had thought of a place called Darien, very near the Iſthmus which joins North and South America, uninhabited by any European people, and where his countrymen the Scots might make a good ſettlement; as alſo another oppoſite to it on the ſouth ſide of the Iſthmus, near Panama, whereby he propoſed that a trade might be carried on both to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies.

No ſooner was the company erected in virtue of the royal patent obtained, than Mr. Paterſon and his friends in England had influence enough to get three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling ſubſcribed in nine days time. Soon after three hundred thouſand pounds more was ſubſcribed in Scotland, the whole capital being at firſt deſigned to be but ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling: but fearing that the Engliſh ſubſcribers would be ſoon obliged to withdraw their ſubſcriptions, Mr. Paterſon and his aſſociates went to Amſterdam, where they at firſt met with good encouragement, till the Dutch magiſtrates, apprehending that this new company might do great prejudice both to their Eaſt and Weſt India companies, entirely fruſtrated their ſubſcriptions there. Their next attempt was at Hamburgh, where they were very cordially received, and the ſubſcription was preſently filled. Thus far the company's wiſhes ſucceeded, and they began with all expedition to build and purchaſe ſhips of great burthen, both at Amſterdam and Hamburgh, when ſuddenly this fine proſpect was overclouded, by the alarm taken by both the Engliſh houſes of parliament, who appointed a committee to enquire into the act which had lately paſſed in Scotland, for erecting a company trading to Africa and the Eaſt Indies. After a full and impartial examination of all the particulars relating to this act, the committee made its report, when the two houſes preſented an addreſs to his majeſty on the twenty-fifth of December, againſt the great advantages which he had conſented to be granted to this company, "whereby (ſay they) a great part of the ſtock and ſhipping of England will be carried into Scotland, where there will be a free port for all Eaſt India commodities; and that conſequently the ſeveral places of Europe, till now furniſhed from England, would be furniſhed much cheaper from thence. The ſaid Eaſt India merchandize will be alſo run into England by the Scots, to the unſpeakable prejudice of the trade and navigation of England, and of your majeſty's cuſtoms. And that if the Scots be ſuffered to ſettle plantations in America, our commerce in tobacco, ſugar, cotton, ſkins, maſts, &c. will be utterly loſt:" with much more to the ſame effect *. To this addreſs the king returned for anſwer, "That he had been ill ſerved in Scotland; but he hoped ſome remedies might be found to prevent the inconveniencies which might ariſe from this act." Soon after his majeſty turned out both the ſecretaries of ſtate for Scotland and the marquis of Tweddale, and great changes were made in the miniſtry of that kingdom: the lord Murray, ſon of the marquis of Athol, was made ſecretary of ſtate.

The commons afterwards came to a reſolution, on the twenty-ſixth of January, 1696, "That the directors of the company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, adminiſtring and taking here in this kingdom an oath De Fideli, and under colour of a Scottiſh act of parliament ſtiling themſelves a company, and acting as ſuch, and raiſing money in this kingdom for carrying on the ſaid trade, were guilty of a high crime and miſdemeanor; and that the lord Belhaven, William Paterſon the projector, James Bateman, and the reſt of the directors, who were reſident in England, ſhould be impeached:" but while the impeachments were drawing up, Roderic Mackenzie, who had been the chief informer againſt the company, began to retract his evidence, and was ordered into cuſtody; but he made his eſcape, and could never be retaken, though the king iſſued a proclamation for that purpoſe. The Scots however proceeded in their project of making ſettlements in the Weſt Indies, and actually ſettled a colony a year or two afterwards at Darien. But of this affair I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly hereafter.

Towards the end of the year 1695, John Sobieſki king of Poland, who, at the inſtance of his queen, a daughter of France, had hitherto refuſed to acknowlege king William's title to the crown of theſe realms, now conſented to recognize him as king of Great Britain; as did alſo about the ſame time the republic of Venice. His majeſty, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, communicated the ſame to the ſenate in a very handſome letter, which they took no notice of, but recalled Sarotti, who reſided as their ſecretary at London. About this time, however, they wrote an anſwer to it, and put it into the hands of ſignor Alexander Zeno, their ambaſſador at Vienna, to be by him delivered to lord Lexington, his majeſty's envoy-extraordinary at the imperial court, who received it with marks of eſteem and ſatisfaction; and then the ſenate proceeding to the choice of their ambaſſadors-extraordinary, the ſignors Lorenzo Soranzo and Gerolamo Venier were pitched upon, who made a very ſplendid public entry in the ſpring of the year 1696, and were received in a magnificent manner by the king, notwithſtanding the compliment came ſo much after time.

The year 1696 opened with the diſcovery of a plot for aſſaſſinating king William and invading the kingdom, in order to reſtore the late king

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 9, 10.

James. The French king was by this time grown heartily weary of the war, after having in a manner ruined and depopulated his country. However, before he put a period to his military operations, he determined to make one grand effort to reſtore his good friend and ally James, in concert with the Jacobites here, whoſe ſpirits were greatly elated by the death of queen Mary; the deceaſe of whom, they imagined, had conſiderably weakened the intereſt of her royal conſort. The ſcheme of an invaſion, and the deſign of taking off the king, were as early as the beginning of February this year publicly talked of in France; and that court had drawn down an army towards Dunkirk and Calais, ſo that nothing ſeemed wanting but the winds and weather to put them in action. On the eighteenth of February king James took poſt for Calais, when the troops, artillery, and ſtores, were ordered to be put on board the proper veſſels, then lying ready, with the utmoſt diligence, while news of the ſucceſs of the aſſaſſination was with great impatience expected from England, in order to ſet ſail. The duke of Wirtemberg, on news of theſe preparations, and the reports current at that time, diſpatched an aid de camp for England, to give king William notice of what was on foot. The prince of Vaudemont, who was then at Bruſſels with the elector of Bavaria, alſo diſpatched expreſſes to the ſame purport. The duke of Wirtemberg's meſſenger came firſt to England, and acquainted his majeſty that the duke had ſtopped all the ſhips in the harbour and canal of Oſtend, as well as that of Bruſſels, in order to tranſport forces over for his ſervice. The ſtates of Holland made the like preparations at Sas Van Ghent: but notwithſtanding all the expedition uſed by the duke of Wirtemberg, the king had ſome time before received certain intimation, not only of the invaſion, but alſo of the conſpiracy againſt his perſon. The earl of Ayleſbury, lord Montgomery ſon to the marquis of Powis, ſir John Fenwick, ſir John Friend, captain Charnock, captain Porter, and one Mr. Goodman, appear to have been the principal perſons concerned in this infamous deſign, which, from the chief and moſt bloody circumſtance of it, obtained the name of The Aſſaſſination Plot. The duke of Berwick had come privately over to England in the beginning of February, in order to haſten the preparations of the conſpirators, whom he aſſured of king James's being ready to make a deſcent with twenty-two thouſand French forces; and diſtributed commiſſions, and gave directions for procuring men, arms, and horſes, to join him at his arrival. There were various rumours about the nature of theſe commiſſions; ſome ſaid it was only to levy war againſt the prince of Orange, and all his adherents; and that king James was in no way privy to the murdering part of the ſcheme. We ſhall not take upon us to decide this point, but ſhall relate the moſt remarkable circumſtances of this affair from the beſt authorities.

It appears then that the conſpirators, who were ſeveral in number, beſides thoſe already mentioned, had held ſeveral meetings, in order to concert the proper meaſures for executing their helliſh purpoſe. One ſir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, a man of undaunted courage, cloſe, cautious, and circumſpect, but a furious bigot to the church of Rome, had come over in January with a private commiſſion from king James; in virtue of which the reſt of the party here were implicitly to obey his orders. This man took upon himſelf the taſk of murdering the king, with the aſſiſtance of forty horſemen, each of the conſpirators being to furniſh their quota. Various methods were at firſt propoſed for effecting this purpoſe; but at length it was reſolved to attack his majeſty on his return from Richmond, where he uſually hunted on a Saturday; and the place pitched upon was a lane between Brentford and Turnham-Green: and indeed one more likely to do their buſineſs could not have been found out; for his majeſty very often returning late from the chace, uſually croſſed the water at Queen's-ferry with a few of his guards, without coming out of his coach; and as he landed on the Middleſex ſide of the water, the coach drove on without waiting for the reſt of the guards, who could not croſs till the boat returned to the Surry ſide again to bring them over; ſo that the king muſt have unavoidably fallen into the hands of his murderers, before the reſt of his guards could have come up to his aſſiſtance.

Nor was the time and place more artfully contrived than the diſpoſition of their men; for having ſecured ſeveral places in Brentford, Turnham-Green, and other houſes thereabouts, to ſet up their horſes till the king's return from hunting, one of the conſpirators was ordered to wait at the ferry till the guards appeared in ſight on the Surry ſide of the water, and then to give ſpeedy notice to the reſt, to be ready at their reſpective poſts while the king was croſſing over. For this end they were divided into three parties, who were to make their approaches by three different ways, one from Turnham-Green, another from the lane that leads to the Thames, and a third from a road that goes round Brentford. One of theſe parties was to attack the king's guards in front, another in the rear, whilſt ten or twelve of the moſt bloody and reſolute were to aſſaſſinate his majeſty, by firing their blunderbuſſes at him through the coach-windows. It was alſo agreed, that when the bloody purpoſe was accompliſhed, the conſpirators ſhould keep in a body till they had got beyond Hammerſmith, then to divide in ſmall parties of three or four, and make the beſt of their way to London, and from thence to Dover, where the ſudden landing of the French might ſecure them from the rage of the multitude, and the hand of juſtice. Horſes were now the only neceſſaries wanting; and ſir George Barclay, complaining that the money he had brought over with him was ſo far exhauſted that he could not out of the remainder provide ſo great a number as forty, they all agreed that he ſhould find but half, and ſir William Perkins, Porter, and Charnock, were to provide the reſt.

Saturday the fifteenth of February was the day appointed to murder the king; and the leaders having quartered the aſſaſſins in ſeveral parts of the town to avoid ſuſpicion, lay cloſe and ſtill, expecting notice from the ſcouts of the king's being gone to Richmond; but it happened, his majeſty not being very well, did not go abroad that day; upon which the aſſaſſins were ſtruck with diſmay, fearing a diſcovery; but finding all quiet, they met and took further meaſures, appointing to be in readineſs the Saturday following; but as they were ſetting out they had notice from Durant and Cham-

Chambers, two of their accomplices, that the guards were all come back in a foam, and that there was a muttering among the people that a horrid plot was diſcovered. This unexpected news put the conſpirators into the utmoſt conſternation, as really believing they were now detected, and accordingly, through a miraculous providence, it proved true; whereupon they diſperſed, and gave over their deſign.

It ſeems that one Pendergraſs being made acquainted with the whole plot, a day before it was to have been put in execution, by captain Porter his intimate friend, and ſollicited to be one of their number, ſeemingly complied; but being ſtruck with the blackneſs and barbarity of the act, he went to the earl of Portland on Friday the fourteenth of February, and diſcovered to him all the ſcheme, intreating to be introduced to the king. After a little time he waited on his majeſty in his cloſet, when he fully made known all the particulars he knew of this horrid conſpiracy; and after much preſſing on the part of the king, who promiſed him he ſhould not be produced as an evidence without his own conſent, he gave in a liſt of the aſſaſſins. Pendergraſs's relation was confirmed the next day by one de la Rue, a Frenchman, one of the conſpirators, who knew nothing of any diſcovery being made of the matter before.

The king having received a full account of the intended inſurrection and invaſion, with the deſign upon his perſon, a proclamation was forthwith iſſued for apprehending the conſpirators. Barclay abſconded, and could never be found; but moſt of the other conſpirators were ſecured. Admiral Ruſſel was immediately diſpatched down to Chatham to haſten the fleet out to ſea, and the rendezvous was appointed in the Downs, where all the men of war then in the ſea-ports were ordered to ſail and join the admiral, which was done with ſuch amazing expedition, that in a few days time he had a fleet of at leaſt fifty ſail with him, with which he ſtood over to the French coaſt; and the enemy, confounded at his appearance, retired into their harbours with the utmoſt precipitation; while James, perceiving that his deſign was defeated, returned overwhelmed with deſpair to his court at St. Germains, where he paſſed the reſt of his days, living on Lewis's bounty, and a penſion of ſeventy thouſand francs, or about three thouſand pounds per annum, which it is ſaid he was mean-ſpirited enough to receive as a legacy of his daughter Mary, who had certainly been inſtrumental in dethroning him. He died at St. Germains in 1700. Some Iriſh jeſuits pretended to aſſert that miracles were performed at his tomb: they even carried the farce ſo far, as to pretend that his relics cured the biſhop of Autun of a fiſtula.

"We have few examples in hiſtory, ſays M. de Voltaire (in his Life of Lewis XIV.) of a family for ſo long a time unfortunate. The firſt of the kings of Scotland, his anceſtors, who bore the name of James, after having been detained for eighteen years a priſoner in England, was murdered, together with his queen *, by his own ſubjects. James II. the ſon of this prince, was killed in battle againſt the Engliſh, at nineteen years of age †. James III. after being impriſoned by his own ſubjects, was ſlain by the rebels in fight. James IV. fell in a battle which he loſt. Mary Stuart, his grand-daughter, after being driven from her throne, and forced to take refuge in England, where ſhe languiſhed eighteen years in priſon, was at length condemned to die by Engliſh judges, and loſt her head on a ſcaffold. Charles I. grandſon to this Mary, and king of England and Scotland, was ſold by the Scots, ſentenced to death by the Engliſh, and executed publicly as a traitor. His ſon James was driven from three kingdoms, and, to crown the misfortunes of the family, even the birth of his ſon was diſputed. This ſon, by the efforts he made to recover the throne of his fathers, brought many of his friends to an untimely end; [and of late days we have ſeen Charles-Edward, his eldeſt ſon, making the ſame attempts, and with the like or ſtill more fatal conſequences, both to himſelf and his adherents, and ſuffering calamities almoſt beyond the reach of credit]. If any thing can juſtify thoſe who believe in an unavoidable fatality, it muſt be the continued ſeries of misfortunes which have befel the family of the Stuarts for upwards of three hundred years."

Several of the conſpirators being now taken up, and full diſcoveries made of their deſigns, king William went to the houſe of peers on the twenty-fourth of February, and, in a ſpeech to both houſes, acquainted them with the conſpiracy and intended invaſion. Upon which they, in a very affectionate and loyal addreſs, congratulated him on the eſcape of his royal perſon from the deſigns of his enemies, declaring their abhorrence of ſuch villainous and traitorous attempts, and ſolemnly promiſing to ſtand by and aſſiſt his majeſty, and defend his royal perſon againſt all his enemies, open and private; and if he ſhould come by a violent death, to revenge it upon the papiſts. They likewiſe drew up an aſſociation to the ſame purpoſe, which was ſigned by all the members of the houſe, wherein they declare king William their rightful and lawful king, mutually engaged to ſtand by each other in his defence againſt king James, &c. &c. From the parliament the aſſociation was carried over the whole kingdom, and was ſigned by all ſorts of people. The biſhops drew up a particular form, much in the ſame ſpirit, which was ſubſcribed by the greateſt part of the clergy. The commons alſo brought in a bill for the ſitting and continuing of the parliament, if the king ſhould happen to die, till the next heir in ſucceſſion ſhould come to diſſolve it: and that commiſſions ſhould continue in force till the further pleaſure of the ſucceſſor was ſignified. A pardon was alſo offered to ſuch as were knowing of the conſpiracy, who would come in and make any farther diſcovery: and a bill likewiſe paſſed both houſes, importing, that ſuch as refuſed to take the oaths to his majeſty, ſhould be ſubject to the forfeitures and penalties of popiſh reculants: that ſevere penalties ſhould be inflicted on thoſe who, by words or writing, ſhould affirm that king William was not the rightful and lawful ſovereign of theſe realms; or that the late king James, or the pretended prince of Wales, or any other perſon than thoſe named in the Act of Succeſſion, had any right to the crown of theſe kingdoms: that no perſon who refuſed to

* His wife was wounded, but recovered.

† James II. was killed by accident at Roxburgh.

ſubſcribe the aſſociation, ſhould be capable of holding a ſeat in parliament, or any other office or poſt of truſt, whether civil or military; and that the ſame penalties ſhould be inflicted on thoſe who came out of France as thoſe who went thither *. The king was highly pleaſed with thoſe marks of duty and affection from his parliament, and returned them thanks for the ſame. While thoſe matters were paſſing, the duke of Wirtemberg brought over to England twenty battalions from the confederate army for the aſſiſtance of king William, but happily all danger was over before he arrived.

The king coming to the houſe on the ſeventh of March, gave the royal aſſent to a bill for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus act, and empowering his majeſty to apprehend and detain ſuch perſons as were conſpiring againſt his government, with three other acts. And three or four days afterwards, viz. on the eleventh of March, Robert Charnock, Edward King, and Thomas Keys, three of the conſpirators, were brought from Newgate to their trials at the Old Bailey upon a ſpecial commiſſion; when, having been indulged by the court with all the liberty they could deſire to make their defence, they were, upon full and plain evidence, found guilty of high-treaſon, for conſpiring the death of the king; and ſentence paſſing on them, they were drawn to Tyburn on the eighteenth of March, and there hanged and quartered. Charnock and King daringly confeſſed the fact in the paper they delivered at the gallows, and Keys did not deny it.

On the twenty-third of March ſir John Friend, a brewer in the Minories, was brought to his trial, being charged with levying horſe to join the enemy upon their landing; and having conſulted with divers other perſons about it, he was in ſome forwardneſs towards the execution. Sir William Perkins, who was formerly one of the ſix clerks in Chancery, was alſo tried for high-treaſon in levying war, &c. it being proved, amongſt other things, that a great quantity of arms for that purpoſe were found in a garden of his country-houſe, where he had cauſed them to be buried upon the diſcovery. For this they both received ſentence, and were drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged and quartered on the third of April. At the place of execution Mr. Collier, Mr. Snatt, and Mr. Cook, three nonjuring clergymen, gave them the abſolution of the church, and then accompanied the ceremony with a ſolemn impoſition of hands. The government, as may eaſily be imagined, was highly offended at this inſult; nor was it ſuffered to paſs unnoticed; Mr. Cook and Mr. Snatt were committed to Newgate, and an indictment was preferred againſt them in the King's-Bench on the eighth of April, but not proceeded upon.

On the twenty-firſt day of April, Rookwood, Lowick, and Cranborne, three of the other conſpirators, were brought to the bar of the King's Bench, and were the firſt who had the benefit of the act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion for regulating trials in caſes of high-treaſon, which allowed council, a copy of the indictment, and of the jury impannelled: but not all theſe aſſiſtances could avail them; the evidence againſt them was ſo plain and poſitive, that they were all three found guilty, and accordingly condemned as traitors. Mr. Peter Cook and captain Knightly were likewiſe brought to their trials: the firſt was convicted; the latter pleaded guilty: neither of them however ſuffered death; and ſoon after, moſt of the others being continued in confinement, the proceſs ended. The evidences againſt the conſpirators were, captain Porter, Mr. Harris, Blair, De la Rue, Bertram, Fiſher, Goodman, Haywood, and Ewebank, all of them concerned in the deſign of an inſurrection; ſome of them in the ſcheme of aſſaſſination. Prendergraſs likewiſe agreed to give teſtimony, notwithſtanding the promiſe he had obtained from his majeſty of not obliging him to it againſt his will. We muſt not forget that a proclamation was iſſued, offering a reward of five hundred pounds for apprehending the lord Montgomery and ſir John Fenwick, ſuſpected to be accomplices in the plot. The earl of Ayleſbury had been already apprehended and committed to the Tower on the like ſuſpicion.

The ſeſſion of parliament was ſoon brought to a concluſion. A fund was created, upon which the ſum of two millions five hundred and ſixty-four thouſand pounds was to be raiſed, which, in the opinion of the beſt judges, was neither juſt nor prudent. A new bank was propoſed, called the Land Bank, becauſe the ſecurities were to be upon land: this was the main difference between it and the Bank of England. This ſcheme, ſuppoſed to have been contrived by Dr. Chamberlain, the famous man-midwife, was chiefly managed by Foley and Harley, and was generally thought to be a plan of the Tory party to ruin the Bank of England. The company of the latter petitioned againſt the bill, but without effect; for it paſſed through both houſes, and at laſt received the royal aſſent: but this Bank came to nothing, nobody ſubſcribing to it; and therefore I refer the reader to the Statutes, if he deſires to ſee the plan on which it was attempted.

On the twenty-ſeventh of April the king came to the houſe of peers, and cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he thanked the houſes for the generous concern they had ſhewn for his perſon, and the zealous attachment they had manifeſted to his government; as alſo for the large ſupplies they had granted him, and deſired they would preſerve the public peace, and aſſiſt the lords juſtices while he was abroad: and then, his majeſty having given his royal aſſent to ſeveral acts, the parliament was prorogued to the ſixteenth of June †.

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 21, &c.

† Beſides the laws already mentioned, an act was paſſed this ſeſſion for voiding all elections, at which the elected had been at any expence in meat, drink, or money, to procure votes. From the preſent ſcandalous practice, which reflects equal diſhonour upon the electors and elected, one would imagine that this law had been formally repealed. Another act was paſſed againſt unlawful and double returns. A third for the more eaſy recovery of ſmall tythes. A fourth to prevent marriages without licence or bans; impoſing a fine of one hundred pounds upon the miniſter, and ten pounds upon the bridegroom. A fifth, enabling the inhabitants of Wales to diſpoſe of all their perſonal eſtates as they ſhould think fit. This law was intended to aboliſh an ancient cuſtom which prevailed in that country, by which the widow and younger children claim a ſhare of the effects, commonly called their reaſonable part, though the effects had been otherwiſe diſpoſed of by will or deed. See ſtat. 8. W. III.

The parliament being up, his majeſty was pleaſed to appoint the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord-keeper Somers, and five other great officers of ſtate, lords juſtices for governing the kingdom in his abſence. The ſame day he created ſir John Lowther, baronet, Baron Lowther and Viſcount Lonſdale; and ſir John Thompſon, baronet, was created Baron Haverſham. On the fifth of May the king embarked for Holland, and arrived at the Hague on the ſeventh, where I ſhall leave him till I relate ſome other occurrences that happened while the parliament was ſitting.

Admiral Ruſſel, as we have ſaid, going upon the French coaſt, battered many of their ſhips and tranſports that lay in the harbours ready for invading this country; and the reſt ran ſo cloſe in ſhore, that finding it impoſſible to burn them, he determined to quit his ſtation and return into Dover Road, leaving ſir Cloudeſley Shovel to watch the motions of the enemy. This ſquadron continued cruizing off the French coaſt all the month of March, without attempting any thing; but towards the end of the month, being reinforced with ſeveral Dutch ſhips, fire-ſhips, and bomb-veſſels, he received orders to undertake the bombardment of Calais; in purſuance of which he immediately came before that town, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for executing his orders. On the third of April the bomb-veſſels began firing about noon, and continued till the evening, in which time above three hundred bombs and carcaſſes fell either in the town or among the ſhips in that harbour, with ſuch effect as to ſet many houſes and veſſels on fire, and did otherwiſe very great miſchief: but as moſt of the bomb-veſſels had their rigging deſtroyed and their mortars diſmounted, the wind too blowing very hard from the ſhore, ſir Cloudeſley, having left a ſquadron to keep in the French men of war at Dunkirk, returned into the Downs, where he received orders to join the grand fleet at Spithead. In the mean while the fleet arrived from Cadiz under ſir George Rooke, who had, upon occaſion of the firſt diſcovery of the plot, orders ſent him, for the better ſecurity of the nation, to return home; and he arrived ſafely at Spithead towards the latter end of April.

The confederates began this campaign with burning a vaſt magazine which the enemy had laid up for their army at Givet. Notwithſtanding this rough beginning, the campaign in Flanders proved the moſt pacific of any that had happened during the war; and indeed the difficulties that both armies had to ſtruggle with were ſuch, that very little was to be expected. The French, by keeping ſuch numerous armies on foot, had entirely exhauſted their country; and it is certain that towards the cloſe of the preceding year Lewis had ſeriouſly thought of making peace; nor is it probable that any thing would have retarded his overtures to that end but the proſpect of the invaſion of England ſucceeding: but this deſign failing, and there being now a very fair view of our being able to weather our other inconveniencies, there was no room for nor occaſion of delay. Lewis therefore ſent M. de Callieres as his ambaſſador to the States-general, for ſettling ſuch preliminaries as might be a ſufficient baſis for a treaty. The Dutch, with the conſent of king William, who was ſo diſtreſſed for want of money, that though at the head of an army greatly ſuperior to the enemy, he found he could not avail himſelf of that advantage, liſtened to the propoſal; and it was agreed to accept the mediation of the king of Sweden, which the baron Lillenroot his ambaſſador at the Hague had offered. However, before any treaty was ſet on foot, the duke of Savoy made a ſeparate peace with France, without the privity of the allies.

Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, was a prince of all others the moſt eaſily perſuaded to break his engagements when his intereſt was concerned. Lewis XIV. knew this, and omitted no endeavours to detach the duke from the grand alliance: he had ordered the count de Teſſé, afterwards mareſchal of France, an amiable and able man, of a genius formed for pleaſing, which is the firſt qualification of a negociator, to begin a private treaty at Turin; and mareſchal Catinat, who was equally ſkilled in making peace and war, put the finiſhing hand to the affair. There did not want two ſuch able men to determine the duke of Savoy to accept of what was to his advantage: they reſtored him his country, gave him a ſum of money, and propoſed a marriage between the young duke of Burgundy, ſon to the dauphin of France, and his daughter. Matters were ſoon agreed between them: the duke and Catinat concluded the treaty in the month of July at our Lady of Loretto, whither they went under pretence of a pilgrimage of devotion *.

The allies in general were highly enraged at this perfidious conduct of the duke: his miniſters indeed attempted to excuſe it, by alleging the neceſſity he lay under of preventing his own ruin, and that he could not in common prudence let ſlip a conjuncture which brought ſuch ſingular and happy advantages to his family. Lord Galway, our general and miniſter at Turin, was very warm in his expoſtulations on this occaſion; and, agreeable to William's inſtructions, after having condemned the duke's ingratitude, on account of the large ſubſidies paid him, and aſſuring him that the allies would not come into the neutrality, made him an offer of larger ſubſidies, to be paid monthly, if he would recede from the treaty: but the duke had choſen his ſide, and was not to be diverted from his new engagements: nay, he ſoon after exerted a ſtretch of policy, or rather perfidy, not to be paralleled in hiſtory; for it being one of the articles of his treaty with the court of France, that if the allies ſhould refuſe to depart the duke's dominions, they ſhould be expelled by the joint arms of France and Savoy; and they refuſing this condition, as alſo a neutrality for Italy that was offered them, the duke being appointed generaliſſimo of the French king, put himſelf at the head of Catinat's army of fifty thouſand men, which had advanced into the plains of Turin, and entering the duchy of Milan, laid ſiege to Valencia; ſo that in one campaign he commanded two contending armies. Valencia was reduced to the utmoſt extremity, when it was ſaved by the king of Spain's agreeing to accept of a neutrality for Italy. Thus ended the war in Piedmont, after it had laſted ſix years.

* Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV.

On the ſeventeenth of June this year died John Sobieſki, the martial king of Poland, of an apoplectic fit, in the ſeventieth year of his age, leaving that elective kingdom in much confuſion, of which the French king thought to have made great advantage, by getting the prince of Conti, of the blood royal of France, choſen in the late king's room; and it coſt Lewis vaſt ſums to make a party for that purpoſe: but when all was done he was diſappointed in his views, and Auguſtus elector of Saxony was placed on the throne of Poland, after having changed his religion.

The campaign in Catalonia and on the Rhine was as inconſiderable as that in Flanders: the advantage, if any, was on the ſide of the allies; but all the armies went into quarters about the beginning of October. Though our armies did ſo little by land, which indeed was chiefly owing to their want of pay, the generals being more taken up with providing a ſubſiſtence for their troops than in military enterprizes, yet our fleet was not altogether idle by ſea; for beſides the bombardment of Calais already mentioned, lord Berkeley, to whom the command of the fleet was given this ſummer, greatly inſulted the French coaſts, pillaging and burning a number of villages on the iſlands of Grouais, Houat, and Heydic. He alſo took a ſhip from Newfoundland, with twenty ſmall veſſels, and carried off about one thouſand five hundred horſes and black cattle. On the fifth of July he ſent captain Beckman with a ſquadron of ten men of war and bomb-veſſels, to bombard the town of St. Martin's in the Iſle of Rhé, who performed his commiſſion very exactly, throwing in the ſpace of one night two thouſand two hundred and thirty bombs and carcaſſes into the place, by which the beſt part of the town was burnt down, with all the warehouſes and the goods contained in them, notwithſtanding the place was very well fortified, and our ſhips had to ſuſtain a very warm fire all the time. On the 7th the ſame ſquadron bombarded Olonne with the like ſucceſs. After this, the admiral finding it not convenient to land on Belleiſle, which had been projected, continued to alarm the French coaſt till towards the beginning of Auguſt, when he was under the neceſſity to return to Spithead to clean and revictual his ſhips.

Theſe enterprizes, however inconſiderable the French writers affect to repreſent them, were certainly of great ſervice, by keeping the maritime coaſts of France under perpetual apprehenſion, inſomuch that the miniſtry of that kingdom were obliged to keep ſixty thouſand men continually in arms to oppoſe an invaſion, which they expected from the Engliſh. In the mean while, rear-admiral Benbow was with a ſmall ſquadron blocking up M. Du Bart, the French admiral, in Dunkirk; but that bold adventurer found means to eſcape in a fog; and ſailing to the Baltic, fell in with a large fleet of Dutch merchant ſhips, under convoy of ſix or ſeven frigates. Theſe he took, together with a great number of the trading veſſels; but in the height of this victory the outward-bound Boſton fleet appeared in ſight, under an eſcort of thirteen men of war, who immediately attacked Du Bart, and forced him to burn four of the frigates and thirty-five merchantmen, and make the beſt of his way into Dunkirk. Thus ended the naval operations of this year, during the whole courſe of which we rode inconteſtible maſters of the ſea, blocked up the beſt part of the French fleets in their harbours, inſulted their coaſts, and protected our trade better than it had been known for many years paſt *.

As the diſtreſs of the army abroad was very great for want of their pay, occaſioned by the calling in and recoining the money, ſo was there a ſad confuſion in England, eſpecially among the labourers and meaner ſort of people, who could get little or no money for their work, and indeed few could employ any workmen: whereupon an order of council was iſſued in July this ſummer, that the juſtices of peace ſhould frequently meet in their diviſions, to conſider of the moſt effectual means to relieve and ſubſiſt the poor people till money became more plentiful; and another order was iſſued, commanding the attorney-general to proſecute all thoſe who entered into confederacies not to employ any perſons in the woollen and other manufactures during this ſcarcity of money. Theſe difficulties it was that in a manner compelled king William to hearken to terms of peace, which he would otherwiſe ſcarcely have done.

While the king was abroad a parliament was held in Scotland, and another in Ireland; the former was opened on the eighth of September by the lord Murray, ſecretary of ſtate, lately created earl of Tullibardine, and appointed king's commiſſioner. The Scots ſeemed to vie with the Engliſh in expreſſing their abhorrence of the late intended invaſion and conſpiracy: the parliament unanimouſly ſigned an aſſociation ſimilar to that of England: they granted a ſupply of one million four hundred and forty thouſand pounds for maintaining their forces by ſea and land; and paſſed an act for ſecuring their religion, lives, and liberties, in caſe his majeſty ſhould come to an untimely death; and they obliged all perſons enjoying public poſts or offices to ſign the aſſociation; after which they were prorogued †.

Lord Capel, lord-deputy of Ireland, dying on the thirtieth of May this year, the council, in purſuance of an act made in the thirty-third year of Henry VIII. elected the lord-chancellor Porter to be lord-juſtice and chief governor of that kingdom till his majeſty's further pleaſure ſhould be known. The Iriſh parliament met at Dublin on the twenty-ſeventh of June, when the commons expelled Mr. Sanderſon, the only member of their houſe who had not ſigned the Aſſociation. By this time ſir Charles Porter, lord-chancellor, and the earls of Montrath and Drogheda, were by the king's letter appointed lords-juſtices of Ireland; and the parliament having paſſed a bill tranſmitted from England, called, "An act for confirming ſeveral outlawries and attainders, as alſo for veſting in his majeſty the eſtates of thoſe who were dead in rebellion there or in foreign parts;" and being fearful this act might prove prejudicial to the proteſtants, they preſented an addreſs to the lords-juſtices, "beſeeching their excellencies to tranſmit to England certain heads of a bill which they had prepared, and therewith preſented to their excellencies, for ſaving the eſtates, rights, titles, and poſ-

* Burchet's Memoirs. Colliber. Campbel. † Burnet.

ſeſſions of proteſtants, from being prejudiced by the ſaid act; and they unanimouſly, earneſtly, and humbly intreated their excellencies to recommend the ſame ſo effectually to his majeſty, that it might be returned to them in order to be paſſed into a law."

Their excellencies hereupon were pleaſed to return the following anſwer: "That they believed the whole kingdom was ſatisfied that the king deſigned nothing more than the good of his proteſtant ſubjects, the orders he had been pleaſed to give them being expreſs to that effect; and they had reaſon to hope it had been obſerved how exactly they had followed thoſe orders: that they ſhould always continue ſo to do, and in that caſe particularly ſhould be very careful to repreſent to his majeſty the preſervation of the intereſts of the proteſtants, to the end that no one of them might ſuffer by that law, which they did believe ſo advantageous to the proteſtant intereſt in general." The lords juſtices and the parliament agreeing thus well, and the latter having by way of exciſe and other means raiſed the money expected from them, and having alſo paſſed an act for baniſhing all papiſts exerciſing eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and all regulars of the popiſh clergy, out of the kingdom; another to confirm the articles of Limeric; and a third to prevent proteſtants intermarrying with papiſts; they were by the lords juſtices prorogued. In the mean while, ſir Charles Porter was ſeized with a fit of the apoplexy, which carried him off inſtantly *.

The winter ſeaſon now advancing, put a concluſion to all military and naval operations for this year; and king William leaving Holland, arrived in England on the fourth of October to meet his parliament, which after ſeveral prorogations met on the twentieth of the ſame month, when his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne to the following purport:

He told them, "That he thought it a great happineſs that this year had paſſed without any diſadvantage abroad, or diſorder at home, conſidering the great diſappointments in the funds †, and the difficulties that had ariſen in receiving the money: that the buſineſs they had before them would be attended with great difficulties, as they were not only to provide for the next year's ſervice, but to make good the vaſt deficiencies of the laſt. He obſerved, that overtures of peace had indeed been made him, but he ſaid he was certain they would not agree with him: that the only way to procure an honourable peace was to treat ſword in hand; for this purpoſe he ſaid, the ſupplies for this year muſt at leaſt be equal to thoſe for the laſt. Beſides which, he preſſed them to maintain the honour of parliament, by making good the funds they had granted. He again put them in mind of the civil liſt and the French proteſtants, of making ſome further proviſion for remedying "the difficulties relating to the coin, and for the recovery of the national credit ‡."

In anſwer to this ſpeech the commons preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, wherein they aſſured him, "that, although this was the eighth year they had aſſiſted him with large ſupplies to carry on this juſt and neceſſary war, they ſhould not be amuſed nor diverted from their firm reſolutions of obtaining by war a ſafe and honourable peace; and concluded with declaring, that they would continue to ſupport his majeſty againſt all enemies, both at home and abroad §."

After theſe expreſſions of loyalty they began to deliberate upon the three important points which the king had recommended to their conſideration in his ſpeech, and which indeed ſeemed to demand the moſt immediate and ſerious attention; theſe were, the farther remedying the bad ſtate of the coin, the providing ſupplies for the enſuing year, and the reſtoring the public credit.

With regard to the coin, they brought in a bill repealing the act for taking off the obligation and encouragement of coining guineas, and allowing the importation and coining of gold in the mint ‖; for as the currency of guineas was now reduced to nearly their real value, the reaſon for importing them no longer ſubſiſted, and the act which had paſſed for that purpoſe was of conſequence become unneceſſary.

They next proceeded to take into conſideration the eſtimates and accounts, and voted five millions for the ſea and land-ſervice, beſides a ſupply for the civil liſt, and new funds for making good the deficiencies and ſecuring the public debts, amounting to ten or twelve millions ¶.

The laſt and the moſt difficult point was to reſtore the public credit, which was at this time in a miſerable condition, owing to the great ſcarcity of money, inſomuch that government tallies and debentures were at forty, fifty, and ſixty per cent. diſcount, and even bank-bills at twenty per cent. diſcount. And as the ſellers of the government ſecurities and bank-notes became very numerous, they were in a manner hawked about the Exchange, where ſeveral perſons who were poſſeſſed of money, which they had hoarded up as it was delivered from the mint, raiſed vaſt fortunes by buying them up. This, it is ſaid, gave riſe to the infamous practice of Stock-jobbing, many buying that had no money to purchaſe, and ſelling ſtock they were not poſſeſſed of: a thouſand ſtories were framed to raiſe or lower this kind of ſtock, in order to purchaſe or ſell to advantage; which traffick continued till an effectual ſtop was put to it by an act of the laſt ſeſſion.

Such was the diligence of this parliament, that, notwithſtanding the complicated difficulties they had to encounter, they contrived a ſcheme for diſcharging the debts of the government by a continuation of certain duties upon births, marriages, windows, the ſubſidy on tonnage and poundage, and various other articles, for ten years; and all the branches conſtituted a general fund, ſince known by the name of the General Mortgage. As

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* Life of Will. III. State of Ireland. Cook's Court of England.

† All the funds for this year proved defective; and the land-bank failed, without having produced any other effect than that of injuring the credit of the national bank by its oppoſition. The loſs of the nation upon the recoinage amounted to two millions two hundred thouſand pounds: and though the mint was conſtantly employed, ſo as to furniſh about eighty thouſand pounds a week, yet was not this ſufficient to ſupply the circulation, eſpecially as thoſe who received the new money either kept it up, or diſpoſed of it at an unreaſonable advantage.

‡ Proceed. Houſe of Comm. iii. 25.
§ Id. 27. ‖ Ibid. ¶ Ibid.

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the Bank had been found of ſingular ſervice to the government, in order to raiſe the credit of it, they agreed to increaſe the capital ſtock another million, by new ſubſcriptions, and to continue their term to the year 1710; and thoſe new ſubſcriptions were allowed to be made in tallies and bank-notes; yet, as there were good funds now ſettled for paying them off, the monied men, who could bear ſtock, ran into it, by which means bank-bills and notes in a ſhort time roſe to par again. But nothing ſupplied the want of caſh at this time better than the parliament's authorizing the treaſury to iſſue out near three millions in Exchequer-bills, which being allowed in taxes, and circulated by the Bank for a moderate premium, contributed greatly to reſtore things to their ancient ſtate. In fine, never were more vigorous meaſures taken to ſupport the credit of government; though it muſt be confeſſed, the weight of the enormous impoſitions laid upon the ſubject to create the ſeveral funds for this purpoſe, is ſeverely felt at this day.

Theſe affairs being thus happily ſettled, the attention of the commons was transferred to the caſe of ſir John Fenwick, who had been concerned in the late conſpiracy: this affair was of ſuch a nature that it deſerves to be related in a particular manner. This gentleman had been concealed in London from the time of the diſcovery of the plot till the beginning of June this year, when he endeavoured to make his eſcape over to France, but was taken at Romney, on the coaſt of Kent, before he could get on ſhipboard. He had, when taken, written a letter to his lady, the daughter of the earl of Carliſle, which fell into the government's hands, and contained ſuch matter as plainly evidenced him guilty: for he appeared thereby ſo far ſenſible of his crime and danger, that he could propoſe no other way for the preſent to ſave himſelf, but by getting a jury packed that would be obſtinate and not bring him in guilty; or by making friends to the king for a pardon, or reprieve at leaſt, to gain time. Being brought to town and committed to Newgate, after conſulting with his friends, and it being concluded that none of the ſaid methods would avail him, there was another expedient pitched upon, which had a more apparent proſpect of ſucceſs; this was, to ſet up a counter-plot, by accuſing a number of the king's beſt friends of having been guilty of conſpiring againſt him: it was thought this would get his trial (which was to have been brought on at common-law), deferred till the king's return to England, eſpecially as ſome promiſes had been made him, if he would diſcover his accomplices.

Sir John accordingly entered into a treaty with the court for turning evidence, and amuſed the miniſtry from time to time with one plauſible ſtory or other, and at length delivered in a long paper of information, wherein he charged the duke of Shrewſbury, the earl of Marlborough, the earl of Bath, admiral Ruſſel, the lord Godolphin, and commiſſary Crawford, with holding a correſpondence with king James: this gave him an opportunity of having his trial put off for ſome time. In the mean time his friends had another game to play, which was to ſeduce the evidences who ſwore the treaſon againſt him; theſe were captain Porter and Mr. Goodman, and he was ſo fortunate as to ſucceed with Goodman, who went over to France; but Porter had been a witneſs againſt ſo many of the conſpirators, that he did not think he ſhould be ſafe in France, and having a penſion of three hundred pounds a year from king William, he determined to diſcover thoſe who had attempted to buy him off, tho' they offered him a thouſand pounds a year, upon his retiring, and a large ſum of money in hand: he alſo contrived the matter ſo, that when a payment of ſix hundred pounds was made him by one captain Donalow and one Clancy, in behalf of ſir John, he had ſome of the king's meſſengers in the next room, who ruſhed in and ſeized the two agents, the latter of whom was afterwards convicted of tampering with the king's evidence, condemned to pay a fine of five thouſand marks, and to ſtand three times in the pillory, which ſentence was executed upon him. However, as one witneſs only remained, ſir John began to think himſelf out of danger: the lords-juſtices did not think proper to proceed to his trial, but deferred the proſecution of him till his majeſty came over, when they propoſed to bring the matter before the parliament.

Accordingly, when the ſeſſion began, notwithſtanding the multiplicity of important affairs in which that aſſembly were engaged, the great men who had been charged by ſir John Fenwick with correſponding with king James, being determined to clear their reputations and make the informer feel the weight of their reſentment, found means to introduce the affair into the houſe. Admiral Ruſſel, who was one of the perſons accuſed, on the ſixth of November brought the ſeveral papers containing the informations of ſir John Fenwick into the houſe of commons, and moved that they might be read, that he might have an opportunity of juſtifying himſelf. The papers being read, Fenwick was ordered to be brought before the houſe; who, finding that he gave no ſatisfactory anſwers to the queſtions then put to him, nor could ſupport his charge againſt the ſeveral noble peers and members of the houſe whom he had accuſed in his information, the houſe voted his informations falſe and ſcandalous, and ordered a bill to be brought in to attaint ſir John Fenwick of high treaſon; at the ſecond reading of which, on the thirteenth of November, the priſoner, at his own requeſt, was heard by his counſel againſt the bill. The king's counſel, the ſerjeants Gould and Lovell, opened the evidence they had for proving the ſuggeſtions of the bill; they were anſwerd by ſir Thomas Powis and ſir Bartholomew Shower, the priſoner's counſel, who alleged, that if the others would only call in evidence the ſuggeſtions of the bill, they were ready to anſwer to that; but if they meant to prove ſir John guilty of the conſpiracy by living witneſſes, they were not prepared for that, as they did not know whether they ſhould have the liberty of producing any. And being thereupon ordered to withdraw, the houſe debated the ſame a long time; and, after much conteſtation, it was at laſt reſolved, "That the counſel, in managing evidence againſt ſir John Fenwick, be allowed to produce evidence touching the allegations of the bill, and of the treaſons for which he was indicted."

The houſe reſuming the conſideration of this matter on the ſixteenth of November, the king's counſel produced their evidence, captain Porter, who gave an ample relation of what he knew concerning lady Fenwick's having practiſed with him about

about his evidence; though it was objected by sir John's counsel, that what a wife said or did, could be no evidence against her husband. Then the king's counsel produced the records of Clancy's conviction, and so proceeded to Goodman's examination, taken under the hand of Mr. secretary Vernon, which they desired might be read; but this was opposed by the prisoner's counsel, and the house entered into a hot debate about it; but at length it was carried, that the information should be read, and that afterwards some of the grand-jury should give an account upon what evidence they found the bill of indictment against sir John Fenwick. This was also objected to by the counsel, as an extraordinary step. The record of the conviction of Mr. Peter Cook, son to sir Miles Cook, at whose trial Goodman had deposed against sir John Fenwick, was also read, which was objected to, as illegal, by the prisoner's counsel, who, it must be confessed, appear to have said as much in behalf of their client, as the nature of the case would admit. It was agreed, that the counsel for the prisoner might, if they had any witnesses to examine on his behalf, do it that night; but they having nothing but a record to produce, accepted of the time offered them till the next day, to make their observations on the evidence for the king; and then they and the prisoner were ordered to withdraw. The next day, sir John still declining to deal more clearly and candidly in respect to his accusations of several persons of quality, and his counsel having offered all they could in his behalf, it was resolved by the house, that Mr. secretary Vernon should give in his evidence relating to the various artifices sir John, or persons by his direction, had made use of to put off his trial, and that in his and the counsel's presence on both sides.

Here the counsel were discharged from their farther attendance at that time, and the order for reading the bill a second time being read, and the same afterwards opened by the speaker, and no member rising to speak, he asked whether he should put the question for committing it? This brought on very long and warm debates on both sides, about the extraordinary method of proceeding, the power and justice of parliament compared with other inferior courts of judicature, with several precedents of former bills of attainder, pro and con, with a number of other arguments, all reducible to this single question, whether sir John Fenwick, who was confessedly guilty, should be condemned to the punishment which his crime deserved, though he was protected by the forms of law, two witnesses not being to be found against him; an advantage, however, which he had not been able to obtain without having recourse to bribery and corruption? The Whigs supported the affirmative, the Tories contended for the negative; but, upon the whole, the result was, that the bill should be committed. The bill was read for the third time on the twenty-fifth of November, when the contest upon the debate ran as high as ever, the members being no less divided in their opinions than before; but the question being at length put for passing the bill, the house divided upon it, about eleven at night, when it was carried in the affirmative, by one hundred and eighty-nine voices against one hundred and fifty-six. It was then sent up to the lords for their concurrence, where it met with a great opposition, and the debates were the warmest and the longest of any that had ever been known; the bill, however, passed by a majority of seven voices only, there being sixty-eight for it, and sixty-one against it.

The lords who were for the negative, among whom were several of the king's servants and counsellors, entered their protest, which they grounded on the following reasons:

"I. Because bills of attainder against persons in prison, and who are therefore liable to be tried by common law, are of a dangerous consequence to the lives of the subjects, and may tend to the subversion of the laws of the kingdom.

"II. Because the evidence of grand-jury men, of what was sworn before them against sir John Fenwick, as also the evidence of the petty-jury men, were admitted here, both which are against the rules of the law; besides that they disagreed in their testimony.

"III. Because the information of Goodman in writing was received, which by law was not admitted; and the prisoner, for want of appearing face to face (as is by law required), could not have the advantage of cross examining him: and it did not appear by evidence, that sir John Fenwick, or any person employed by him, had persuaded Goodman to withdraw himself; and it would be of very dangerous consequence, that any person so accused should be condemned, for by this means a witness who should be found insufficient to convict a man, shall have more power to hurt a man by his absence, than if he were produced vivâ voce against him.

"IV. Because if Goodman had appeared against him, he was infamous in the whole course of his life, and could not be a good witness, especially in cases of blood.

"V. Because in this case there was but one evidence, Porter, and he a very doubtful one.

"VI. Lastly, because sir John Fenwick was so inconsiderable a man, as to the endangering the peace of government, that there was no necessity of proceeding against him in so extraordinary a manner."

The bill of attainder soon after had the royal assent; as at the same time another had to attaint such as were concerned in the assassination plot, that had fled from justice, and for continuing several others of the conspirators in custody. Sir John Fenwick was complimented with the axe, in consideration of his rank and of his alliance with the family of Howard, and suffered on Tower-hill, on the twenty-eighth of March following, with seeming composure and resignation. He owned his loyalty to king James, and prayed for his restoration; but declared himself perfectly innocent of the assassination of king William, which he justly termed a most villainous project.

After Fenwick's business was over, the parliament proceeded to enact several laws for regulating the domestic œconomy of the nation, and, among others, passed an act for the more effectual relief of creditors in cases of escape, and for preventing abuses in prisons and pretended privileged places. It seems that, ever since the Reformation, certain places in and about the city of London, which had been sanctuaries during the prevalence of the popish religion, afforded asylum to debtors, and were become receptacles of desperate persons, who set all law at defiance. One of these places, called White Friars, was filled with a crew of ruffians, who every day committed acts of vio-

lence and outrage; but the law was ſo vigorouſly put in execution, that they were obliged to abandon the diſtrict, which was ſoon filled with more creditable inhabitants. The Mint, in Southwark, another of thoſe infamous places, was likewiſe cleared of its diſſolute tenants in the ſame manner.

Towards the beginning of this ſeſſion, the commons entered into an enquiry concerning ſome late miſcarriages of the fleet, when ſir George Rooke was ordered to attend the houſe, to give an account why the Toulon ſquadron was ſuffered to get unmoleſted into Breſt. That admiral attended accordingly, and produced copies both of his journal and of the orders he had received from the admiralty; which being examined, it was ordered that ſir Cloudeſley Shovel ſhould lay before the houſe, copies of all ſuch orders as he had received in relation to the joining ſir George Rooke: which being done, and much time being ſpent in both houſes about this affair, it did not appear that either of the admirals had failed in their duty, or were deſerving that cenſure their enemies attempted to bring upon them †.

During this ſeſſion, captain Thomas Vaughan, commander of the Royal Clancarty, was tried, convicted, and executed, as a traitor, for having accepted and acted under commiſſion from the French king.

The Eddyſtone rock, lying off the port of Plymouth, having been experienced to be very dangerous to navigation, ſeveral ſhips having been caſt away thereon, the corporation of the Trinity-houſe being applied to, they, in this year 1696, began a light-houſe thereon, and completed it in three years time, great numbers of maſters and owners of Engliſh ſhips agreeing, in conſideration thereof, to pay one penny per ton outwards, and the like inwards; and it proved of very great benefit to ſhipping paſſing that way, till, in the great and dreadful ſtorm in 1703, it was blown down and deſtroyed. It was again directed to be rebuilt, by an act of parliament in the fourth year of queen Anne, and the like duty on tonnage of ſhips granted for its ſupport to the Trinity-houſe. Yet it has lately been once more demoliſhed, by fire; and is again reſtored by the like means to its former utility, to the great benefit of not only the Britiſh trade and navigation, but of the numerous ſhipping of other nations paſſing that way.

Upon the repeated complaints of the merchants of England, of their great ſufferings by the French men of war and privateers, and of the little regard or care that had for many years paſt been taken of trade and commerce, king William, deſirous to redreſs theſe grievances, did in this year erect a new and ſtanding council for commerce and plantations, in their moſt comprehenſive ſenſe, commonly ſtyled the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations: one of the firſt appointed to this board was the famous John Locke, eſq. beforementioned. This board (which ſtill ſubſiſts) conſiſts of a firſt lord-commiſſioner, who is uſually a peer of the realm, and of ſeven other commiſſioners, with a ſalary of one thouſand pounds per annum each. To this board propoſals are made, by merchants and others, for the eaſe, improvement, and encouragement of our commerce, navigation, plantations, manufactures, fiſheries, &c. for redreſſing all grievances and burdens on trade, which are there argued between one party and another, and all moſtly heard by council: Britiſh conſuls appointed to reſide in foreign parts, for the benefit and protection of our commerce, receive their inſtructions from this board, with whom they are obliged to hold a conſtant correſpondence; as are alſo the governors of our American plantations: and reports are made to the commiſſioners, from time to time, how Britain may be beſt ſupplied with naval ſtores from our ſaid colonies; what new productions may be raiſed, or old ones improved, in America. Enquiries alſo come before this board for regaining of loſt branches of trade, as well as to enlarge thoſe we are poſſeſſed of, or ſet new ones on foot; with many other matters too tedious to relate, of which the commiſſioners are to make their reports, and give their opinions thereon, to the king and privy-council. From all which it appears, that this board of trade is a moſt excellent inſtitution.

In this ſeſſion an act paſſed for the increaſe and encouragement of ſeamen, eſtabliſhing a regiſter for thirty thouſand ſailors, to be in readineſs at all times, as the preamble ſets forth, for ſupplying the royal navy, in conſideration of a yearly premium or bounty of forty ſhillings each. It enacts, That none but ſuch regiſtered ſeamen ſhall be capable of preferment to any commiſſion or warrant-offices in the royal navy: they ſhall have a double ſhare or dividend for all prizes, more than non-regiſtered ſeamen of equal rank; with other privileges as in that act ſet forth: and particularly, they were to have the *ſole* right, when maimed or ſuperannuated, of being admitted into the newly eſtabliſhed hoſpital for ſeamen at Greenwich; or, if killed in the ſervice, their widows and children were to have the ſame admiſſion †. The law for regiſtering ſeamen was unhappily repealed by an act of the ninth year of queen Anne; and although ſundry ſchemes have ſince been ſet on foot for the reviving ſuch a regiſter, yet ſo many objections have been ſtarted, that no law has as yet been framed for ſecuring a body of ſeamen in readineſs, in caſe of any ſudden emergency, without having recourſe to the cruel and unconſtitutional practice of preſſing.

By another act of this ſeſſion our plantations were farther regulated, and the former acts of navigation improved ‡. By this act, no goods ſhall be imported or exported to or from any of the Britiſh colonies or plantations, in Aſia, Africa, or America, but in ſhips built in England, Ireland, or the plantations, and navigated by three-fourths mariners of the ſaid places, on pain of forfeiture of ſhip and goods: nor ſhall it be lawful to land in Scotland or Ireland any merchandize of the growth or product of the plantations, unleſs they have been firſt landed in England, and paid the duties there: and in order to ſubject the great charter colonies in America more cloſely to the kingdom of England, it was by this ſame act provided, that no

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* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 21. Tindal. Lives of Admirals.

† See Stat. 7 & 8 W. III. c. 21. Six-pence per month was alſo deducted out of every ſeaman's wages for the ſupport of Greenwich-hoſpital.

‡ Ibid. cap. 22.

charter

charter proprietors of land on the continent of America ſhall ſell or diſpoſe of the ſame to any but natural-born ſubjects, without his majeſty's licence in council for that purpoſe.

On the twelfth of December this year his majeſty was pleaſed to nominate the earl of Pembroke lord privy-ſeal, the viſcount Villiers, and ſir Joſeph Williamſon, knight, lately admitted into the privy-council for that purpoſe, to be his majeſty's plenipotentiaries, to treat with thoſe of the French king, touching a general peace; the preliminaries of which had been ſettled between M. de Callieres and the States-general. The earl of Galway and Mr. Methuen were alſo conſtituted lords juſtices of Ireland, and the latter lord-chancellor of that kingdom, in the room of ſir Charles Porter, deceaſed. The earl of Mancheſter was alſo appointed ambaſſador-extraordinary to the ſtate of Venice. In February 1697 the earl of Ayleſbury, who had been committed on account of the conſpiracy, was releaſed upon bail; but this privilege was denied to lord Montgomery, who had been impriſoned in Newgate on the ſame account. Much about the ſame died lord Berkeley of Stratton, who had ſignalized himſelf as a ſea commander.

The act above-mentioned, and ſome others of leſs note, being ready for the royal aſſent, his majeſty came to the houſe of peers on the ſixteenth of April (1697) and ſigned them; after which he cloſed this long ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he thanked his parliament for the large ſupplies they had granted him; congratulated them on the ſucceſs of their endeavours for reſtoring public credit; acquainted them with his intention of going over to the continent; and begged they would carry down into their reſpective counties the ſame loyal principles which they had ſo conſpicuouſly diſplayed in parliament.

The earl of Dorſet having reſigned the office of lord-chamberlain of the houſhold, his majeſty was pleaſed to beſtow it upon the earl of Sunderland, who was at the ſame time ſworn of the privy-council, and was now looked upon as the greateſt favourite of all the Engliſh miniſters. Sir John Somers was alſo conſtituted lord-chancellor of England, and at the ſame time created baron of Eveſham, in the county of Worceſter. Arnold Van Keppel was created earl of Albemarle. On the twenty-ſecond of April the king appointed the following noblemen lords juſtices during his abſence; namely, the archbiſhop of Canterbury; the lord-chancellor Somers; the earl of Pembroke, lord privy-ſeal; the duke of Devonſhire, lord-ſteward; the duke of Shrewſbury, ſecretary of ſtate; the earl of Sunderland, lord-chamberlain; the earl of Dorſet; the earl of Romney; and admiral Edward Ruſſel, for whom a patent was preparing to create him Baron Ruſſel of Shingey, viſcount Barfleur in Normandy, and earl of Orford, which was accordingly done the beginning of the following month. William having made theſe promotions, embarked on the twenty-ſixth of April for Holland, that he might be at hand to manage the negotiations for a general peace, the preliminaries of which had been already concluded at the Hague, under the mediation of Charles XI. king of Sweden, and were ſigned on the fourteenth of February, in the preſence of Mr. Lillienroot the Swediſh plenipotentiary, by Callieres the French ambaſſador, and by the miniſters of all the allies, except the ambaſſador of Spain, who demanded as a ſine quâ non, that France ſhould agree to reſtore all the places mentioned in a long liſt which that miniſter produced to the aſſembly. The preliminaries as agreed to were as follow:

I. The French agreed that the treaties of Weſtphalia and Nimeguen ſhould be the baſis of the enſuing negotiation.

II. That Straſburgh ſhould be reſtored to the emperor, in the ſame condition as the French took it.

III. That Luxemburg ſhould be reſtored to the Spaniards in the condition it was now [but here the French made the allies an offer of an equivalent for the ſaid places.]

IV. That Mons and Charleroi ſhould be ſurrendered as they were.

V. That all places taken by the French in Catalonia ſince the peace of Nimeguen, ſhould be reſtored as they were.

VI. That the city and caſtle of Dinant ſhould be ceded to the biſhop of Liege.

VII. That all re-unions ſince the treaty of Nimeguen ſhould be made void.

VIII. That Lorrain ſhould be reſtored, according to the condition of that treaty. It was moreover agreed, that in caſe the conditions made in reſpect to that country ſhould not pleaſe, that article ſhould be referred to the general treaty, and that it ſhould be the firſt point treated on in the negotiation.

Here it was alſo agreed more particularly, that upon the concluſion of the peace Lewis XIV. ſhould acknowlege the prince of Orange for king of Great Britain, without any reſtriction, condition, or reſervation; but as to the pretenſions of other princes, whether in the confederacy or not, they were to be referred to the general negotiation.

Beſides theſe, there were other preliminaries, founded on the demands of the ſeveral German miniſters, which are not of conſequence enough to claim particular notice. The preliminaries being thus ſettled, it next remained to fix upon a place for holding the general congreſs. The emperor propoſed that it ſhould be held at Aix la Chapelle or Francfort, or ſome other town in Germany: the other allies were more diſpoſed to negotiate in Holland. At length the French king ſuggeſted, that no place would be more proper than a palace belonging to king William, called Newburgh-houſe, ſituated between the Hague and Delft, cloſe by the village of Ryſwick; and to this propoſition the miniſters agreed. The plenipotentiaries of England were, the earl of Pembroke, the lord Villiers, and ſir Joſeph Williamſon; and France ſent the famous preſident Harlay and M. de Crecy to the aſſiſtance of Callieres.

The ſeveral powers engaged in the war were actuated by very different motives in their deſires for a peace. The Engliſh and Dutch had no other view than to reſtrain the power of France within proper bounds, to eſtabliſh a good barrier for the Netherlands, and to procure an acknowlegement of king William's title. Lewis was deſirous of a peace, on account of the miſerable condition to which his kingdom was reduced; but he had yet another view, which he carefully concealed from the knowlege of the allies, and which was concerted with the deepeſt policy.

His grand deſign was to prevent the certain ſucceſſion of the vaſt Spaniſh monarchy from devolving upon the other branch of the houſe of Auſtria, on the death of the king of Spain, who was now in a very declining ſtate: and he even entertained hopes that the houſe of Bourbon might at laſt come in for a ſhare in the diſmemberment, and perhaps one day ſucceed to the whole. The formal renunciations made by his wife and mother ſeemed no other than trivial agreements, which ought to give way to a change of circumſtances. In this view, to aggrandize the houſe of France, it was neceſſary to ſhew ſome moderation towards Europe, not to incenſe ſo many powers, who were ſtill full of ſuſpicions. The peace, he knew, would give him leiſure to form new alliances, to ſettle the diſorder in his finances, gain over thoſe whom he had occaſion for, and to form new bodies of militia in his kingdom: in a word, he found it requiſite to give up ſomething, in hopes of obtaining much more.

Theſe were the private motives of the French court in the peace of Ryſwick, which in the event actually procured the throne of Spain for the grandſon of Lewis XIV. The emperor had an eye upon the ſame crown, and this had determined him to ſupport the grand alliance. In purſuance of the reſolutions of the plenipotentiaries, the conferences were opened on the ninth of May, N. S. (April 29, O. S.) at Ryſwick; but the negotiations had like to have been interrupted by the death of Charles XI. king of Sweden, who had been received as mediator. He was ſucceeded by his ſon the famous Charles XII. then a minor: however, the late king having appointed the queen and five ſenators the adminiſtrators of the government during his ſon's minority, they reſolved to continue the mediation, and ſent full powers to M. Lillienroot for that purpoſe.

King William may juſtly be ſaid to have been the great manager of this treaty, in reſpect to all the allies, eſpecially if we conſider that the Dutch plenipotentiaries acted nothing but in concert with him. This treaty was undoubtedly a matter of great concern to the court of St. Germains: the partizans of king James in England ſeemed all along confident that Lewis would never acknowlege the prince of Orange for king of England, and even ridiculed all notions of a peace founded on ſuch a demand: yet it is certain that the French boggled the leaſt of any thing at that. This James himſelf was ſoon made ſenſible of; and finding that he could not have a miniſter received from him at the treaty, he publiſhed a manifeſto, ſetting forth the injuſtice done him, and proteſting againſt all that was or ſhould be done at the congreſs, in violation of his rights, as null and void. Beſides this manifeſto, he invited all the foreign miniſters to a conference, and delivered to each a paper written in Latin to the ſame purport as his manifeſto, and at the ſame time delivered himſelf to them to the following effect: "That if the calamitous ſtate of his affairs had been leſs known to the world, and his caſe not ſo juſt, he had not even then, any more than before, broke ſilence, but would patiently have ſuffered all ſorts of misfortunes, rather than have been inſtrumental in diſturbing the peace then in agitation: that he was ſenſible the circumſtances of the times, and much more that of his own fate, would not permit any one to engage in his quarrel; that therefore, without ſeeking any aſſiſtance or conſolation, he was willing to ſubmit to all his ſufferings, as a puniſhment for his ſins, in hopes that through the divine goodneſs he might one time or other enjoy the fruits of his patience. Nevertheleſs, added he, as I hold myſelf obliged by the laws of religion and nature to maintain, as far as I am able, my own intereſts and the rights of my ſon, I have in this inſtrument (delivering the Latin papers to the ſeveral miniſters) expreſſed the ſentiments I have always entertained, and always ſhall do as long as I live *."

Mean while the French, to bring down the demands of Spain, beſieged and took Aeth in Flanders this year; king William, who had ſince recovered of a ſevere indiſpoſition, not thinking proper to hazard his men for the relief of a place which, if taken, muſt neceſſarily be reſtored by the peace: nevertheleſs he effectually ſecured Bruſſels, which marſhal Boufflers had determined to inveſt. In the month of June the duke of Vendome, who commanded the French forces in Catalonia, inveſted Barcelona both by ſea and land, which, after having been gallantly defended for the ſpace of nine weeks by the prince of Heſſe d'Armſtadt the governor, was at laſt ſurrendered, in conſequence of an expreſs order from the court of Madrid.

The Spaniards alſo ſuffered conſiderable loſſes in America this year, where monſieur de Pointis, a French commodore, with a ſmall fleet equipped at the charge of a private company, had taken and plundered the town of Carthagena, and returned to France with a rich booty. Upon the whole, it appears that the king of England and the ſtates-general, who had in a manner borne the whole burden of the war, connived at theſe conqueſts, to bring Spain the more readily to accept the offers of France; eſpecially knowing, as I have obſerved before, that theſe places muſt be reſtored by the peace. This however was ſpinning the web of policy rather too fine; for the ſucceſſes of the French at home and abroad were ſuch as might have made Lewis maſter of the conditions of a peace, had he not been happily diſappointed in another project of his, I mean that of placing the prince of Conti on the throne of Poland, vacant by the death of the famous John Sobieſki.

This was the only regal crown then elective in the world. Natives and foreigners had equally a right to pretend to it; but to retain it required either a diſtinguiſhed ſhare of merit properly ſupported by intrigues to engage the ſuffrages, or elſe money enough to buy the kingdom, which is almoſt always put up at auction.

The candidates for the Poliſh crown were at firſt young Sobieſki, ſon of the late king; the duke of Lorraine; prince Lewis of Baden; and Don Olivio de Odeſcalchi, the pope's nephew: but the abbe, afterwards cardinal, de Polignac had the art to engage the greater part of the ſuffrages in favour of the prince of Conti, known by the gallant actions he had performed at Steinkirk and Nerwende, or Landen: whereupon the other candi-

* Coke's Detection of the Court of England, vol. iii. p. 55, 56.

dates finding themſelves unable to oppoſe the ſuperior influence of the French court, transferred their intereſt to Auguſtus elector of Saxony, who ſoon advanced with a conſiderable army to the frontiers of Poland. Lewis-Francis, prince of Conti, was however elected king by the majority of the nation, and proclaimed on the ſeventeenth of June, N. S. by the primate. Auguſtus was elected two hours after by another party, inferior in numbers: but Auguſtus was a ſovereign prince, and powerful, and had a body of troops in readineſs to ſupport his intereſt: he had alſo privately ſecured the good offices of the imperial court, had engaged to change his religion, and to diſtribute eight millions of florins among the Poles, and to confirm all their privileges. The prince of Conti was abſent, deſtitute of men, money, and power, and had nothing on his ſide but his name, and the intrigues of Polignac. Lewis XIV. contrary to his uſual manner of proceeding, acted on this occaſion with that lukewarm policy which begins an affair only to drop it again. The prince of Conti was ſent over with only a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips, and a few bills of exchange, with which he arrived in the road of Dantzic, in his way to Poland; but they would not even receive the prince at Dantzic, and his bills of exchange were proteſted. The intrigues of the pope and the emperor, and the money and troops of Saxony, had already ſecured the crown on his rival's head; and Conti returned with the empty glory of having been choſen king, while the court of France had the mortification of having ſhewn all Europe that ſhe was not ſufficiently powerful to make a petty northern prince *.

This diſgrace which befel the prince of Conti, and the eſtabliſhment of Auguſtus on the throne of Poland, was a great mortification to the French miniſters at the congreſs of Ryſwick, and made them more inclinable than ever to come to an accommodation. On the twentieth day of July the French ambaſſadors produced their project of a peace, in order to ſhorten the negotiation, which had hitherto proceeded very ſlowly, by reaſon of the numerous and complicated pretenſions of the ſeveral powers; declaring at the ſame time, that if their project ſhould not be accepted before the laſt day of Auguſt, France would not hold herſelf bound for the conditions ſhe now offered: but Caunitz, the emperor's plenipotentiary, declared he would pay no regard to this limitation, unleſs France would previouſly engage to reſtore all the places and dominions ſhe had wreſted from the empire ſince the peace of Munſter, whether by force of arms or pretence of right. On the thirtieth of Auguſt, however, he delivered to the mediator (M. Lillienroot) an ultimatum, importing, That he adhered to the treaties of Weſtphalia and Nimeguen, and accepted of Straſburg with its appurtenances: that he inſiſted upon the reſtoration of Lorraine to the prince of that name, and demanded that the church and chapter of Liege ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of their inconteſtable rights. Next day the French plenipotentiaries declared, That the month of Auguſt being now expired, all their offers were vacated: that therefore the king of France would reſerve Straſburg, and unite it with its dependencies to his crown for ever: that in other reſpects he would adhere to the project, and would reſtore Barcelona to the crown of Spain; but at the ſame time inſiſted that the terms muſt be accepted by the twentieth of September, otherwiſe he would think himſelf at liberty to recede. The Imperialiſts were much ſurprized at the ſhort time prefixed by France for their anſwer. This was ſtill the more mortifying to them, as they began now to be ſuperior to the French on the Rhine; and the proceedings of the allies made them jealous leſt the latter ſhould ſign a ſeparate peace, and leave them out, eſpecially as they ſaw that the Spaniards had now abated of their former obſtinacy, and were ready to concur with England and Holland in putting a final hand to the negotiation. This occaſioned ſome warm remonſtrances on the part of the imperial plenipotentiary; but all that he could obtain was, that the term for adjuſting the peace between France and the emperor ſhould be prolonged to the firſt of November, and in the mean time an armiſtice be punctually obſerved. It was however reſolved that the treaty between France, England, Spain, and Holland, ſhould be ſigned on the twentieth of September, even though the emperor and empire ſhould not concur †.

All this time we heard little or nothing of our plenipotentiaries; nor was it known whether they had done any thing at all till the very latter part of the negotiation; and the ſilence of the reſt of the allies concerning the treaty had greatly amazed the French plenipotentiaries: but it ſeems the concluſion of the peace was to be owing to the ſame perſon who had been the cauſe of the war, king William: for while the negotiations at Ryſwick were going on ſo ſlowly, it was ſo managed that the earl of Portland and Boufflers, when the confederate army was encamped near Bruſſels, and the French not far from thence, had four or five ſeveral meetings by order of their maſters, in ſight of the two armies. Theſe interviews occaſioned various ſpeculations, and by the jealouſies it raiſed in the minds of the ſeveral parties in the grand alliance, greatly conduced to the diſpatch of the treaty. On the ſecond of Auguſt the earl of Portland and marſhal Boufflers ſigned a paper, in which the principal articles of the peace between France and England were adjuſted. Next day king William quitted the camp of the allies, and retired to his houſe at Loo, ſenſible that he had taken ſuch meaſures for a pacification as could not be diſappointed.

It is ſaid that the earl of Portland, in one of the conferences between him and Boufflers, inſiſted that king James and his family might be ſent out of France, which the marſhal would not yield to, but promiſed, in his maſter's name, that he would not diſturb William in the poſſeſſion of his crown. Lewis had before that imparted to king James the neceſſity he found himſelf under of coming to an accommodation with king William, but at the ſame time promiſed to allow him an annual penſion of ſix hundred thouſand livres, which James accepted with thanks; but added, that in any future treaties he would not conſent that any propoſals for his maintenance ſhould be made or accepted, which might be an argument of his ſubmiſſion; and that he was reſolved at leaſt to tranſmit,

* P. Dan. Volt. † Tindal. Smollet. Oldmixon.

uninjured, the ſucceſſion of the title to his ſon, in hopes a ſeries of more happy events might reſtore his fallen fortunes. Beſides this ſubject of the field negotiation between the earl and the marſhal, it was ſuppoſed by ſome of the deeper politicians, that the firſt foundation of the famous Partition-treaty was now laid; and it is not improbable but ſomething of that kind was then propoſed and conſidered.

At length the twentieth of September came, when either a happy peace or a long and bloody war was like to determine the fate of Europe. That day the Engliſh, Dutch, and Spaniſh plenipotentiaries, after a long conference with thoſe of France, in which they adjuſted all matters of difference remaining between any of them, mutually ſigned the peace a little before midnight, and then complimented each other upon the finiſhing ſo important a negotiation.

Caunitz and the other miniſters of the empire were in the hall all or moſt part of that time; but they did not give their conſent in what was done, nor contribute the leaſt in bringing this matter to a period. On the contrary, they required M. Lillienroot, the mediator, to enter proteſts in the name of their reſpective maſters and ſovereign princes of the empire, "That this was a ſecond time a ſeparate peace had been made with France (meaning that of Nimeguen for one) in which the emperor and the empire had been excluded." On this occaſion Don Bernardo de Quiros, and the other plenipotentiaries, excuſed themſelves, by ſaying that they had for a conſiderable time been made acquainted with their ſovereign's pleaſure, and had received orders to make no farther delay, but to ſubſcribe the treaty; and that if they had ſo done without ſuffering themſelves to have been over-perſuaded by the imperial miniſters, it would have prevented the loſs of the city of Barcelona, which was the conſequence of their having deferred their aſſent."

The emperor was highly chagrined at the conduct of the allies; and his diſguſt was nothing alleviated by receiving advice, ſoon after the concluſion of the treaty, of a victory which his general prince Eugene of Savoy had obtained over the Turks at Zenta in Hungary, where the grand ſeignior commanded his army in perſon. In this battle, which was fought on the eleventh of September, the grand vizier, the aga of the janiſaries, twenty-ſeven baſhaws, and about thirty thouſand men, were killed or drowned in the river Thieſſe; ſix thouſand men were wounded or taken, together with all their artillery, tents, baggage, proviſion, and ammunition, the grand ſeignior himſelf eſcaping with the utmoſt difficulty. Had the news of this important victory arrived ſome few weeks ſooner, it might poſſibly have rendered the French more moderate in their demands on the empire; but having now taken off three of the moſt powerful ſtates in the confederacy againſt them, they ſuffered it not to have the leaſt influence on their conduct with regard to the others. The emperor therefore, fearing that he ſhould be left alone to encounter the whole power of France, thought proper at length to ſubmit to the terms which had been agreed on at the congreſs, and accordingly ſigned on the thirtieth day of October; and his example was followed by all the princes of the empire. It now remains to give the ſubſtance of the ſeveral treaties concluded at this famous congreſs of Ryſwick.

The moſt material articles of the treaty between GREAT BRITAIN and FRANCE were as follow:

By the third (the two firſt being only words of form) all offences, injuries, and damages on either ſide, were to be forgotten.

By the fourth, the French king engaged that he would not, on any pretence, diſturb or diſquiet the king of Great Britain in the poſſeſſion of his crown or government, nor aſſiſt his enemies, nor favour conſpiracies againſt his perſon.

By the fifth, a free commerce was to be reſtored between the ſubjects of the two nations.

The ſeventh provides for the mutual reſtoration of all countries, iſlands, forts and colonies, which either the French or Engliſh poſſeſſed before the war.

By the eighth, commiſſaries were appointed to meet at London and ſettle the pretenſions of each crown to Hudſon's Bay, taken by the French during the late peace, and re-taken by the Engliſh in the courſe of the war; and to regulate the limits of places to be reſtored, as well as the exchanges to be made.

By the tenth, all ſhips and merchandizes taken on either ſide, twelve days after the publication of the peace, in the Britiſh and North ſeas, as far as Cape St. Vincent, within ten weeks beyond the ſaid Cape and on this ſide the Equator, ſhall remain in the poſſeſſion of the captors.

By the twelfth, ſix months are allowed to the ſubjects on either ſide to withdraw their effects, in caſe of a rupture between the two courts.

By the thirteenth, the principality of Orange, and all other lands belonging to the king of Great Britain as prince of Orange, were to be reſtored him with the meſne profits.

By the fifteenth, the treaty between the French king and the duke of Savoy, in 1696, is confirmed.

By the ſixteenth, all powers were to be comprehended in this treaty which ſhould be named within ſix months after the ratification thereof, and particularly the king of Sweden the mediator.

And by a ſeparate article, the emperor was allowed to the firſt of November to accept the conditions agreed on for him between the two kings of England and France.

At the very inſtant that the French plenipotentiaries changed the name of prince of Orange, by which they uſually deſignated king William, to that of king of Great Britain, the politicians of thoſe times began to make ſome remarks on the fourth article; in which the French king barely allows king William the ſtile of king of Great Britain, without acknowleging his right, or ſtipulating not to ſupport king James by name, or bringing him under any obligation to compel him to quit his dominions, as queen Anne obliged him to do in relation to the pretender at the peace of Utrecht: and indeed it was looked upon as a great defect in the treaty of Ryſwick, that the ſucceſſion of the princeſs Anne and her iſſue was not inſerted. But the moſt melancholy part of this treaty was, that nothing was obtained in favour of the French proteſtants, tho' king William had obliged himſelf, by the grand alliance, not to make peace with France till the proteſtants of that kingdom had all their grants

and poſſeſſions reſtored them, with an entire liberty of conſcience, nor till the eſtates of that kingdom might enjoy their antient and lawful privileges, with a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe. Lewis however on this occaſion peremptorily refuſed to be laid under any reſtraint, or have any terms dictated to him in reſpect to his conduct towards his own ſubjects; and William, it is to be ſuppoſed, did not think this a ſufficient reaſon for continuing the war, ſo that the French proteſtants were not ſo much as mentioned in the articles of peace, but abandoned to the fury of their incenſed monarch. This negligence or acquieſcence of William, by whichſoever name it may be called, does not ſeem to agree perfectly well with the title he was ſo fond of aſſuming on all occaſions, that of the Protector of the Proteſtant Intereſt.

In the treaty between France and Holland it was agreed,

That all cities, lands, forts, iſlands, and places which had been taken on either ſide during the war, were to be reſtored, and particularly the fort of Pondicherry in the Eaſt Indies, was to be reſtored to the States.

But the greateſt advantage the Dutch got by this peace was, the concluding a treaty of commerce with France very much in their favour *, while nothing of this kind was ſtipulated in behalf of England, only in general, that there ſhould be a free trade on both ſides.

Spain was in a particular manner benefited by this pacification; for by the treaty between that crown and France, Lewis engaged to reſtore the following places, viz. Gironne, Roſes, Belver and Barcelona in Catalonia, Luxemburg, Charleroi, Mons, Courtray, Aeth, and all the towns, fortreſſes, and territories, taken by his arms in the provinces of Luxemburg, Namur, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault, except eighty two towns and villages claimed by the French. Theſe were to be left to the deciſion of commiſſioners; or in caſe they could not agree, to the arbitration of the States-general.

By the treaty between the emperor and empire and France, which was ſigned on the thirtieth of October, N. S. it was agreed,

That the treaties of Weſtphalia and Nimeguen ſhould be the baſis and foundation of this treaty, both in ſacred and civil matters, unleſs where it was expreſsly covenanted to the contrary.

That the French king ſhould reſtore to the emperor and empire, and the members thereof, whatever places had been taken, as well during the war by way of force, as by the name of unions and reunions, which were ſituated without Alſace, only the Roman catholic religion ſhould remain in thoſe places thus reſtored in the ſtate it then was.

That France ſhould yield up to the emperor and empire Fort Kiel, Friburg, Sturſort, Old Briſac, and Philipſburg.

That Dinant ſhould be reſtored to the biſhopric of Liege, and that the caſtles of Trierbach, Ebrenburg, Kiruburg, and the fortreſs of Montroyal, works on which the great Vauban had exhauſted his art, and the French king his treaſury, ſhould be demoliſhed, and reſtored to their reſpective proprietors. And on the other hand it was agreed,

That the imperial town of Straſburg, the capital of Alſatia, and the dependencies on the left ſide of the Rhine, ſhould be yielded up and united to France; ſo that the Rhine was looked upon as the boundary between the empire of France for ſome time †.

In certain preparatory articles ſettled between England and France, king William promiſed to pay a yearly penſion to Mary d'Eſte, king James's queen, of fifty thouſand pounds, or ſuch ſum as ſhould be eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe by act of parliament: now the Engliſh plenipotentiaries having declared this in the preſence of thoſe of Holland, the ſame was entered into the regiſter of the ambaſſador-mediator, who delivered a copy of it to the miniſters of France. It ſhould ſeem however that theſe latter fell ſhort in their politics on this occaſion; for they ſhould have required a more clear explanation of the matter, and that a time ſhould be fixed for making the firſt payment. The Britiſh miniſter on this occaſion inſiſted that the queen ſhould give him a receipt on the behalf of his maſter, by the name and title of William III. king of Great Britain, which ſhe abſolutely refuſed, and ſo received no part of her dowry, at leaſt during the continuance of this reign.

Europe was ſurprized, ſays M. de Voltaire, and the French filled with indignation, to ſee Lewis XIV. make peace as if he had been conquered. Harlai, Crecy, and Callieres, who negotiated and ſigned this treaty, durſt not ſhow themſelves either at court or in the city; they were loaded with reproaches and deriſion, as if they had taken any ſtep they had not been ordered by the king and the miniſtry. Certain it is, that by this treaty the French monarch found himſelf obliged to relinquiſh all his ambitious projects, and a ſtop was put, at leaſt for ſome time, to the further progreſs of his arms. Had Lewis indeed had no latent deſign in thus yielding up ſo many important places which he had conquered, the world would have had reaſon to ſay he acted moderately: but his real view in this ſeeming moderation was to diſarm and diſunite the allies, that ſo he might the more eaſily ſeize on the Spaniſh monarchy, upon the death of its old and feeble king Charles II. now daily expected, tho' it did not happen till three years later.

King William having by the peace of Ryſwick firmly eſtabliſhed himſelf on the Engliſh throne, and accompliſhed his aim of putting a ſtop to the encroachments of the French monarch, returned

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* This treaty of commerce was concluded for twenty years. It is thereby ſtipulated, that the Dutch ſubjects ſhall enjoy the ſame privileges, franchiſes, &c. in France as Lewis's own ſubjects did; and that they might freely carry to Marſeilles, &c. the merchandize of the Levant, as well in their own ſhips as in French bottoms, without being liable to the twenty per cent on the Levant commerce, ſaving only in caſes where the French themſelves were liable to pay it. The Dutch alſo might hereby import pickled herrings, without being liable to re-packing. France alſo hereby remitted to the Dutch the fifty ſols per ton on foreigners ſhips, excepting only when Dutch ſhips carry French goods coaſt-ways, from one port of France to another.

† Memoirs of the Treaty of Ryſwick, vol. iv. Tindal. Salmon. Voltaire.

to

to England about the middle of November, and was received in London amidſt the general acclamations of the people, who now again beheld him as their deliverer from a war, by the continuance of which they muſt have been infallibly beggared. Juſt before his majeſty's return home, the lords juſtices had iſſued a proclamation for apprehending ſuch of his majeſty's Britiſh ſubjects as ſhould return from France without leave; as alſo another proclamation for apprehending the duke of Berwick, ſir George Barclay, and others attainted of high-treaſon, and ſuppoſed to be then lurking in England; for it was expected that king James's friends would have taken ſome deſperate reſolution on the concluſion of the peace; but nothing of this nature appeared.

The parliament meeting on the third of December, was opened with a ſpeech from the throne, wherein his majeſty obſerved, "That the war he had entered into by the advice of his people, was by their aſſiſtance brought to the end which he had ever propoſed, a ſafe and honourable peace: that he was ſorry however to acquaint them, that his ſubjects could not at firſt find that relief by the peace they might expect, the funds having fallen ſhort, and there remaining ſo great a debt to the navy and army, beſides what was wanting to ſupport the civil liſt. He ſaid, he made not the leaſt doubt that his parliament would make ſuch a proviſion for him during his life, as might be for his honour and that of his government. He obſerved, that our naval force was increaſed almoſt double ſince his acceſſion, and could not be ſupported without a proportionable increaſe of money; and he believed they would agree with him in allowing that the chief ſtrength of England muſt ever conſiſt in a powerful navy. He gave it as his opinion, that conſidering the ſtate of affairs on the continent, the kingdom could not be ſafe without a land-force. He promiſed to rectify ſuch abuſes as had crept into any part of the adminiſtration during the war, and effectually to diſcourage prophaneneſs and immorality. He expreſſed himſelf delighted with the proofs his ſubjects had given him of their loyalty and attachment to his perſon; and concluded, that as he had at the hazard of his life reſcued the religion, laws, and liberties, when they were in the extremeſt danger, ſo he ſhould place the chief glory of his reign in preſerving and leaving them entire to poſterity."

To this ſpeech the two houſes returned an addreſs by a compliment of congratulation upon the peace, and an aſſurance "that they would be ever ready to aſſiſt and ſupport his majeſty, who had confirmed them in the quiet poſſeſſion of their rights and liberties; and by putting an end to the war, fully compleated the work of their deliverance *." Notwithſtanding theſe appearances of good humour, the majority of the parliament, and indeed the whole nation, were equally alarmed at that part of the king's ſpeech which diſcovered a project for maintaining a ſtanding army: but before I go upon the proceedings of the parliament, which ſat the longeſt, and was the moſt buſy of any that had aſſembled for ſome years, and that I may not break in upon its tranſactions, I ſhall here give a brief account of our naval affairs during this year, 1697.

And firſt, I am to take notice of the expedition of vice-admiral Neville to the Weſt Indies, who was ſent thither on the firſt intelligence of Mr. Pointis' being ſailed for that part of the world with a ſtrong ſquadron. It was ſuppoſed that the true deſign of this armament, which was kept a profound ſecret by the French court, was againſt Jamaica, which alarmed us the more, becauſe, conſidering the ſmall force we had in that quarter, if the French had really attempted this iſland, there was but too great a probability of their ſucceeding. Their intent however appeared afterwards to have been againſt the Spaniſh ſettlements in that part of the globe. To parry this blow wherever it was intended, orders were given to aſſemble a ſquadron at Portſmouth, under the command of rear-admiral Meeze; and other orders were at the ſame time diſpatched to Mr. Neville, who commanded our fleet in the Mediterranean; which orders he was directed to open in a certain latitude, by which he was inſtructed to join admiral Meeze at the iſland of Madeira, which he accordingly did on the ſeventeenth of April, and they bore away together for Antigua, where they arrived the third of May. Here they received advice that M. de Pointis was ſailed from Hiſpaniola on the twenty-firſt of March, N. S. with twenty-ſix ſhips ſmall and great. It was then reſolved in a council of war to proceed forthwith to Jamaica. Before they reached their deſtined port, they met with a ſloop, the maſter whereof informed them there was a report of the French ſquadron's being before Carthagena. Whereupon it was reſolved to ſteer for that place, in hopes of finding the French either embarraſſed in the ſiege, or in embarking the plunder. Had this reſolve been put in execution immediately, we muſt have ſurprized monſieur Pointis, and deſtroyed his whole force; but it appears from admiral Neville's Journal, that he was under an abſolute neceſſity of putting into Jamaica for a freſh ſupply of proviſions and water, where he was detained ſo long by the winds and other croſs accidents, that Pointis had time to do his buſineſs at Carthagena, and ſail away. But though our fleet miſſed him there, yet on the twenty-ſeventh of May, being half ſeas over from Jamaica, the admiral ſaw the ſieur de Pointis' ſquadron at no great diſtance; upon which he endeavoured all he could to engage, but could not come near enough. Five days the vice-admiral continued the purſuit, in which five ſhips (among which his own and rear-admiral Meeze's were included) ſprung their maſts; and their ſails were ſo torn, that it was found impoſſible to continue the chace with any hopes of ſucceſs †.

Hereupon the vice-admiral thought it expedient to proceed to Carthagena, in order to ſee if the galleons were ſafe, and how far he could be uſeful to the Spaniards. Here he had advice that the galleons were at the Havannah: he therefore pro-

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 73, 74.

† A fly-boat belonging to the French fleet was indeed taken by one of our ſhips, and there was found on board her as much plate as amounted to two hundred thouſand pounds: a pretty good ſample of the immenſe treaſures that were on board the reſt! Lives of Admirals. Burchet. Lediard.

ceeded for Jamaica, after having deſtroyed ſeveral ſail of the Buccaneers *, who had aſſiſted the French in their depredations upon the Spaniards. While the admiral lay at Jamaica, the governor, who at that time was ſir William Beeſton, propoſed to him the deſtruction of that neſt of pirates at Petit-Guavas †; with which Mr. Neville inſtantly complied, and detached rear-admiral Meeze with nine ſhips from the fleet on the twenty-ſecond of June for this purpoſe; who on the twenty-ninth ſurprized Petit-Guavas before it was light, and immediately gave orders for burning it, which was done with ſo much precipitation, that notwithſtanding there was abundance of gold and ſilver in the place, yet very little was ſaved or brought away. However, the burning the town, and carrying off priſoners a good number of negroes to Jamaica, was a great and ſeaſonable ſervice to the Engliſh colonies.

Vice-admiral Neville then proceeded to the Havannah, in order to take the galleons under his eſcort, which was the principal part of his inſtructions: but the general of the galleons excuſed putting his ſhips under our protection, pretending his orders would not warrant it; but, in reality, being fearful of truſting ſo rich a fleet, worth above fifty millions, in the vice-admiral's power: the ſame motive induced the governor of the Havannah to refuſe admitting the admiral to enter the harbour with his ſquadron. This kind of treatment, from thoſe whom he had come principally to ſerve, broke the vice-admiral's ſpirits very much: and this, added to the conſciouſneſs of the little ſervice he had been able to do his country with ſo ſtrong a ſquadron, threw him into a fit of ſickneſs, which carried him off at Virginia, where he arrived on the ſeventh of Auguſt. Rear-admiral Meeze being alſo dead before our fleet reached the Havannah, the chief command devolved upon captain Robert Dilkes as ſenior captain, who brought the fleet home to England about the latter end of October this year, but in a very bad condition.

The Engliſh were highly enraged at being diſappointed in the great hopes that had been entertained of this expedition; and their anger was farther raiſed by other croſs accidents which happened about the ſame time in the ſame quarter of the world. It ſeems that Pointis, after eſcaping vice-admiral Neville, fell in on the coaſt of Newfoundland with another Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by commodore (afterwards ſir John and admiral) Norris: but this officer, who propoſed to attack him, was prevented from executing his reſolution by the deciſion of a council of war. In his return Pointis was encountered by ſix Engliſh ſhips commanded by captain Harlow; but after maintaining a running fight during a whole day, he at length ſecured himſelf in the harbour of Breſt, with the treaſure he had taken at Carthagena, amounting, by the beſt accounts, to upwards of twenty millions of livres, or near one million two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. The blame of theſe miſcarriages was laid upon the conduct of the admirals, and the orders of the admiralty: theſe were chiefly directed by admiral Ruſſel (lately made earl of Orford) who preſided at that board, and who, though neither deficient in courage nor integrity, was ſuppoſed to have been betrayed by thoſe in whom he too much confided. Thus much is certain, that all our naval hiſtorians agree in aſſerting, that the officers of the fleet were divided by the moſt violent factions and animoſities, which had as fatal an effect, with regard to the intereſts of the nation, as the blackeſt treachery and corruption.

This is the ſum of what paſſed in the Weſt Indies this year. I now come to the naval tranſactions in Europe, where we ſhall not find many extraordinary actions to detain us.

His majeſty having before his going to Holland in the ſpring of this year, declared Edward Ruſſel eſq. admiral of the fleet, one of the lords juſtices in his abſence, and ſoon after created him earl of Orford; he thereupon quitted his command of the fleet to take his ſeat at the head of the admiralty board, when the command in chief devolved on ſir George Rooke, who in the beginning of June went down to Portſmouth to take upon him that office; and ſoon after being joined by vice-admiral Mitchel and rear-admiral Bembow, he put to ſea with forty-four ſail of the line, and continued cruizing for a few weeks, when he was obliged to put into port again for proviſions.

Previous to this, however, rear-admiral Benbow had been ſent out with a ſeparate ſquadron, conſiſting of ſeven third-rates, and two fire-ſhips, with ſtrict inſtructions to uſe all his endeavours to protect our trade, and annoy the enemy; but he was able to perform nothing remarkable, and was therefore recalled, and ordered to join ſir George Rooke as above. After the grand fleet had put in to revictual, admiral Bembow was ſent to reinforce, and take command of a ſquadron which had for ſome time been cruizing off Dunkirk, under the command of commodore Beaumont, to intercept M. du Bart, the French admiral, who was expected to ſail from thence with a fleet that was to carry over the prince of Conti, whom the French attempted to make king of Poland. The French ſhips at Dunkirk were in all about eleven, from fifty to twenty-ſix guns. About the latter end of July Mr. Bembow was joined by rear-admiral Vandergoes with 11 Dutch ſhips; ſo that his fleet then conſiſted of about thirty ſail large and ſmall. The Engliſh admiral propoſed to ſtation one ſquadron to the northward of Dunkirk, and the other in or about Oſtend-road, that if Du Bart attempted to paſs out either at the eaſt or north channel, they might the better diſcover him; but the Dutch commander repreſenting that his ſhips were foul,

* As Jamaica was hitherto principally inhabited by the military men (and their offſpring) who had poſſeſſed it ever ſince it was taken in the year 1656; thoſe people, as generally diſliking agriculture, betook themſelves to cruizing at ſea againſt the Spaniards on the American ſeas, even after peace had been concluded between England and Spain in America; and allured by the wealth acquired thereby, they continued that illegal practice throughout all the reign of king Charles II. to this time, and got the name of the Buccaneers of Jamaica, ſome of whoſe bold exploits againſt the Spaniſh towns and ports in Mexico, &c. would paſs for mere romances, had they not been too much known by both nations.

† Petit-Guavas, a port town at a large bay on the weſt ſide of Hiſpaniola in the American Ocean, taken by the French Buccaneers in 1654. For about ten leagues, and as far as Cape St. Nicholas on the north-weſt, the ſea is always calm from three in the morning till noon, tornado's excepted, when there ſprings up a breeze, holding till next morning. It lies 211 miles weſt of St. Domingo, and is ſubject to France. Lat. 18 deg. 16 min. north. Long. 76 deg. 10 min. weſt.

and in no condition to purſue the French fleet, ſhould he even get ſight of it, this diſpoſition was laid aſide. Du Bart having hawled his ſhips into the baſon, where they were thoroughly cleaned, waited only for the next ſpring-tide to make a puſh out. Accordingly, on the twenty-third of Auguſt, he left Dunkirk with five ſail, having the prince of Conti on board. Admiral Bembow immediately purſued him, but to no purpoſe, our ſhips as well as the Dutch being miſerably foul: he therefore returned to his ſtation, and in his way got ſight of eight other ſhips that had ſailed from the ſame port, which he purſued likewiſe, but with the ſame ill ſucceſs; and this was the laſt action of the war, for on the twentieth of September following peace was concluded between England, Spain, Holland, and France *.

I ſhall cloſe this account of our naval affairs with a ſhort reflection on the conſequences of this long war to the naval power and commerce of England. Mr. Burchet has clearly ſhewn us that the French ſuffered much more in their maritime power than we; and conſequently, if we conſider the great facility with which we were able to repair ſuch loſſes as we ſuſtained at ſea, and the great difficulties the French lay under in this reſpect, however pompouſly their writers may dreſs up their accounts, it will be clear they were in no way able to ſtruggle againſt the Dutch and us in a maritime war. King William, in his ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, of which we have juſt given an abſtract, aſſerted that our naval force was near double to what it was at his acceſſion; and upon carefully comparing the liſts of the royal navy, and other authentic writers on this ſubject, the truth of this very clearly appears; while, on the other hand, the French never attempted to build any new ſhips in the room of thoſe that were taken or deſtroyed during the progreſs of the war. The reader will find in the note an account of the loſs ſuſtained on each ſide, while we were diſputing the empire of the ſea †: from whence, and what we have remarked above, he will readily perceive that, as a maritime power, we were gainers by the war; but with reſpect to our trade, it is paſt all doubt that we ſuffered infinitely more than the enemy: our traffic was exceſſively diſturbed; our merchants were many of them ruined, which occaſioned an abſolute diſtruſt of and diſtaſte againſt thoſe who had the direction of naval affairs, a loud clamour againſt the war, and an univerſal deſire of peace at any rate ‡. Let us now proceed to a review of the parliamentary affairs of this year; and as an introduction, it may not be amiſs to preſent the reader with a ſketch of the miniſtry, as it ſtood at this juncture.

Bentinck earl of Portland had long poſſeſſed the chief place in the king's affections, but of late his intereſt with his royal maſter had been conſiderably weakened by the intervention of the earl of Sunderland, who had by every act of complacency and adulation inſinuated himſelf into William's eſteem. Tho' this nobleman could not but know by experience the inſuperable diſlike the people of

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* Burchet, p. 569, 570. Lives of Admirals.

† Loſs ſuſtained by the French in their navy during the war, from the year 1688, to 1697.

Number of ſhips.	Force.	Total of guns.
2 of	104 guns	208
1 of	90	90
2 of	80	160
3 of	76	228
1 of	74	74
1 of	70	70
1 of	68	68
2 of	60	120
4 of	56	224
1 of	50	50
1 of	48	48
1 of	42	42
1 of	40	40
5 of	32	160
5 of	30	150
5 of	28	140
1 of	26	26
3 of	24	72
3 of	20	60
6 of	18	108
1 of	16	16
2 of	12	24
6 of	10	60
1 of	6	6
Total 59		Total 2,224

The loſs ſuſtained by the Engliſh in their navy during the ſame period of time.

Number of ſhips.	Force.	Total of guns.
1 of	70	70
1 of	54	54
2 of	48	96
1 of	46	46
3 of	42	126
3 of	36	108
6 of	32	192
2 of	30	60
4 of	24	96
2 of	18	36
2 of	16	32
2 of	12	24
11 of	10	110
5 of	8	40
1 of	6	6
4 of	4	16
Total 50		Total 1,112

By which it appears that the number of guns on board the French ſhips, which were either taken or deſtroyed, more than the Engliſh, were one thouſand one hundred and thirty-two: at the ſame time it is to be obſerved, that moſt of them were much ſuperior in their weight of metal. Burchet. Campbell. Lediard.

And here we ſhall, as a matter of curioſity, preſent our readers with an authentic view of the vaſt increaſe of the royal navy of England, from the year 1607 to the year 1695, as given us by biſhop Gibſon, in the ſecond edition of his Continuation of Camden's Britannia.

Different ſtates of the royal navy	In Camden's time, anno 1607.	In the year 1695.
I. Number of ſhips and veſſels, from 50 tons and upwards	only 40 ſhips	now above 200 ſhips.
II. General tonnage of the whole	under 23,600 tons	now above 112,400 tons.
III. Number of men required for manning the ſame	not quite 7,800 men	now above 45,000 men.
IV. The medium of its annual charge during the laſt five years of — peace	under 15,500 l.	above 400,000 l.
IV. The medium of its annual charge during the laſt five years of — war	under 96,400 l.	above 1,620,000 l.

‡ Kennet. Burnet. Preſent State of Europe.

England

England entertained to a ſtanding army; yet he no ſooner found that the king was deſirous of keeping up ſuch a force, from an apprehenſion that a reduction of it would leſſen his importance both at home and abroad, diminiſh the dependence upon his government, and tear from him thoſe foreigners in whoſe attachments he chiefly confided: Sunderland, I ſay, no ſooner diſcovered theſe ſentiments in the king, than he laboured to encourage him with hopes of ſucceſs; and as we are never upon our guard againſt thoſe who flatter our paſſions or inclinations, king William ſoon made this miniſter his chief confident. He had alſo a female favourite, one Mrs. Villiers, on whom he had conferred ſeveral marks of his conſideration: theſe two are ſaid to have joined their intereſts to ſupplant Portland. Chance concurred with their deſign: the king had lately taken more than common notice of one M. Van Kepple, a gentleman of Guelderland, who had firſt ſerved him as a page, and afterwards acted as a private ſecretary. The earl of Portland growing troubleſome, from his jealouſy of theſe competitors, the king reſolved to ſend him into honourable exile, in quality of ambaſſador extraordinary to the court of France; and Trumbal, the earl's confident and friend, was diſmiſſed from the office of ſecretary, which was beſtowed upon Vernon, who had acted as under-ſecretary to the duke of Shrewſbury. This nobleman rivalled Sunderland at the council-board, and was ſupported by lord-chancellor Somers; Ruſſel the new earl of Orford, firſt lord of the admiralty; and Charles Montagu, chancellor of the Exchequer. Somers was an upright judge, a diſcerning ſtateſman, and an adroit courtier: he equalled the famous chancellor More in the ſweetneſs and affability of his diſpoſition; and the great Bacon in the depth of his learning. Orford was honeſt, but indelicate: he meant well, but his underſtanding was ſhallow; and he was by nature very headſtrong and obſtinate. Montagu had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as the moſt able financier of his time: he was an encourager of the liberal arts, and the profeſſed patron of projectors: as a ſtateſman, he was bold, dogmatical, and aſpiring.

The terrors of a military force had produced ſuch a ſpirit of diſcontent in the nation, that when the commons came to conſider that part of the king's ſpeech which related to the maintenance of a ſtanding army, ſeveral of the leading members warmly exclaimed againſt a practice to which the people had conceived an inveterate averſion, and the recommendation of which from the throne had not a little alarmed their fears. The ſpirit ſhewn on this occaſion by the oppoſers of the court was ſuch, that its friends and adherents were driven to a great dilemma. The matter was debated with much warmth, and many learned arguments were adduced on both ſides in ſupport of and againſt ſuch a meaſure; the ſubſtance of which cannot fail to be entertaining to the curious reader.

It was alleged by thoſe in the oppoſition, that a ſtanding army being founded upon ſlaviſh principles, was by its very nature and conſtitution inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of a free government: that being abſolutely ſubject to the will of a ſingle perſon, whoſe orders it was capital to diſobey; it might, if that perſon thought proper, be employed to the moſt dangerous and deſtructive purpoſes; to the ſubverſion of that liberty which it was intended to protect; and the ruin of thoſe by whom it was maintained: that ſuppoſing it could not carry theſe pernicious deſigns by open force, yet it would neceſſarily accompliſh the ſame in the end, by over-awing elections, and preſcribing to the legiſlature; and thus in a ſlow and inſenſible manner eſtabliſh a tyranny, before the nation could be ſufficiently on its guard to counteract ſuch efforts, or ſecure its own ſafety: that allowing theſe inconveniencies to exiſt only in a chimerical apprehenſion; yet as the bulk of ſuch an army is and would be generally compoſed of people indigent in their circumſtances, and licentious in their morals, they would ſtop at nothing to gratify their appetites or reſentments, and be ever the ready tools of a bad prince, who might think it his intereſt to make uſe of them for the oppreſſing or humbling his ſubjects. It was urged beſides, that an army could at beſt be conſidered, in time of peace, but as an uſeleſs and unneceſſary burden, and thoſe who compoſed it as drones living on the labours of the more induſtrious and uſeful part of the nation; and this was more particularly the caſe in Great Britain, who, ſurrounded as ſhe was by a boiſterous ocean, ſecured by a numerous fleet, and bleſſed with a ſtout and hardy race of natives, ſtood not in need of the aſſiſtance or protection of hireling mercenaries to defend herſelf againſt the attempts of any enemy, foreign or domeſtic.

Theſe arguments, cogent as they were, paſſed not unanſwered: ſeveral individuals, and amongſt thoſe ſome who were the genuine friends of their country, eſpouſed the oppoſite maxims: they ſaid, that granting all the objections to a ſtanding army to be founded on truth, and that it was really pregnant with all the miſchiefs charged upon it; yet in the preſent ſituation of things it appeared to be a neceſſary evil: that would every ſtate in Europe diſband its forces on the concluſion of a peace, ſuch a ſtep muſt certainly conduce greatly to the eaſe and happineſs of the reſpective ſubjects, and of Chriſtendom in general: but while, on the contrary, every kingdom maintained a ſtanding force of mercenaries, and that in particular the very nation who, by intereſt and inclination, were the inveterate enemies of England, kept on foot the greateſt army of any ſtate in Europe, it would be the utmoſt ſtretch of folly and madneſs to ſtrip ourſelves of every means of defence, and ſtand naked and expoſed to every attempt that ambition or ill faith might think proper to make againſt us. In anſwer to the ſufficiency of our numerous and formidable fleet for protecting us againſt all inſults, it was obſerved, that a thouſand unforeſeen accidents might render this bulwark uſeleſs. The ſame wind, it was ſaid, that wafted over to our ſhores an hoſtile fleet, might detain our ſhips in their harbours, as was actually the caſe when his preſent majeſty arrived in this kingdom, when the eaſt wind that brought over the Dutch fleet kept ours in the river till the Dutch fleet paſſed them; and when they got out a ſtorm ſtopped and ſhattered them ſo, that without being able to come to any action, they were laid up. It is eaſy to infer what would have been the fatal conſequences, if the king had then come to deſtroy our liberties, inſtead of reſcuing them from a deſtroyer: and would any man, it was aſked, hazard the nation upon ſuch a contingency? eſpecially knowing that England is an open country, full of plenty, every

where able to ſubſiſt an army; our towns and cities all open; our rivers all fordable; and no paſſes nor ſtrong places to ſtop an enemy, ſhould they effect a deſcent. In anſwer to the aſſertion that a ſtanding army would be always ſubject to the arbitrary will and command of the ſovereign, who might at pleaſure uſe it for the deſtruction of his people's liberties; the late Revolution was again urged as a ſtriking and memorable example againſt ſuch a ſuppoſition. James, at the time his rival meditated a deſcent on England, was at the head of an army of thirty thouſand well-diſciplined troops; a force certainly ſufficient to have driven out the prince of Orange, and have eſtabliſhed that tyranny which the reigning prince intended to erect, had they been actuated by a blind and implicit obedience to the royal will: but the event proved how differently they thought and acted; the inſtant that lawleſs prince attempted to employ them to ſubvert the liberties and religion of their fellow-ſubjects, they one and all rejected the propoſal with an honeſt indignation, and laid down their arms, a few catholics only excepted, repairing moſt of them to the ſtandard of the prince, who came to eſpouſe the cauſe of liberty againſt the attempts of deſpotiſm. It was urged, moreover, that it was very improbable that the army ſhould be rendered perpetual and independent while it remained on its preſent footing, being ſtill ſubject to the annual inſpection of the parliament; and whenever that aſſembly ſhould ſee cauſe to ſuſpect the deſigns of the prince, or the diſpoſitions of the military, they had it in their power to diminiſh their number, or entirely diſband them. In concluſion it was alleged, that nothing could be more abſurd than to expoſe ourſelves to certain ruin, from a ſuppoſition that what now preſerves us from it, may at ſome time hereafter have ill effects on our liberty: nor are thoſe effects to be apprehended as conſiderable, ſo long as England remains true to itſelf; and whenſoever the nation has loſt that ſenſe of liberty by which it has been ſo long preſerved, it will ſoon make fetters for itſelf, though it ſhould find none at hand ready *.

This diſpute likewiſe gave occaſion to ſeveral pamphlets whichwere publiſhed on the ſubject, and in which the authors diſplayed a propriety of language, a force and energy of ſtile, and a ſtrength of reaſoning; rarely to be met with in the writings of our preſent politicians. The queſtion, it muſt be allowed, is of a very delicate and intricate nature: happily, however, it is now rendered in a great meaſure uſeleſs, by the revival of an old and excellent inſtitution, the eſtabliſhment of a regular and well diſciplined militia, who having acquired the dexterity of profeſſed ſoldiers, and animated by every concurring motive of intereſt, ſentiment, and affection, will, under the guidance of Providence, be found capable, with the concurrence of our fleet, effectually to protect this kingdom from the danger of an invaſion. The oppoſers of a ſtanding army were at that time for forming ſuch a body of native forces; but this ſcheme would have defeated the purpoſe of the government, which was more afraid of domeſtic foes than foreign enemies, and induſtriouſly avoided every plan of this nature which could contribute to render the party of the people more formidable: but though the Engliſh at that time had no regular militia, they had conceived ſuch an intolerable jealouſy of a ſtanding army, that though the miniſtry uſed all their addreſs in perſuading the houſe to agree in part to the king's requeſt, the commons paſſed a vote, about a week after they met, "That all the forces raiſed ſince the year 1680 ſhould be diſbanded, and the forces be reduced to ten thouſand men †." Purſuant to this reſolution, they granted a ſupply for diſbanding the army, and ordered the ſum of two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds to be given as a gratuity to ſuch officers and ſoldiers as were or ſhould be diſbanded, in the following proportions, viz. to every foot-ſoldier and non-commiſſioned officer, fourteen days ſubſiſtence, and ſix days full pay to each private trooper and non-commiſſioned officer: proviſion was alſo made for half pay to commiſſion-officers, being Engliſhmen; and a bill was ordered to be brought in, that the diſbanded ſoldiers might exerciſe their reſpective trades in any town or corporation in the kingdom.

During the debates about a ſtanding army in parliament, the earl of Sunderland had been particularly active both within and without doors, in ſhewing the neceſſity of keeping up a conſtant military force, by which he had drawn upon himſelf a great load of odium; and the Tories, who had now got the popular ſide of the queſtion, reſolved to make a handle of this conduct to remove him from about court. They began by openly repreſenting him as a perſon to whom they aſcribed moſt of the arbitrary meaſures taken in the late reign, and ſuſpected of having counſelled the like in this, and particularly the keeping up a ſtanding army. The earl, apprehenſive of a further attack from this party, and fearing he ſhould be weakly ſupported by the Whigs, who were moſt of them jealous of his growing in favour with the king, reſolved to avoid the danger with which he thought himſelf threatened, by a timely retreat: accordingly, on the twenty-ſixth of December he reſigned the office of lord-chamberlain, not only againſt the intreaties of his friends, but even the king's earneſt deſire that he would continue about him.

To raiſe the ſums for diſbanding the army, paying their arrears, and making good all deficiencies, amongſt other aids, a tax of three ſhillings in the pound was laid upon land, which was to be aſſeſſed in every county, in proportion to the rates it was aſſeſſed at in the year 1692, when it brought in the moſt, there having been ſuch commiſſioners appointed that year as the crown was pleaſed to pitch upon, who, in the counties in the neighbourhood of London, taxed the people to the rack-rent, while the northern and weſtern counties were ſcarce rated half the value of their eſtates; and thus it has been ever ſince, and is likely to continue while the remote boroughs are too numerous for the reſt of the kingdom. An additional duty was laid upon coal, culm, and ſalt; a duty was impoſed upon all coals imported from Scotland, or from

* Chandler's Debates. State Tracts. Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 74, 75.

† Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 76, 77. At the peace of Ryſwick, the horſe, dragoons, and foot, on the Engliſh eſtabliſhment (including the Dutch troops) were about thirty thouſand.

any part beyond ſea. The toll-tax was continued for one year longer; and the duties upon coffee, tea, chocolate, ſpices, pedlars and hawkers, for three years; the duties upon ſtamped paper, parchment, vellum, and thoſe upon imported alamodes and luſtrings, were doubled; the time was enlarged for purchaſing and granting annuities; and a bill paſſed for raiſing a ſum not exceeding two millions, upon a fund for payment of annuities, at the rate of eight per cent. redeemable by parliament.

His majeſty having expreſſed himſelf extremely diſpleaſed at the proceedings of the commons for diſbanding the army, they, in order to ſweeten the unpalatable cup, voted the ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds per annum for the ſupport of the civil liſt, diſtinct from all other ſervices, to be paid his majeſty for life, which was to be raiſed out of the duties ariſing from tonnage and poundage, or on merchandize imported and exported, former parliaments having granted it him from time to time only for a ſhort term of years.

The king coming to the houſe on the fourteenth of January, 1698, gave the royal aſſent to an act for calling in the hammered ſilver money to be recoined; to an act to prevent correſponding with king James and his adherents; and to an act for continuing the impriſonment of one Counter and others, then confined in Newgate, on ſuſpicion of being accomplices in the Aſſaſſination Plot. The ſame day the commons voted three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds for maintaining guards and garriſons for the year 1698, and a ſupply of two millions ſeven hundred thouſand pounds for paying off and cancelling the exchequer-bills that had been iſſued. Then they took into conſideration the ſubſidies due to foreign powers in the Engliſh pay, and other ſums due to the contractors for bread and forage. Examining further the debts of the nation, they found the general debt of the navy amounted to one million three hundred ninety-two thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-two thouſand pounds; that of the ordnance to two hundred four thouſand one hundred and fifty-ſeven thouſand pounds. The tranſport debt contracted for the reduction of Ireland, did not fall ſhort of four hundred ſixty thouſand four hundred and ninety-three pounds; and they owed forty-nine thouſand nine hundred and twenty-nine pounds for quartering and cloathing the army which had been raiſed by an act of parliament in the year 1677, and diſbanded by another in the year 1679. In order to lighten this great burden, proviſion was made for granting the proprietors an intereſt for their money till their debts ſhould be paid.

But notwithſtanding this vaſt load of debts, it was found that the officers concerned in the revenue had increaſed them, by robbing the public various ways, particularly by falſe indorſements on Exchequer notes, whereby they gained ſeven pounds twelve ſhillings per cent. which was allowed indeed upon the ſecond iſſuing of Exchequer-bills, but not upon the firſt, till theſe honeſt gentlemen found means clandeſtinely to procure ſuch indorſements to defraud the people. Among thoſe plunderers of the nation were Mr. Charles Duncombe, receiver-general of the exciſe; Mr. John Knight, treaſurer of the cuſtoms; Bartholomew Burton, of the Exciſe-office; and Reginald Marriot, one of the deputy-tellers of the Exchequer; which laſt, to get his pardon, compounded to accuſe the reſt: whereupon Duncombe and Knight, who were members of the commons, were expelled the houſe, and committed to the Tower: Burton was ſent to Newgate. A bill was brought into the houſe of commons for fining Duncombe about half his eſtate, valued at four hundred thouſand pounds, and paſſed that houſe; but being ſent up to the lords, the votes happening to be equal, the duke of Leeds gave his caſting vote againſt the bill, which was accordingly laid aſide: the lords alſo ſet Duncombe at liberty; but the commons reſenting this, remanded him, and he remained in the Tower till the end of the ſeſſion. The bill againſt Knight and Burton had the ſame fate; whereupon the proſecution was dropped, and they all eſcaped with their ill-gotten wealth, it being generally ſuppoſed they made their peace with part of the ſpoils they had gained from the nation. There were many in the commons at this time who had conceived a diſlike againſt Mr. Charles Montagu, Chancellor of the Exchequer, on account of the affair of the re-coinage, and his having been a ſtrenuous advocate for a ſtanding army; and his majeſty having made him a grant in the name of one Railton, this was brought upon the carpet, and it was moved in the houſe that he ſhould withdraw; but that paſſing in the negative, it was reſolved by a great majority, "That it was the opinion of the houſe that the honourable Charles Montagu, chancellor of the Exchequer, doth deſerve his majeſty's favour *;" a vote that muſt render his name famous to all poſterity.

The commons now obſerving that the enemies of Chriſtianity were never more audacious than at this time, in ridiculing the myſteries of the chriſtian religion, both in their converſation and the blaſphemous pamphlets they publiſhed; and, in a word, that prophaneneſs and immorality daily gained ground amongſt us, preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, beſeeching him to give ſtrict orders to all his judges, juſtices, and magiſtrates, to put the laws in execution againſt blaſphemy, atheiſm, and other acts of immorality, and to diſcourage them in his officers and courtiers †." The king, who in his own conduct was particularly ſtrict and regular, was pleaſed with this addreſs, and readily promiſed to comply with their requeſt. Accordingly, he iſſued a proclamation "for preventing and puniſhing immorality and prophaneneſs, and for ſuppreſſing certain impious books."

In the midſt of the deluge of immorality which overſpread the nation at this time, Dr. Thomas Bray, an active divine, formed a plan "for propagating the goſpel in foreign parts." Miſſionaries, catechiſms, liturgies, and other books for the inſtruction of ignorant people, were ſent to the Engliſh colonies in America. This laudable deſign was ſupported by voluntary contribution; and a bill having been brought into the houſe of commons for the better diſcovery of eſtates given to ſuperſtitious uſes, Dr. Bray preſented a petition, praying that ſome part of theſe eſtates might be ſet apart for the propagation of the reformed

* Proceed. Houſe of Comm. iii. 81. Feb 16.

† Ibid. Feb. 17.

religion in Maryland, Virginia, and the Leeward Iſlands.

At the ſame time king William encouraged the Society for the Reformation of Manners. Conſiderable collections were made for maintaining clergymen to read prayers in certain places of public worſhip, and adminiſter the ſacrament every Sunday. The members of this ſociety engaged to inform the magiſtrates of all the vice and immorality that ſhould fall under their cognizance; and with that part of the fines allowed by law to the informer, to conſtitute a fund of charity. This inſtitution had been firſt ſet on foot by Dr. Beveridge and Dr. Horneck, in the reign of James II. who fearing it might tend to prevent the growth of that religion which he unhappily profeſſed, induſtriouſly checked and diſcouraged it; ſo that it remained for a long time in a very weak and declining ſtate: but being now honoured and protected by the ſovereign, it ſoon acquired a more ſolid eſtabliſhment, and for ſome time exerciſed its influence with a very conſiderable effect.

The king coming to the houſe the ſeventh of March, gave the royal aſſent to ſeveral acts relating to the civil polity, when the commons addreſſed his majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to cauſe a liſt to be printed of the perſons names to whom licence had been granted, purſuant to the late act, againſt correſponding with king James or his adherents: to which his majeſty returned a gracious anſwer; and on the ſecond of April came again to the houſe, when, beſides private acts, he gave the royal aſſent to the two following public ones; 1. An act for granting his majeſty the ſum of one million four hundred eighty-four thouſand fifteen hundred pounds, for diſbanding the land forces, and paying off the ſeamen. 2. An act for ſupplying ſome defects in the laws made for the relief of the poor.

On the twenty-firſt of May a complaint was made to the commons of a printed book, entitled, The Caſe of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament in England ſtated; written by one Mr. Molyneux of Dublin, a gentleman of great parts and learning. In this book the author had endeavoured to prove that Ireland was independent of England, or the authority of its parliament. Such tenets as theſe were too dangerous to be paſſed over unnoticed: accordingly, a committee was appointed to enquire into the nature and tendency of this performance. Upon the report of the committee, it was unanimouſly reſolved, "That the book entitled, &c. was of dangerous conſequence, as tending to leſſen the dependence that Ireland has and ought to have upon England, as being united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm; and that an act "for the better ſecuring of his majeſty's perſon and government," tranſmitted under the great ſeal of Ireland, by which an Engliſh act of parliament was pretended to be re-enacted, and alterations made therein obligatory on the courts of juſtice and great-ſeal of England, had given occaſion to the writing and publiſhing the dangerous aſſertions contained in the ſaid book." After which the commons in a body addreſſed the king, beſeeching him "to give effectual orders for preventing any ſuch encroachment for the future, as well as the pernicious conſequences of what was paſt, by puniſhing and diſcountenancing thoſe who had been guilty of ſuch pernicious attempts." This addreſs his majeſty received very graciouſly, and was pleaſed to aſſure the commons that he would comply with their requeſt. About the ſame time alſo the commons addreſſed the king on the ſubject of ſome complaints that had been made to the houſe, that the woollen manufacture was carried on in Ireland, to the great prejudice of that ſtaple commodity in England. To which addreſs his majeſty returned for anſwer, "That he ſhould do all that in him lay to promote the trade of England, and to diſcourage the woollen, and encourage the linen, manufacture in Ireland." Orders were accordingly tranſmitted to the lords juſtices, who recommended the matter to the Iriſh parliament; and the members promiſed to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to effect a reformation in this article; and from hence may be dated the great increaſe and improvement of the Iriſh linen manufacture, which has turned out ſo advantageous to that country.

In this ſeſſion the luſtring company obtained an act of parliament, wherein the preamble ſets forth, "That the ſaid company have, with great labour and charge, brought that manufacture to perfection; but that by the fraudulent importation of foreign alamodes and luſtrings, the company have not enjoyed the benefit intended them by the royal charter, but have waſted their time and ſtock in contending with many difficulties and obſtructions which they had met with: and it now appearing that the ſaid manufacture cannot be ſo well conducted and ſecured to England by any other means than by the eſtabliſhing of an excluſive company for the ſame; it was therefore now enacted, firſt, That the ſaid company be a perpetual corporation, with the uſual powers, &c. of a body-politic, as in their charter. Secondly, That they ſhall enjoy the ſole uſe, exerciſe, and benefit of making, dreſſing, and luſtrating of plain black alamodes, renforcez, and luſtrings, in England and Wales, for fourteen years to come *." All which however could not ſupport this monopoly when the faſhion changed, new fabrications driving out the former general wear of thoſe ſilks, ſo that the company had run out their ſtock, and was quite broke up, even before the expiration of their ſaid excluſive term, which therefore was not renewed.

We cannot paſs over two good ſtatutes for the benefit of inland commerce made in this ſame ſeſſion: the one is "for determining differences by arbitration, whereby merchants, traders, and others deſiring to end any controverſy (for which there is no other remedy but by perſonal action or ſuit in equity) by arbitration, may agree their ſubmiſſion of their ſuit to the award of any perſon or perſons, which ſhould be made a rule of any court of record: by which agreement, ſo made and inſerted in their ſubmiſſion, the parties ſhall be finally concluded by ſuch arbitration." The other is "for the better payment of bills of exchange;" by which it is enacted, "That all bills of exchange drawn in England for five pounds or upwards to any other place in England, and payable at a certain number of days, weeks, or months after date, ſhall from and after preſentation and acceptance

* See Statutes 9 & 10 W. III. cap. 43.

(which acceptance ſhall be by the under-writing the ſame under the party's hand ſo accepting) and after the expiration of three days after the ſaid bill ſhall become due, the party to whom the ſaid bill is made payable, his ſervant, agent, or aſſigns, may and ſhall cauſe the ſaid bill to be proteſted by a notary-public, or any other ſubſtantial perſon of the city, town, or place, in the preſence of two or more creditable witneſſes (refuſal or neglect being firſt made of the payment) which proteſt ſhall be made and written under a fair written copy of the ſaid bill, ſignifying, "That I A. B. on the —— day of —— at the uſual place of abode of the ſaid C. D. have demanded payment of the bill, of which this is a copy, which the ſaid C. D. did not pay: wherefore I the ſaid A. B. do hereby proteſt the ſaid bill, dated at —— this day of ——:" which proteſt ſhall, within fourteen days after, be ſent, or otherwiſe due notice ſhall be given thereof to the party from whom the bill was received; and who, upon producing ſuch proteſt, ſhall repay the ſaid bill, together with intereſt and charges: and on default of ſuch proteſt (for which only C. D. ſhall be paid) on due notice, the perſon ſo failing ſhall be liable to all coſts, damages, and intereſt accruing thereby, provided that if any ſuch bill be loſt or miſcarried within the time limited for payment, the drawer ſhall be obliged to give another bill, the perſon to whom it is ſent giving ſecurity (if demanded) to the drawer, to indemnify him in caſe the loſt bill ſhall be found again."

Private and fallacious lotteries were at this time become ſo general, not only in London, but in moſt other great cities and towns in England, whereby the lower people, and the ſervants and children of good families were defrauded, that an act was paſſed for ſuppreſſing them; and a penalty of 500 l. was laid on the proprietors of ſuch lotteries, and of twenty pounds on every adventurer in them: notwithſtanding which, the like diſpoſition of fraud on the one part, and of gaming on the other, continued ſtill greatly to prevail.

The parliament likewiſe this ſeſſion applied themſelves with great diligence to diſcover and puniſh a ſet of offenders, who carried on a fraudulent and ſecret commerce with France, by which they had for divers years paſt ſurreptitiouſly brought in great quantities of French ſilks. The firſt occaſion of this diſcovery was a paſs from the admiral of France for an Engliſh ſhip, that ſerved at once for the owling and ſmuggling trades; which paſs, at the breaking out of the late conſpiracy, was intercepted at the Poſt-office, ſince which time it had lain unnoticed in the hands of the ſecretary of ſtate: but this paper coming by ſome accident to the ſight of Mr. Hilary Reneu, an eminent French proteſtant merchant, who was the chief manager and promoter of the luſtring company, he reported the matter to the houſe of commons, who having cauſed the perſons and books of theſe ſmugglers to be ſeized, a full diſcovery was made of their pernicious trade; upon which eight of them were very ſeverely fined, and ordered to be impriſoned in Newgate till ſuch time as they ſhould pay the money; and Mr. Reneu, as a reward for his part in the diſcovery, was gratified with a bill, which paſſed the two houſes and received the royal aſſent, for naturalizing him and his family without paying any charges for the ſame.

But the affair of the greateſt conſequence in the commercial way which came under the cognizance of the commons this ſeſſion, and with which we ſhall cloſe our account of parliamentary affairs, was the election of a new Eaſt India company.

The many complaints which had been made againſt the Engliſh Eaſt India company's proceedings, together with the great loſſes of ſhips and cargoes during the war with France, which had prevented its making any dividends for ſundry preceding years, had by this time occaſioned a general diſlike in the people againſt that company. This broke out more plainly during this ſeſſion, when the houſe of commons again took the ſtate of the company's trade into their ſerious conſideration, although it had three years before appeared to be ſo delicate an affair, that it had been by the parliament referred to the king and council, and by the latter ſent back to parliament again, who after all did nothing material in the main complaints relating to it. The company therefore now thought it prudent to make ſome propoſals that might engage the government in their intereſt: accordingly they offered to advance ſeven hundred thouſand pounds for the public ſervice at four per cent. intereſt, provided the excluſive trade to India might be legally ſettled on them.

The miniſtry ſeemed inclined to accept this offer, when a certain number of merchants, headed by ſir John Ward, ſir Francis Eyles, ſir Gilbert Heathcote, and Mr. Samuel Shephard, and countenanced by Mr. Montagu, chancellor of the Exchequer, propoſed to the houſe of commons to advance two millions at eight per cent. intereſt, provided they might have the ſaid *ſole* excluſive trade to India ſettled on them. They likewiſe propoſed that theſe ſubſcribers ſhould not be obliged to trade in a joint ſtock, but that if any number of members deſired to be incorporated, a charter ſhould be granted them for that purpoſe. This laſt named propoſal was deemed the moſt eligible; and accordingly a bill was brought into parliament in favour of the new adventurers, which quickly paſſed the commons; but when it was ſent up to the lords, the old company (for ſuch we muſt now begin to call them) followed it thither, where they were heard by their counſel, ſir Thomas Powis and ſir Bartholomew Shower, who pleaded their excluſive charters, which, amongſt other great privileges, ſtiled them lords proprietors of Bombay and St. Helena. They alleged, "That the company had actually acquired, at their own ſole expence, revenues at Fort St. George, Fort St. David, and Bombay, as well as in Perſia and elſewhere, to the amount of about forty-four thouſand pounds per annum, ariſing from cuſtoms and licences for a number of different matters ſet forth in the pleadings *: that they had alſo erected forts

* Such as ſelling of wines, for fiſhings, for farms of tobacco and betel, for quit-rents, for houſe-rents and garden-rents to the natives, paſſes for country ſhips, tonnage, anchorage, ſalvage, &c. alſo a large extent of lands in ſeveral places. This account of the various emoluments of that company in India is materially inſtructing, as it is not only nearly the ſame as the like emoluments of the preſent company in India, but is moreover explanatory of the nature of thoſe emoluments.

and

and ſettlements, and had procured territories in the iſland of Sumatra, and on the coaſt of Malabar, without which the pepper-trade muſt have been actually loſt to England: that they had alſo a ſtrong fort in the kingdom of Bengal, and alſo many factories, buildings, and ſettlements in divers other parts, having moreover purchaſed of the Indian princes, at high rates, many privileges and immunities; all which they were encouraged to do, out of a firm belief that their ſaid right and inheritance would on all occaſions be objects of the nation's care: that ſince this bill was brought in, the company agreed to ſubmit their preſent ſtock to a valuation of fifty per cent. viz. twenty per cent. for their *dead* ſtock (that is, their forts, factories, and lands) and thirty per cent. for their *quick* ſtock, which they were content even to warrant at that rate; and upon theſe terms the company likewiſe offered to raiſe ſubſcriptions for two millions."

To all this the counſel for the new ſubſcribers replied, "That the old company in reciting their charters had forgot to mention the proviſos therein, That the reſpective kings of England who granted them, reſerved a diſcretionary power to make them void on three years warning: that the king could not grant the trade, excluſive of all others, *ſolely* by his charter, as being directly contrary to poſitive laws; neither had his preſent majeſty in fact granted any ſuch excluſive right: that ſeveral recoveries had been made at law againſt the company for proſecuting ſuch pretended right: that his majeſty's meſſage to the commons in 1692 plainly ſignified that the concurrence of parliament was requiſite for making a complete and uſeful ſettlement of this trade [Here they expatiated on the indirect methods of bribery, &c. carried on by the company's managers to obtain their laſt new charter and regulations, as we have before related.] that it never was eſteemed a breach of public faith, nor a derogation from the great ſeal, or from the honour of our kings, to have their patents annulled by parliament, when it appeared that ſuch grants were either unprofitable, or contrary to the common rights of the ſubject; neither did any kings think themſelves bound in honour or conſcience to refuſe paſſing an act of parliament for the annulling of ſuch grants: that moreover kings having been often deceived in ſuch grants, they have even been frequently annulled by the ordinary courſe of law."

It was on the other hand again farther replied and urged, in behalf of the old company, "That the properties of many families, widows, and orphans, were greatly affected by the bill now depending, which they ſaid made no proviſion for a determined ſtock; inſomuch that it may hereafter happen that the trade may be loſt to the nation for want of a ſufficient capital to carry it on; it appearing by thirty years experience, that it requires at leaſt ſix hundred thouſand pounds per annum to carry on this trade in its full extent: that by this bill the new ſubſcribers are permitted to trade during the three years to Michaelmas 1701, as well as the company, which is directly contrary to the charter, and will create great confuſion, and render the ſaid three years allowed the old company of no benefit, becauſe they are ſtill bound to export to the value of one hundred thouſand pounds annually in our own manufactures, although the new ſubſcribers are under no ſuch obligation. The old company are likewiſe obliged to pay taxes to keep up forts, factories, &c. while the new ſubſcribers are to have an equal benefit of the trade, without either: that ſince the laſt ſubſcription in the year 1693, the company have loſt either by accidents, or by the calamities of war, twelve great ſhips, which with their cargoes would have ſold for near a million and an half ſterling; and yet, notwithſtanding ſuch loſſes, they have paid in cuſtoms ſince that period two hundred and ninety-five thouſand pounds, beſides eighty-five thouſand in taxes: that moreover they had ſupplied his majeſty in Holland, on a preſſing occaſion, with ſix thouſand barrels of gun-powder; and had likewiſe, at a time of great extremity, ſubſcribed eighty thouſand pounds for circulating Exchequer-bills, at the inſtance of the treaſury; and that, in fine, many hundred families have their whole fortunes depending in the ſtock of the preſent company, who muſt be utterly ruined if this bill take effect."

The foregoing pleadings contain ſo many articles relating to the hiſtory and conduct of the old Eaſt India company, and to the nature and legality of excluſive charters not ſupported by parliamentary authority, that I could not paſs them over unnoticed. I ſhall now only ſubjoin what was on this occaſion farther alleged againſt the old company, viz. "That the new ſubſcribers to that company's ſtock in 1693 were deluded into it by a charter then obtained by indirect means, as by the hopes of an act of parliament to confirm it, by the old proprietors having valued their ſtock at ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, whereby they ſhared three hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds of the new ſubſcribers money amongſt themſelves; and as they had warning ſufficient, by the tranſactions before the king and council, nobody was anſwerable for their loſs but themſelves."

Theſe and ſuch like reaſons weighing with the lords, and ſome of the leaders of the old company being ſuſpected of diſaffection to the ſtate, or perhaps principally becauſe the new ſubſcribers were the favourites of the miniſtry, the lords concurred with the commons in paſſing the bill, which afterwards received the royal aſſent; the ſubſtance whereof, as far as relates to this ſubject, is as follows:

"That every ſubſcriber ſhould have liberty to trade annually, to the amount of his reſpective ſubſcription, or might transfer ſuch liberty to any other perſon: that his majeſty ſhould be empowered to incorporate ſuch of the ſubſcribers as were deſirous of trading in a body: that the powers and privileges of the Eaſt India company ſhould be ſettled by parliament: that the ſubſcribers ſhould enjoy the eight pounds per cent. and the excluſive right of trading to the Eaſt Indies for the term of ten years, or till ſuch time as it ſhould be redeemed by parliament: that every perſon ſubſcribing to the amount of five hundred pounds ſhould have a vote; and that no perſon, let his ſubſcription be ever ſo large, ſhould have more than one: that all ſhips laden in the Eaſt Indies ſhould be obliged to unload in England: that no perſon who ſhould be a member of any corporation trading to the Eaſt Indies ſhould engage in any other trade to

that part of the world than what he carried on in the joint ſtock of ſuch corporation: that five pounds ad valorem, upon all returns from the Eaſt Indies, ſhould be paid by the importer, to be placed to the account of the ſubſcribers towards defraying the expence of ſending ambaſſadors, and other extraordinary ſervices; and that beſides the duties now payable, a new impoſition of one ſhilling and tenpence, to be likewiſe paid by the importer, ſhould be laid upon all wrought ſilks imported from India and Perſia."

This law then having impowered the king to incorporate all the ſubſcribers into one excluſive community, named the General Society trading to the Eaſt Indies, their charter was dated on the third of September following; and two days after his majeſty incorporated them as one joint-ſtock excluſive company, and their ſucceſſors, by the name of the Engliſh Company trading to the Eaſt Indies. In this charter was the following remarkable clauſe (which proved the means of afterwards uniting the old and this new Eaſt India company) viz. "That *all corporations* and perſons who ſhall derive any right or title from any of the ſaid ſubſcribers or their ſucceſſors, ſhall be eſteemed members of this new company, and ſhall be received and admitted as ſuch *gratis*."

Beſides the Eaſt India trade, the commons took into conſideration that of the African company. It ſeems that the ſeparate traders to the coaſt of Guinea, and other parts of the weſt coaſt of Africa, called interlopers, having a ſuperior advantage over that company, by being at no part of the expence of forts, governors, factors, and other ſervants, had by this time ſo far wormed that company out of the negroe-trade, that they were rendered unable any longer to ſupport the ſaid forts, &c. without the aid of the legiſlature. An act of parliament was therefore paſſed in their behalf, ſetting forth, "That as thoſe forts and caſtles, which are undoubtedly neceſſary for the protection of that trade, have hitherto been maintained at the ſole expence of this company, it is moſt reaſonable that all who trade to that coaſt ſhould contribute towards the ſupport of them: wherefore it was enacted, 1ſt, That for the better enabling the company to ſupport and maintain the ſaid forts and factories, all the king's ſubjects, as well of England as of America, trading to the coaſt of Africa from or between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope, as well as the ſaid company, ſhall pay ten per cent. ad valorem for all the goods and merchandize which they ſhall export to that coaſt, either from England or from America. 2dly, They ſhall pay a like ten per cent. outward, and alſo ten per cent homeward, on all goods ſhipped from or to England or America, and from any part of that coaſt between Cape Blancho and Cape Mount (but red-wood ſhould only pay five per cent.) negroes excepted. 3dly, Gold and ſilver brought from any part of that coaſt ſhould pay no duty at all, but may be freely landed without any entry. 4thly, Separate traders (now no longer to be called interlopers) to enjoy equal protection and aſſiſtance at thoſe forts with the company's own ſhips and people; and they might even (at their own coſt) ſettle factories, and do all other matters there which the company might do."

On the third day of July the king came to the houſe of peers, and cloſed this long and very buſy ſeſſion with a ſpeech; in which he ſaid, "That he entertained the moſt grateful ſenſe of the many marks of zeal and affection which they had ſhown to his perſon and government, particularly in gratifying him with a fixed and ſettled revenue, and enabling him to diſcharge the debts of the crown: that he gladly embraced the preſent opportunity to congratulate them upon the happy ſucceſs of their endeavours for remedying the bad ſtate of the coin, and reſtoring the public credit: that as he had always conſidered the love of his people as his greateſt ſecurity and ſafe-guard, ſo would he ever place his chief glory in promoting their happineſs and welfare; and that he hoped they would be particularly careful, in their reſpective counties, to execute the laws againſt vice and immorality, and effectually to diſcourage irreligion and profaneneſs." The parliament was then prorogued; and as it had now ſat the full period of three years, the term to which, by an act lately paſſed, all future parliaments were limited, it was ſoon after diſſolved.

During this ſeſſion happened ſeveral material occurrences which have been omitted, in order to give the proceedings of the parliament entire.

About the beginning of January this year arrived here the czar or emperor of Ruſſia, Peter Alexowitz, ſince commonly diſtinguiſhed by the name of Peter the Great. This prince having formed a deſign of civilizing his barbarous ſubjects, of introducing arts and ſciences amongſt them, and of rendering the forces of his empire by ſea and land equal to thoſe of his politer neighbours, travelled incognito through moſt countries in Europe for his inſtruction. He was particularly deſirous of eſtabliſhing a marine, and having a fleet in the Baltic Sea: his principal aim therefore was to learn the art of ſhip-building. In the ſummer of the preceding year, 1697, he appointed an embaſſy for Holland, to regulate ſome points of commerce with the States-general, and accompanied his ambaſſadors in diſguiſe as one of their retinue. While he was on this tour he diſcovered himſelf to king William, with whom he had a private interview at Utrecht, and in conſequence of whoſe invitation he now viſited England. He ſtaid here above three months, being lodged and entertained with all the magnificence that could agree with a prince who choſe to remain incognito. He paſſed his time here as he had done in Holland, in viſiting all our dock-yards, and improving himſelf in the knowlege of ſhip-building; to attain which he ſcrupled not to work ſome hours every day as a common ſhip-carpenter, in the various parts of that buſineſs. At his departure king William made him ſeveral magnificent preſents; and among the reſt the veſſel in which he himſelf uſed to go over to Holland, called the Royal Tranſport, a beautiful yacht, and nobly adorned. At the ſame time, in order to cultivate his friendſhip, he was allowed to engage ſeveral Engliſh artificers into his ſervice. He alſo took two of the ſcholars from Chriſt-Church hoſpital (commonly called Blue-coat Boys) and theſe, ſays M. de Voltaire, laid the foundation of the marine academy of Peterſburgh, afterwards founded by the czar. There alſo went with him three captains of ſhips of war, and twenty-five captains of merchant-ſhips, forty lieutenants, thirty pilots, as many ſurgeons, two hundred and fifty gunners, and upwards of three hundred different artificers. This little colony of perſons ſkilful

in all branches, ſailed from Holland to Archangel in Ruſſia, and thence were diſtributed into all the different places where their ſervices were neceſſary. We muſt not forget that he found in England ſome mathematicians, which he in vain ſought for amongſt the Dutch. Ferguſon, a Scotchman, an excellent geometrician, entered into his ſervice, and was the firſt perſon who brought arithmetic into uſe in the public offices in Ruſſia, where before that time they made uſe only of the Tartarian method of reckoning with balls ſtrung upon a wire. Captain Perry, an expert engineer, was likewiſe retained by him; and although that gentleman was diſcontented at not being rewarded in a manner he thought due to his ſervices, yet he acknowleges that Peter had an amazing genius, and was indefatigable in his application: he tells us that he ſoon made himſelf a proficient in aſtronomy; and as to the practical part of ſhip-building, he ſays, that from the caſting of cannon to the ſpinning of ropes, there was not any one branch of trade belonging to the conſtruction or fitting out of a ſhip that he did not minutely obſerve, and even put his hand to, whenever he came into the places where theſe trades were carried on *.

In fine, though that prince is eſteemed by ſome a ſavage tyrant, yet if all allowances are made for his education, and the arbitrary conſtruction of his government, he will be looked upon with veneration by poſterity, having in a manner diſpelled the darkneſs that covered that vaſt tract of land under his dominion, and given his ſubjects a taſte at leaſt of the improvements that had been made by the reſt of mankind. Not content with encouraging the mechanic arts only, he promoted the increaſe of other knowlege amongſt his people, by laying the foundations of ſchools, colleges, and academies, and by building and furniſhing of public libraries: in ſhort, in the compaſs of a few years he brought the rude and uncivilized Ruſſians to make a total alteration in their very habits and way of life; and, perhaps, without the arbitrary dominion he exerciſed, and the rough meaſures he took to bind and force a people who had the greateſt averſion to every thing that was polite, he could never have effected that mighty change in the ſhort time of his own ſingle life; and if he had not, they would have returned to their original barbariſm: but we ſee them, on the contrary, improving every day. Peter, after leaving England, propoſed to make the tour of the other polite courts of Europe; but receiving advice from his dominions that his ſiſter was ſtirring up intrigues againſt his government, he returned ſuddenly to Moſcow (the then capital of his empire) and with great ſeverity, though (we repeat it) perhaps not greater than the nature of his government made neceſſary, put a conſiderable number of the conſpirators to the moſt cruel deaths. But to return from this digreſſion, which I thought owing to the memory of ſo extraordinary a man as czar Peter.

On the third of February died Erneſt-Auguſtus, duke elector of Hanover, and biſhop of Oſnabrug, at Herenhauſen, He was born November 10, 1629, being the third ſon of George duke of Luxemburg and Anne-Leonora, daughter of the landgrave Lewis of Heſſe d'Armſtadt. He was married in 1659 to the princeſs palatine Sophia, daughter to James I. of England, by whom he had ſeveral children. He was ſucceeded by his ſon George-Lewis, afterwards king of Great Britain. The houſe of Hanover began now to be held in much conſideration, as it appeared to be next in ſucceſſion to the Engliſh throne after the preſent royal family, according to the act paſſed in the beginning of this reign, whereby no Roman catholic could inherit the crown of England.

In the beginning of this year the earl of Portland ſet out on his embaſſy to France, and made his public entry on the twenty-ſeventh of February with ſuch extraordinary ſplendor as had never been ſeen in that court ſince the duke of Buckingham's embaſſy, when he came to demand the princeſs Henrietta of France for Charles I. It is agreed on all hands that few ambaſſadors ever behaved with greater prudence, honour, and magnificence, than lord Portland, or was ever ſo much careſſed and reſpected, not only by the king, but all the princes of France. Some time after his public audience he went to Verſailles, where he was lodged in the hotel de Bouillon. Here he had a long converſation with Lewis XIV. in which it has been thought that the project for a partition of the Spaniſh monarchy was opened by the French king.

After the concluſion of the late treaty of peace, wherein his concerns were wholly overlooked, king James ſeemed to be abſolutely abandoned, and paſſed his time very indifferently at St. Germains. We are told that the earl of Portland being at a review of the houſhold troops in the Plain of Arches, where the king and the princes of the blood were preſent, king James alſo came thither, and with him his ſon the titular prince of Wales. This laſt, by his father's direction, endeavoured to join converſation with lord Woodſtock, Portland's ſon, who was ordered by his father to avoid him, as the earl himſelf did all thoſe belonging to the court of St. Germains. At the ſame review James himſelf did all he could to engage the lord Cavendiſh, and the other Engliſh noblemen there preſent, to take notice of him, but in vain. This apparent ſlight could not but be a ſenſible mortification to James, who felt it ſtill farther increaſed, by hearing that lord Portland inſiſted upon his being removed from the French king's preſence, which however Lewis would by no means conſent to, nor to grant any indulgence to the French proteſtants, now under a freſh perſecution; and in whoſe behalf the Engliſh ambaſſador, at the expreſs order of his court, warmly interceded: in ſhort, it was obſerved that no ambaſſador was ever more honoured or leſs ſucceſsful than the earl of Portland, who after a ſtay of four months returned home, without having effected one ſingle point of his embaſſy, which coſt the king near an hundred thouſand pounds. Lord Portland had the additional mortification to find, that during his abſence Mr. Keppel, now created earl of Albemarle, had entirely ſupplanted him in the king's favour, whereupon he reſigned his employment in diſguſt; nor could the king ever after prevail on him to reſume any office in the houſhold. His majeſty however ſtill retained a great eſteem for lord Portland, and

* Voltaire's Hiſt. of the Ruſſian Empire, under Peter the Great, vol. I. chap. ix.

employed him in the management of moſt foreign affairs, for which he was very capable. On the other hand, it is acknowleged that nobleman carried it ſo well towards the Engliſh, that many of the principal nobility held him in great eſteem, even after king William's death.

This winter proved fatal to that ancient and commodious palace of Whitehall, which was burnt down by accident on the fourth of January in the evening, nothing of it remaining next morning but the Banquetting-houſe.

The lord viſcount Villiers, lately made earl of Jerſey, being appointed ambaſſador to the court of France, in the room of the earl of Portland, on the fourteenth of April, marſhal Tallard, the French ambaſſador, ſoon after arrived here, and made his public entry into London on the ſixteenth of May. On the eighteenth of June the earl of Marlborough was declared governor to the duke of Glouceſter, and Dr Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury, preceptor to his highneſs, who was then entering into the tenth year of his age.

By this time a ferment had been raiſed in Scotland, by the oppoſition and diſcouragements their new Eaſt India company had ſuſtained. In purſuance of the act of their own parliament for the ſetting up this company, they had begun to take in ſubſcriptions; but as it was not eaſy to find money enough in Scotland for the carrying on ſo expenſive a deſign, the company's agents endeavoured to procure ſubſcriptions abroad, particularly at London, Amſterdam, and Hamburgh, in which they certainly acted under the ſanction both of the royal and legiſlative authority: but as the carrying this ſcheme into execution gave great umbrage both to the Dutch and Engliſh Eaſt India companies, they took, as was very natural for them to do, the beſt meaſures they could to hinder the ſucceſs of ſuch applications. This however had ſome untoward conſequences, ſince theſe companies could effect nothing but by the interpoſition of their reſpective governments; and by this means king William's name, as king of England and ſtadtholder of Holland, was made uſe of to thwart thoſe deſigns, which actually had his ſanction as king of Scotland; and in the ſummer of the preceding year, while his majeſty was in Holland, a ſharp memorial, ſubſcribed by Mr. Creſſet the Engliſh envoy, and ſir Paul Rycaut, our reſident in the city of Hamburgh, was preſented to that city againſt their engaging to furniſh the Scots with the ſubſcriptions they had applied for: to which the Hamburghers returned for anſwer, "That they thought it very ſtrange that the king of Great Britain ſhould offer to hinder them, who were a free people, to trade with whom they pleaſed; but were ſtill more amazed that he ſhould endeavour to prevent their joining with the Scots, who were his own ſubjects, and to whom he had given ſuch large privileges by ſo ſolemn an act of parliament." This, as may eaſily be ſuppoſed, embarraſſed king William prodigiouſly, and forced him to act in a manner little ſuitable to the dignity of his character: for the Scottiſh company having obtained a copy of the above memorial, preſented a long addreſs to the king upon it, who returned for anſwer, "That he would give orders to his envoy at the court of Lunenburgh, and his reſident at Hamburgh, not to make uſe of his majeſty's name or authority for obſtructing their company in the proſecution of their trade with the inhabitants of that city." This anſwer however ſerved only to palliate things for that time, and inſtead of healing the breach, widened it.

For a parliament being aſſembled in Scotland the nineteenth of July this year by the earl of Marchmont, as king's commiſſioner, the company preſented a remonſtrance, containing a detail of their grievances. The parliament having taken their caſe into conſideration, reſolved to ſupport them in their juſt rights, and reſented the oppoſition made to their trade in ſo high a degree, as to vote, "That the honour and independency of the nation, as well as the credit and authority of parliament, was ſtruck at through their ſides." They even came to ſome threatening reſolutions; whereupon the high commiſſioner adjourned them from time to time, which rendered the nation ſtill more incenſed. Nevertheleſs they proceeded under all theſe diſcouragements, and would have maintained it perhaps, if king William had not prohibited the iſland of Jamaica, and all other Engliſh ſettlements in America, to have any intercourſe or correſpondence with the Scots at Darien, or to furniſh them with proviſions of any kind: but I ſhall have occaſion to treat further of this matter the following year *. We are to enter now into the conſideration of an important concern, and ſuch as has had ſince no ſmall influence on the general affairs of Europe; I mean the negotiation of the firſt treaty of partition.

Count Tallard, afterwards famous for his defeat at Blenheim, and impriſonment in England, was the projector of this famous treaty, which laid the foundation of his future fortunes. After the peace of Ryſwick, the thoughts of Lewis XIV. were all turned upon ſecuring the ſucceſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy on the death of Charles II. which was daily expected; as thoſe of king William were employed to prevent any ſuch ſucceſſion from taking place. William had no forces; but Lewis kept up the ſame number as in time of war, that he might ſeize what he claimed upon the firſt occaſion. It was no wonder therefore that the Britiſh monarch was prevailed upon to liſten to a propoſal for dividing thoſe dominions. His majeſty having declared in council, on the ſixteenth of July, that he intended to go over to Holland, and appointed lords juſtices to govern in his abſence, embarked at Margate the twentieth of the ſame month, and arrived at the Hague two days after. Count Tallard, the French ambaſſador, had orders from his court to attend the king abroad, as if the French were jealous that William was about carrying on ſome negotiations contrary to their intereſt: but this, as it afterwards appeared, was only a blind; for after his majeſty arrived in Holland, the earl of Portland by his orders wrote a letter to Mr. ſecretary Vernon, to be by him communicated to the lord Somers; wherein it was mentioned, "That count Tallard having declared to his majeſty that an accommodation might be found out in relation to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, his majeſty had thereupon ſounded the king of France concerning the

* Kennet. Burnet. Life of William III, and other hiſtorians.

terms

terms on which ſuch an agreement might be brought about, and that the conditions imparted to him were to the following effect: that the electoral prince of Bavaria ſhould have the kingdom of Spain, the Indies, and Low Countries, and all that depended on the Spaniſh dominions, except Naples and Sicily, Sardinia, the province of Guipuſcoa on this ſide the Pyrennees, Fontarabia, and St. Sebaſtian, Ferrol, and the places in Tuſcany, of which Spain ſtood then poſſeſſed, in conſideration of which France was abſolutely to renounce the right it pretended to the ſucceſſion, and Milan was to be given to the archduke Charles, ſecond ſon to the emperor.

His majeſty at the ſame time wrote a letter to lord Somers, ſigned with his own hand, deſiring his advice with regard to the propoſitions touching the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, and commanding his lordſhip to ſend over full powers under the great ſeal of England with blanks for the names of commiſſioners to be filled up occaſionally, that he might immediately begin the treaty with count Tallard. At the ſame time his majeſty was pleaſed to order that none but his lordſhip and Mr. ſecretary Vernon, and thoſe to whom my lord Somers and the ſecretary ſhould think proper to communicate the ſame, were to have any knowlege of the matter. Lord Somers immediately returned the earl of Portland's letter to Mr. Vernon, and deſired him to communicate the contents of it to the earl of Oxford and Mr. Charles Montagu, two of the then lords juſtices, and alſo to ſuch others as they and Mr. Vernon ſhould think fit, who, in regard to the king's command to have the affair kept ſecret, imparted it to the duke of Shrewſbury only. Some time after Mr. Montagu and Mr. Vernon went down to Tunbridge, where lord Somers then reſided for his health, to confer with his lordſhip concerning this important matter; and the chancellor wrote an anſwer to the king, as the iſſue of their joint deliberation: by which it appeared that his lordſhip was far from approving of the partition-treaty, though he was afterwards impeached in parliament for having adviſed it: but before this letter, which was dated the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, reached Holland, the firſt treaty of partition was ſigned by the earl of Portland and ſir Joſeph Williamſon. By this treaty it was agreed,

I. That the peace of Ryſwick ſhould be confirmed.

II. That in conſideration of the ill ſtate of the king of Spain's health, and for preſerving the public peace, in caſe the ſaid prince ſhould die without iſſue, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with the places then depending upon the Spaniſh monarchy, ſituated on the coaſt of Tuſcany or the adjacent iſlands, comprehended under the name of Santo Stephano, Porto Hercole, Orbitello, Telamone, Portolongo, Piombino, the marquiſate of Final, the province of Guipuſcoa, particularly the towns of Fontarabia and Sebaſtian, and eſpecially the Port Paſſage; and likewiſe all places on the French ſide of the Pyrennees, or the other mountains of Navarre, Alava, or Biſcay, on the other ſide of the province of Guipuſcoa, with all the ſhips and gallies, and other appurtenances belonging to the gallies, ſhould be given to the dauphin, in conſideration of his right.

III. That the crown of Spain, and the other kingdoms and places both within and without Europe, ſhould deſcend to the electoral prince of Bavaria, of whom his father the elector was to be a guardian and adminiſtrator till he came of age.

IV. That the duchy of Milan ſhould be reſtored and allotted to the archduke Charles, the emperor's ſecond ſon.

This treaty was to be communicated to the emperor and the elector of Bavaria by the king of England and the States-general; and if either ſhould refuſe to agree to this partition, his proportion ſhould remain in ſequeſtration till the diſpute ſhould be accommodated; and in caſe the electoral prince of Bavaria ſhould die before his father, then the elector was to ſucceed him in thoſe dominions, and his heirs after him; and if the archduke ſhould reject the duchy of Milan, it ſhould be ſequeſtered and governed by the prince of Vaudemont, and after his death by his ſon prince Charles *.

The deſtiny of a part of Europe, and the one half of America, thus ſettled, Lewis promiſed by this treaty of partition to renounce the entire ſucceſſion to the Spaniſh dominions: the dauphin ſigned the ſame promiſe. France thought to make an addition to her territories. England and Holland had in view to inſure the peace of Europe, by preventing the great Spaniſh monarchy from devolving to the Bourbon family: but all theſe politics were vain. The dying king being informed in what manner his dominions had been torn in pieces during his life-time, was filled with indignation. It was generally expected that upon hearing this news he would declare either the emperor or one of his ſons his ſucceſſor, as a reward for the former not having intermeddled in this ſhameful partition, and that he would make ſuch a will as the houſe of Auſtria ſhould dictate to him. He did indeed make a will, but it was in favour of the electoral prince of Bavaria, whom he deſtined ſole heir to his dominions. The Spaniſh nation, who dreaded nothing ſo much as the diſmembering its monarchy, applauded the diſpoſition its king had made, which ſeemed calculated to ſecure a peace. This hope however proved as vain as the treaty of partition, the prince of Bavaria, who was but an infant, dying at Bruſſels in the beginning of the following year.

The partition-treaty did not ſo entirely ingroſs the attention of William as to make him unmindful of the intereſts of the reſt of Europe; and he exerted his utmoſt endeavours to terminate the war of Hungary, which had raged between the emperor and other powers and the Turks for fifteen years without intermiſſion. About the middle of Auguſt lord Paget and Mr. Colliers, ambaſſadors from England and Holland, arrived in the Turkiſh camp near Belgrade; and a congreſs being opened under their mediation, the peace of Carlowitz was ſigned, in which the Turks ſubmitted to the laws impoſed by the conquerors. The emperor had Tranſilvania; the Venetians had the Morea; the Muſcovites, Aſoph; and the Poles, Caminieck.

* Tindal. Kennet. State Tracts. Life of William III.

All

All Chriſtendom was now happy and tranquil; the ſound of war was no longer heard either in Aſia or Africa; and the whole world was at peace during the two laſt years of the ſeventeenth century: a bleſſing, alas! of too ſhort a duration; for the public calamities were ſoon awakened again. The peace of the North was diſturbed in the year 1700 by two men, the moſt extraordinary the world ever produced, Peter emperor of Ruſſia, and Charles XII. king of Sweden; and that of the South by the death of the king of Spain: but of theſe events in their place.

During his majeſty's abſence the elections for the new parliament were carried on in England with all the appearance of freedom, the miniſtry giving themſelves very little trouble to influence the votes. Nevertheleſs, the returns were generally in favour of perſons of Revolution-principles; but even this parliament, which the court thought they ſhould find ſo much to their ſatisfaction, did not come entirely into their meaſures, as by their proceedings will appear. The parliament ſtanding prorogued to the twenty-ninth day of November, a proclamation had been iſſued by the lords juſtices for its meeting on that day: but his majeſty having been detained by contrary winds and tempeſtuous weather much longer than was expected, did not arrive in England till the third of December, and the parliament met on the ninth, when, going to the houſe, he opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he recommended to them the keeping up ſuch a force as might preſerve that weight and influence they had at preſent on affairs abroad, and their making a further progreſs in diſcharging the debt the nation had contracted by the war; and concluded with recommending the three popular articles, the making proviſion for the poor, the advancement of trade, and the diſcouraging vice and prophaneneſs: but it is obſervable he made not the leaſt mention to the two houſes of the partition-treaty he had ſo lately concluded abroad, and which made ſo much noiſe afterwards. This was induſtriouſly concealed both from the privy-council and the parliament.

King William, in all probability, ſuſpected the French king's ſincerity in accepting ſo ſmall a ſhare of the Spaniſh monarchy for the dauphin, and therefore held it extremely proper to keep a body of troops in readineſs, to compel the execution of the late treaty, in caſe of the king of Spain's death: but it ſeems the parliament, not being acquainted with this negotiation, did not apprehend there was any manner of reaſon to have ſo great an army on foot in time of peace: beſides, the king had greatly offended them by a ſtep he took juſt before his going over to Holland. He had left ſealed orders with his miniſtry, directing that ſixteen thouſand men ſhould be retained in the ſervice, notwithſtanding the vote of the commons, by which the ſtanding army was limited to ten thouſand. The new parliament was ſo irritated at this arbitrary act of the king's, that they reſolved to thwart him in all his demands. Accordingly, without ſtaying ſo much as to take his ſpeech into conſideration, they came to the following reſolution: "That all the land-forces in Engliſh pay, exceeding ſeven thouſand men (and all thoſe conſiſting of his majeſty's natural born ſubjects) be forthwith paid off and diſbanded; and that all the forces in Ireland, exceeding twelve thouſand men (and thoſe his majeſty's natural born ſubjects, to be kept and maintained in the ſaid kingdom of Ireland) be likewiſe forthwith diſbanded and paid off." They then ordered a bill to be brought in upon this reſolution, which was eagerly purſued and carried through both houſes; and by it the French proteſtant regiments, and even the king's favourite Dutch guards, were to be removed out of the Britiſh dominions*.

No words can paint the indignation of William at this conduct in his parliament; he was ſo ſenſibly affected with this inſtance of his ſubjects jealouſy of him, that he actually formed a reſolution of abandoning the government, and had even compoſed a ſpeech, which he intended to have made on the occaſion; he was, however, diverted from this raſh ſcheme, and was at laſt perſuaded, how much ſoever it might go againſt the grain, to give his aſſent to the bill for reducing the army: accordingly, on the firſt day of February, 1699, he came to the houſe of peers, and, inſtead of the before-mentioned ſpeech, he delivered himſelf in the following terms: "I am come to paſs the bill for diſbanding the forces, as ſoon as I knew that it was ready for my aſſent. Though the reduction of the army to ſuch an inconſiderable number may, in our preſent circumſtances, be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences; and though I might juſtly complain of the harſh treatment I have received, in being deprived of thoſe guards who accompanied me into this kingdom, and have conſtantly attended me in all my fortunes; yet, as I am convinced that nothing can be more prejudicial to our common intereſt, than to ſuffer any jealouſy or miſunderſtanding to ariſe between me and my people, I am firmly determined to comply with your requeſt.

"Nevertheleſs, after having thus aſſigned my reaſons for paſſing this bill, I muſt likewiſe, in diſcharge of the truſt you have repoſed in me, declare, that, in my opinion, the nation is left too naked and defenceleſs: it is your duty, therefore, to take this matter into your conſideration, and immediately to provide ſuch a ſtrength as may be deemed neceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom, and the preſervation of that peace which we have ſo lately obtained."

The commons, thinking they had now ſufficiently humbled the king, judged proper to give him ſome inſtance of duty and affection on their ſide; and on the fourth of February preſented an addreſs of thanks, teſtifying "how ſenſible they were of the difficulties and labours he had undergone and ſuſtained, and the hazards he had run in reſcuing their religion and liberties, and giving peace to Chriſtendom: they thanked him for his good-will and affection to his people, and the undeniable

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 92. During the debates in the houſe of commons on this bill, lord Cutts ſpeaking very contemptuouſly of the militia (which body ſome urged were, or at leaſt might be made, a ſufficient guard for the kingdom alone) among other things ſaid, that he would undertake with ten thouſand regular troops to drive all the militia in the kingdom before him. To which another member replied, If ten thouſand regular troops would be too hard for all our militia, ten thouſand would be ſufficient to enſlave us; and for that very reaſon he would give his vote but for ſeven thouſand; in which both houſes concurred. See Parliamentary Debates, vol. iii.

proof he had given of his readineſs to comply with their deſires in parliament; aſſuring him that he ſhould never have reaſon to think the commons undutiful or unkind to him, but that they would always ſupport his perſon and government." The lords alſo concurred in a like addreſs, promiſing to aſſiſt and defend his majeſty with their lives and fortunes againſt all his enemies, both at home and abroad. To both which addreſſes the king returned this anſwer: "that he took their addreſs very kindly; that he was fully ſenſible of their duty and affection, and did not doubt but they would always act in the manner they had expreſſed on the occaſion."

Hereupon his majeſty gave orders for diſbanding the army in England, and reducing them to ſeven thouſand men, which were to be kept on foot under the name of guards and garriſons: however, not being able to bear with the thought of parting with his Dutch guards, who had conſtantly accompanied him in all his military enterprizes, he tried once more to mollify the hearts of the commons, and, on the eighteenth of March, ſent the lord Ranelagh with the following meſſage to the houſe, all written with his own hand:

"W. R.

"His majeſty is pleaſed to let the houſe know, that the neceſſary preparations are made for tranſporting the guards who came with him into England, and that he intends to ſend them away immediately; unleſs, out of conſideration to him, the houſe be diſpoſed to find a way to continue them longer in his ſervice, which his majeſty would take very kindly."

The commons, however, were altogether inflexible; the king was fain to acquieſce, and the Dutch guards were tranſported to Holland. It muſt be confeſſed, that on this occaſion the houſe of commons ſeems to have been guided by a prejudice againſt the perſon of the king and the foreigners in his ſervice; and ſuch an oppoſition in an affair of very little conſequence (that of retaining the Dutch guards only I mean), ſavoured more of clowniſh obſtinacy than of patriotiſm: the fact ſeems to be, that there were numbers who had been inſtrumental in bringing about the Revolution from the hopes of deriving great perſonal advantages therefrom, either by being admitted to a ſhare in the miniſtry, or having their avarice gratified by lucrative poſts; but finding themſelves not rewarded equal to their ſanguine expectations, they had commenced ſecret enemies to the king and his government. William eaſily diſcovered the true motives of their conduct, and took no pains to diſguiſe his ſentiments: "Had I as many places to beſtow (ſaid he one day to lord Sunderland) as there are members in the houſe of commons, I ſhould not know what it was to have my will diſputed."

Harmony being thus reſtored, at leaſt to outward appearance, between the king and his parliament, the latter proceeded to paſs many good acts; they voted fifteen thouſand men, and a proportionable number of ſhips of war, for the ſecurity of the kingdom; and granted one million four hundred and eighty-four thouſand and fifty-five pounds for the ſervice of the year, to be raiſed by a tax of three ſhillings in the pound upon lands, perſonal eſtates, penſions and offices: and as ſome violent Whigs began to charge the parliament with being Jacobitically inclined, becauſe they would not conſent to the keeping up a greater ſtanding army, the commons, to confute this calumny, addreſſed his majeſty to iſſue his proclamation for removing all papiſts, and others who diſowned his majeſty's government, from the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and to put the laws in execution againſt them.

A fleet was ſent, the latter end of laſt year, under the command of vice-admiral Aylmer, into the Mediterranean, with orders to ſecure the galleons, in caſe the French ſhould attempt to ſeize them, on the death of the king of Spain; but for this the admiral certainly came too late, it being the thirteenth of September before he ſailed from Portſmouth; and though his conduct was liable to no imputation in this reſpect, yet there was great blame laid on the board of admiralty for not fitting this fleet out ſooner; and this, among other things, made up part of a charge againſt the management of the navy, by the houſe of commons, in an addreſs they preſented to the king, on the twenty-ſeventh of March this year (1699), wherein they repreſented, "That it is inconſiſtent with the ſervice of the navy, for the ſame perſon to be one of the commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral, and treaſurer of the navy:" at the ſame time pointing at Ruſſel, earl of Orford. To which the king returned a ſoft anſwer, which yet was ſatisfactory enough to this charge: it ran in theſe words, "Gentlemen, I will conſider of your addreſs. It is my deſire, that all ſorts of miſmanagements and irregularities ſhould be prevented or redreſſed; you may be aſſured that I will take the beſt care I can in relation to the navy, the right management whereof is of great concern to the kingdom *."

The earl of Orford, who was at that time at the head of the navy, and who, as all our writers agree, governed pretty abſolutely, on a ſuppoſition that bringing over to the court a body of men, who had been formerly looked upon as ſtubborn malecontents, would juſtify every meaſure that he ſhould think neceſſary for ſo ſalutary a purpoſe, ſaw at what the commons were driving, and therefore very prudently reſolved to abate the edge of their reſentment, by laying down his employments, which he did accordingly: and thereupon a new commiſſion of admiralty paſſed, in which the earl of Bridgewater, the lord Haverſham, ſir Robert Rich, ſir George Rooke, and ſir David Mitchel, were conſtituted lords commiſſioners.

On the fourth of May his majeſty came to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent to the bill for paying the army, providing for the navy, and other occaſions; as alſo to ſeveral other acts, the principal of which were, an act to encourage the trade to Newfoundland †: the act to prevent the exportation of wool out of the kingdoms of Ireland and England into foreign parts; and for the encouragement

* Parliamentary Debates, vol. iii. p. 102.

† Sundry regulations were made concerning the Newfoundland trade and fiſhery, ſuch as, "Its being made perfectly free for all ſubjects alike to trade thither, and to fiſh on its banks. That the firſt ſhip arriving at any of the harbours or creeks of Newfoundland, ſhall be deemed admiral there for that ſeaſon; the ſecond ſhip ſo arriving, ſhall be vice-admiral; and the third rear-admiral; which three admirals ſhall have power to decide controverſies concerning places or ſtations in harbours, ſtages, cook-rooms, &c. there: moreover, every bye-boat keeper ſhall carry two freſh men with him in every fix, viz. one that hath made but one voyage, and one that never

ment of the woollen manufactures of the kingdom of England†; an act for making Billingſgate a free market for ſale of fiſh; an act to enable poſthumous children to take eſtates, as if born in their fathers life-time. His majeſty then cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech to both houſes, wherein he tells them they had ſat ſo many months, that the ſeaſon of the year, as well as their own particular affairs, made it reaſonable they ſhould have a receſs: he took it for granted they had finiſhed all the bills they thought neceſſary, and he had given his aſſent to all they had preſented him; if any thing elſe was wanting to their ſafety, the ſecurity of the public credit, diſcharge of the national debt, the advancement of trade, ſuppreſſing of vice, and employing the poor, which were all the things he propoſed to them at their meeting, he did not doubt but effectual care would be taken of them next winter; and he wiſhed no inconvenience might happen in the mean time: then the parliament was prorogued to the firſt of June, and afterwards by further prorogations to November following.

During this ſeſſion of parliament, Henry d'Auverquerque, eldeſt ſon to Henry de Naſſau d'Auverquerque, maſter of the horſe to king William, was created earl of Grantham. On the twenty-eighth of March, 1699, Edward, earl of Warwick, was brought to his trial in Weſtminſter-hall, before the houſe of peers, for the murder of Richard Coote, eſq. and was found guilty of manſlaughter; and on the twenty-ninth of the ſame month, lord Mohun was tried for the murder of the ſame gentleman, and acquitted. The peers ſeemed to be of opinion that lord Warwick was moſt in fault (the affair being a drunken quarrel), by finding him guilty of manſlaughter; and when he claimed the privilege of his peerage (as a commoner does the benefit of his clergy) he was adviſed not to offend again, becauſe he could have the privilege of peerage but once.

The duke of Shrewſbury, ſecretary of ſtate, finding his health decline, reſigned that poſt, in order to travel into Italy, and was ſucceeded, on the fourteenth of May, by the earl of Jerſey; and on the eighteenth of the ſame month the king declared Thomas, earl of Pembroke, lord-preſident of the council, and John, lord viſcount Lonſdale, lord privy-ſeal. On the twenty firſt his majeſty nominated lords-juſtices for the management of public affairs in his abſence, and embarking the day after, at Margate, he landed at Orange Polder, in Holland, on the third of June, from whence he went to his favourite palace at Loo. It does not appear that his majeſty tranſacted any great buſineſs during his ſtay in Holland, unleſs the drawing up memorials, aſſerting his claim to the principality of Neufchatel, in Switzerland, to which the prince of Conti, and ſome others, pretended a prior right.

The Scottiſh company, notwithſtanding the many diſcouragements and repulſes which they had ſuffered in their attempts towards ſettling their foreign trade, were ſtill determined to carry their ſcheme into execution; and accordingly this year they ſent out five ſtout ſhips, and twelve hundred men, with all kinds of implements for war and commerce, in order to effect a ſettlement on the iſthmus of Darien, which is a very narrow tract of country, uniting the two great continents of North and South America, and conſequently very advantageouſly ſituated for trade. As the inhabitants had never been conquered by the Spaniards, and as the new colony ſent thither, was to purchaſe their lands from the native proprietors (the Indians), they apprehended that no diſpute would be raiſed againſt their eſtabliſhment, from whence they promiſed themſelves an immenſe treaſure: and it muſt be owned, that, ſuppoſing all Europe but themſelves to be faſt aſleep, the very advantageous ſituation of their colony, by which they would be enabled to ſupply Peru and Mexico with whatever they wanted from Europe, and in return ſupply Europe with the riches and product of thoſe two opulent empires, ſeemed to promiſe, ſooner or later, the accompliſhment of moſt of the great things they had in view.

Having arrived ſafe at their intended port of Golden Iſland, on the coaſt of Darien, after having treated, on board their ſhips, with the natives, their men, at the requeſt and with the conſent of theſe latter, landed on the fourth of November, 1698, and immediately ſet about erecting a fort, which they called Fort St. Andrew, on a point of land about a league from Golden Iſland, where they found a ſafe capacious harbour; they alſo began to build a new town there, to be named New Edinburgh, as they did the whole country of Darien New Caledonia.

Great were the rejoicings made in Scotland on account of this landing; never conſidering that it would be the evident intereſt of all the commercial nations of Europe to fruſtrate their promiſing plan; for, beſides the then general intereſt of England, conſidered by all men to be in immediate danger from this ſcheme, king Charles II. of Spain was then our ally, and the marquis de Canales, his ambaſſador at London, preſented a very ſharp memorial to king William, on the third of May this year, againſt the Darien ſettlement, which he termed "an inſult of the Scots, in attempting to ſettle themſelves in the very heart of the Spaniſh dominions in America, and what his maſter looked upon as a breach of the alliance between the two crowns." The Dutch likewiſe were extremely uneaſy and jealous of this Scottiſh ſettlement, as tending to ſpoil their contraband trade from Curaçoa, &c. to the Spaniſh and American coaſts; and might in time alſo prove very detrimental to their Eaſt In-

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was at ſea before: [this was obviouſly deſigned for the increaſe of our ſailors.] And every inhabitant ſhall employ two ſuch freſh men for every boat kept by them. Alſo every maſter of a fiſhing ſhip ſhall carry with him one that never was at ſea before for every five men he ſhall carry. And for the preſervation of timber on the iſland of Newfoundland, no perſon ſhall rind any of the trees, nor ſhall ſet on fire any of the woods," &c.

† "I. No wool, nor manufactories of wool, were to be exported from Ireland to any part of the world, but to England, and this only to the following ports, viz. Biddeford, Barnſtaple, Minehead, Bridgewater, Briſtol, Milford Haven, Cheſter, and Liverpoole, from the Iriſh ports alone of Dublin, Waterford, Youghall, Kingſale, Corke, and Drogheda; under forfeiture of ſhips and cargoes, and alſo of five hundred pounds penalty.

"II. The like forfeitures are hereby inflicted on ſuch as ſhall export in ſhips, or carry by horſes, into any other place or colony out of the king's dominions, any wool or woollen manufactories of the Engliſh Plantations in America."

This is the firſt mention in our Statute Book of woollen manufactories in our American plantations.

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dia company: laſtly, the French were no leſs jealous of this company, on the ſcore of their Weſt India commerce, which at that time began to be conſiderable; and Lewis very modeſtly offered to ſupply the court of Madrid with a fleet to diſlodge the interlopers, though at this very time the French themſelves were juſt beginning to eſtabliſh a colony in the bay of Mexico, at the mouth of the great river Miſſiſſippi, always eſteemed a part of the Spaniſh Florida; and were likewiſe extending their late poſſeſſion of the weſt end of Hiſpaniola, a part alſo of the Spaniſh territory.

Thus was king William teized and preſſed on every ſide for the ſuppreſſion of this new company, and was therefore neceſſitated to comply with the urgent deſires of his own ſubjects of England, of the Dutch (whoſe ſtadtholder he was), and of his other allies, to ſend inſtructions to the governors of all our American colonies, forbidding them, under the ſevereſt penalties, to hold any correſpondence with the Scottiſh planters, or aſſiſt them in any ſhape with arms, ammunition, or proviſion. This was a dreadful blow to the infant colony, who had hitherto received ſupplies both from Jamaica and New York, and had depended upon the continuance thereof, till their own from Scotland ſhould arrive; of which now deſpairing, and the Spaniards advancing againſt them, they were glad to accept of a capitulation, and finally to abandon the enterprize, towards the end of this ſummer: it is generally aſſerted, that, out of ſo many ſtout men who went thither, ſcarce one hundred ever got back to Scotland. The condition alſo of the numerous ſubſcribers to this ſcheme was truly wretched and deplorable; many of them had ſuſtained an irrecoverable loſs, and ſome of them were even reduced to abſolute poverty. All theſe calamities greatly inflamed the Scottiſh parliament and people againſt their neighbours of England *.

Mean while king William enjoyed his favourite diverſions of ſhooting and hunting at Loo, where he was viſited by the old duke of Zell, with whom he had long maintained an intimate correſpondence. During his reſidence in this place, the earl of Portland, the grand-penſionary of Holland, and the French ambaſſador, count Tallard, had frequent conferences upon the ſubject of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion; but the event ſhewed, that William, with all his politics, was made the dupe of the French court in this affair; Lewis having nothing more in view, than to amuſe our king with a treaty, in which he ſhould ſeem to act as umpire in the concerns of Europe, until he ſhould be able to accompliſh his purpoſe of ſecuring that ſucceſſion in his own family. With this view he ordered the marquis d'Harcourt, his ambaſſador at Madrid, to exert his utmoſt endeavours in gaining the conſent of his Spaniſh majeſty; or, in caſe he ſhould fail in his attempt, he ſhould endeavour to hinder the ſucceſſion paſſing to any of the emperor's children, purſuant to the will of Philip IV. At the ſame time the French king cauſed ſixty thouſand of his beſt troops to advance towards Catalonia; whilſt a great number of ſhips and gallies cruized along the coaſt, and entered the Spaniſh harbours.

The queen of Spain having diſcovered the deſigns of France, uſed her utmoſt endeavours to diſappoint them, and ſecure the ſucceſſion for the archduke Charles, ſecond ſon of the reigning emperor Leopold, to whom ſhe was nearly related. With this view, ſhe, in concert with count Harrach, the Imperial ambaſſador, new-modelled the council; beſtowed the government of Milan on prince Vaudemont; appointed the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt, viceroy of Catalonia; and conveyed the ſick king to Toledo, on pretence that the air of Madrid was unwholeſome; but in reality with a view of depriving the French miniſter of any opportunity of converſing with his majeſty. Harcourt was too well verſed in the arts of courts not to perceive the whole drift of this journey: he quickly followed to Toledo, under pretence of having a memorial to deliver into his catholic majeſty's own hands; but the queen cauſed him to be acquainted, that the king had left the care of all foreign affairs to the cardinal of Corduba, at Madrid, to whom he might communicate his memorial; the king being being come to Toledo only to recover his health, and not to trouble himſelf about buſineſs.

Harcourt, thus baffled, ſet himſelf to form a party in the Spaniſh council: he repreſented that Philip IV. had exerted his power too far, in diſpoſing of the crown; that the dauphin of France was next in blood †; and the duke of Anjou, his ſecond ſon, who was young, and might be moulded as they pleaſed, would be the propereſt perſon to ſucceed; that, ſhould they be averſe to this propoſal, the king his maſter would rather acknowlege the electoral prince of Bavaria, than conſent to the Spaniſh crown's devolving to the houſe of Auſtria, already too powerful by its late conqueſt in Hungary. This able negotiator farther obſerved, that ſhould Charles II. prefer the grandſon of Lewis, this would not be an invalidation of the ſolemn renunciations to the crown of Spain, made by the mother and wife of the French monarch; becauſe theſe had been made only to prevent the elder ſon of their deſcendants from uniting the two kingdoms together under one rule; and here it was not an elder ſon that was choſen: it was at the ſame time doing juſtice to the right of blood, and preſerving the Spaniſh monarchy from a partition. By theſe and the like repreſentations, added to his prodigious magnificence, his great dexterity at treating, and perfect knowlege in the art of pleaſing, by which the marquis d'Harcourt had won all hearts, and changed into eſteem and benevolence that antipathy which the Spaniſh nation had nouriſhed againſt the French, he gained over to his ſide a great number of the Spaniſh miniſters, and among others cardinal Portocarrero, archbiſhop of Toledo, and the count of Monterey, who had great influence in the councils of that nation ‡.

All Europe being now at peace, king William found no buſineſs of ſtate to detain him on the continent, and therefore returned to England this year, about the middle of October, in order to

* See Kennet, Burnet, State Tracts, and particularly a little treatiſe, entitled, An Enquiry into the Cauſes of the Miſcarriage of the Scots Colony of Darien, 8vo, 1700.

† Lewis XIV. and the emperor Leopold were in the ſame degree of conſanguinity; they were both grand-ſons to Philip III. and had each married a daughter of Philip IV. therefore the dauphin and Joſeph, king of the Romans, eldeſt ſon to the emperor, were doubly in the ſame degree; but the right of primogeniture was in the houſe of France, the king and the dauphin being ſons of the elder daughters.

‡ Volt. Hiſt of Europe. Tindal. Lamberti.

hold a parliament, and receive freſh ſupplies. The parliament meeting on the ſixteenth of November, the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, "That his calling them together ſo early was owing to the abſolute neceſſity of making ſome farther proviſion for the ſecurity of the kingdom by ſea and land; and particularly recommended the repairing the royal navy, and fortifying our harbours: he put them in mind alſo of making good the deficiencies of the funds, diſcharging the national debt, and providing ſupplies for the following year: he hoped (he ſaid) that the nation was already convinced of the good effects of the peace, by the manifeſt increaſe of their trade, which he ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavours to promote and encourage; nevertheleſs, he thought it might receive a farther advantage, by paſſing a bill for puniſhing the unlawful and clandeſtine running of goods; and by employing the poor, who were now become a burthen to the nation: he declared himſelf to be fully aſſured of the love and affection of his people, which he ſhould endeavour to preſerve, by maintaining their rights and liberties, ſupporting the eſtabliſhed religion, diſpenſing juſtice with clemency and impartiality, by countenancing virtue and diſcouraging vice, and by declining no difficulties nor dangers to promote their welfare and proſperity." He then concluded in theſe words: "Since, therefore, our aims are only for the public good, let us act with confidence in one another, which will not fail, with God's bleſſing, to make me a happy king, and you a great and flouriſhing people."

The whole of this ſpeech is truly worthy the mouth of a great and good prince; but ſo unaccountably peeviſh was the parliament, ſo bent upon mortifying their ſovereign in every imaginable inſtance, that they ſhewed themſelves diſſatisfied with his ſpeech, and affected to conſtrue that advice of "acting with confidence in each other," into an implication of a diſtruſt or want of confidence in them: inſtead, therefore, of an addreſs of thanks, the commons, on the fourth of December, preſented a ſort of remonſtrance, in which they tell his majeſty, "That being highly ſenſible nothing was more neceſſary for the peace and welfare of the kingdom, the quieting the minds of the people, and the diſappointing the deſigns of their enemies, than a mutual and entire confidence between his majeſty and his parliament, they eſteemed it their greateſt misfortune, that, after having ſo amply provided for the ſecurity of his majeſty and his government, any jealouſy or diſtruſt had been raiſed of their duty and affection: at the ſame time they begged leave to repreſent, that it would greatly conduce to the continuing and eſtabliſhing an entire confidence between his majeſty and his parliament, that he would be pleaſed to ſhew marks of his high diſpleaſure towards ſuch perſons as ſhould preſume to miſrepreſent their proceedings to his majeſty; and they ſhould, on their part, diſcourage all falſe rumours and reports reflecting on his majeſty and his government, whereby any miſunderſtanding might be created between him and his ſubjects §." To this the king replied, "that no perſons had ever yet dared to miſrepreſent the proceedings of either houſe; and if they had, they would immediately have felt the higheſt marks of his diſpleaſure: and he took very kindly the aſſurance they gave him of diſcouraging all falſe rumours and reports reflecting upon him and his government *."

A patriotic jealouſy and timely oppoſition to the firſt encroachments of arbitrary power, exerted upon proper occaſions, cannot be too much applauded: but the misfortune is, that it has ſometimes been aſſumed and exerciſed without any real cauſe, and has often been employed by artful and deſigning men as a cloak to conceal their own ſelfiſh and intereſted purpoſes. The preſent caſe affords an inſtance of this kind, and it were to be wiſhed that the Engliſh hiſtory were not too replete with ſuch examples. As they had found means to put the moſt odious interpretation upon a very harmleſs expreſſion of the king in his ſpeech, ſo the commons ſhewed themſelves not at all inclined to be appeaſed by the ſmooth explanation and kind promiſes he offered them in his anſwer to their addreſs: they determined to diſtreſs him, by proſecuting his miniſters; and an affair happened about this time which furniſhed them with an excellent pretext for effecting their purpoſe.

There had been for many years loud and very juſt complaints of piracies in the Weſt Indies, which for the ſake of the profit made by purchaſing their ill-gotten goods, had met with too much encouragement from the inhabitants of ſeveral of our plantations. This induced king William, in the year 1695, to appoint the earl of Bellamont, an Iriſh nobleman, and a perſon of great worth and honour, governor of New-York and of New-England. The earl, previous to his ſetting out to take upon him this office, thought it neceſſary to enquire into the moſt proper methods for extinguiſhing theſe abuſes, and repreſented the matter to one colonel Livingſtone, a gentleman of conſiderable property in New-York, as what nearly concerned the honour of that plantation. This induced the colonel to mention to his lordſhip one captain William Kidd, who was lately arrived from New York in a ſloop of his own, as a brave bold fellow, who knew moſt of the pirates haunts, and might therefore be employed againſt them with great probability of ſucceſs. The earl readily approved the ſcheme; and knowing how much the king had at heart the ſuppreſſing theſe piracies, he mentioned it to his majeſty, who applauded the deſign, and recommended it to the board of admiralty: but the public affairs being then in a perplexed ſituation, and great difficulties found in manning the fleet, the board, though they ſignified their approbation of the thing, thought fit to lay it aſide for that time †.

Lord Bellamont, diſappointed in this quarter, propoſed that if his majeſty would give his authority, a ſhip might be fitted out by private adventurers, which would ſufficiently anſwer the intended purpoſe. The king reliſhed this propoſal ſo well, and thought it of ſo great conſequence to the public good, that he himſelf became a ſubſcriber, and granted his letters-patent to Kidd, and thoſe who might join in fitting him out for the expedition, for the ſharing of all profits, prizes, &c. after the reſervation of a tenth part to the crown.

§ Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 106. * Ibid. † Oldmixon. Burnet.

The ſcheme hereupon was immediately carried into execution: the lord chancellor, the duke of Shrewſbury, the earls of Romney, Orford, and Bellamont, ſir Edward Harriſon, and colonel Livingſtone already mentioned, engaged in the project. Six thouſand pounds were ſubſcribed in a few days; and a ſhip of ſufficient force being equipped, the command of her was given to captain Kidd, whoſe commiſſion was drawn in the common form, viz. "To take and ſeize pirates, and bring them to juſtice," without any ſpecial clauſe or proviſo whatſoever. And more clearly to demonſtrate that there was nothing ſecret or myſterious in this expedition, as the diſcontented part of the parliament affected afterwards to believe, we need only obſerve, from the moſt authentic hiſtories of this affair, and even from the trial of Kidd himſelf, that he had no inſtructions, either public or private, only the earl of Bellamont gave him ſailing orders, in which he was directed to act according to the letter of his commiſſion.

But it happened that this man, inſtead of apprehending the pirates, engaged himſelf in the like ſcandalous practice. After having cruized about for ſome time, he at laſt came to Boſton in New-England, where the earl of Bellamont ſeized him and what goods he had left, and ſent advice of what he had done to England, deſiring that a ſhip might be ſent to bring him home. The Rocheſter was accordingly diſpatched for this purpoſe; but ſhe being diſabled by a ſevere gale of wind, was obliged to return. This gave the diſaffected party a handle to charge the miniſtry with authorizing and encouraging a piratical expedition, which they wanted to ſcreen from the knowlege of the public: and ſuch was the intereſt and influence of parties at this time, that an undertaking which was not only innocent but meritorious, was traduced as a deſign of robbery and illicit plunder. Nay, ſo far was this prejudice carried, that on the ſixth of December ſome hot-headed members in the oppoſition made a motion, "That the letters-patent granted to the earl of Bellamont, and others, of pirates goods, were diſhonourable to the king, againſt the law of nations, contrary to the laws and ſtatutes of this realm, an invaſion of property, and deſtructive to commerce *." This motion however, to the credit of the houſe of commons be it ſpoken, was rejected with indignation by a great majority.

The next attempt the Country Party (as they called themſelves) made, was againſt doctor Burnet biſhop of Saliſbury, whom they now endeavoured to remove from his office of preceptor to the duke of Glouceſter, for which they alleged he was utterly unqualified, as well on account of his being a Scotchman, as by his having written the Paſtoral Letter which had been burned by order of the parliament; and in which he had aſſerted that king William and queen Mary had a right to the crown by conqueſt. A motion was accordingly made for that purpoſe, but it met with the fate of the former. The biſhop about this time had publiſhed his noted work, called, An Expoſition of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, of which he himſelf gives a moſt pompous account in the Hiſtory of his own Times; and indeed the good biſhop ſeems, in moſt inſtances that regard himſelf, to have poſſeſſed no common ſhare of vanity and ſelf-complacency.

In the mean time a ſupply was granted for the ſupport of the fleet and army, when it was reſolved to adopt the ſame ſcheme of reduction which had prevailed in the laſt ſeſſion; and it was reſolved on the twenty-firſt of December that ſeven thouſand ſeamen were ſufficient for the naval ſervice of the enſuing year.

But the circumſtance on which the anti-courtiers built their chief hope of diſtreſſing or diſgracing the government, was the Iriſh forfeitures, which the king had diſtributed among his own dependants. This buſineſs had indeed been begun the preceding ſeſſion, and the following perſons had been appointed to take an account of the ſaid forfeited eſtates, viz. the earl of Drogheda, Francis Anneſley, eſq. John Trenchard, eſq. James Hamilton, eſq. Henry Langford, eſq. ſir Richard Leving, and ſir Francis Brewſter.

Upon the report of thoſe gentlemen, made to the houſe of commons on the fifteenth of December this year, it appeared, that the perſons outlawed in Ireland ſince the thirteenth of February 1688, on account of the late rebellion there, amounted in number to three thouſand nine hundred and twenty-one: that all the lands in the ſeveral counties in Ireland belonging to the forfeited perſons, as far as they could reckon, made one million ſixty thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-two acres, worth about two hundred and eleven thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-three pounds per annum, which by computation of ſix years purchaſe for a life, and thirteen years for the inheritance, came to the full value of two millions ſix hundred eighty-five thouſand one hundred and thirty pounds: that ſome of thoſe lands had been reſtored to the old proprietors, by virtue of the articles of Limerick and Galway, and by his majeſty's favour by reverſal of outlawries and royal pardons, obtained chiefly by gratifications to ſuch perſons who had abuſed his majeſty's royal bounty and pardon. Beſide theſe reſtitutions, which they thought to be corruptly procured, they gave an account of ſeventy-ſix grants and cuſtodiams under the great-ſeal of Ireland. As,

	Acres.
To the lord Romney three grants now in being, containing - -	49,517
To the earl of Albemarle in two grants in poſſeſſion and reverſion -	108,663
To William Bentinck, eſq. lord Woodſtock - - -	135,820
To the earl of Athlone (Ginckle) two grants, containing - - -	26,480
To the earl of Galway (Ruvigny) the grant of - -	36,148
To Mrs. Elizabeth Villiers, afterwards counteſs of Orkney - -	100,000

Upon which the commiſſioners obſerved, that after all deductions and allowances, there remained no leſs than a million and an half of money to be raiſed by the ſale of theſe forfeited eſtates. Several animadverſions were made upon this report, and the commiſſioners were charged with very groſs errors and impoſitions, as well in computing the number of acres, as in aſcertaining the value

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 107.

of

of the eſtates. Indeed it appears that they did not agree among themſelves; for three of them, viz. the earl of Drogheda, ſir Richard Leving, and ſir Francis Brewſter, refuſed to concur with their colleagues in the report, and even ſent a memorial to the parliament, explaining the reaſons of their diſſent; but no regard was paid to their repreſentation: the report of the others was approved, and a bill brought into the houſe of commons "for applying all the forfeited eſtates and intereſts in Ireland, and all grants thereof, and of the rents and revenues belonging to the crown within that kingdom, ſince the thirteenth of February 1688, to the uſe of the public:" and on the eighteenth of January, 1700, it was reſolved, "That the adviſing, procuring, and paſſing the aforeſaid grants, was highly reflecting on the king's honour, and that the officers and inſtruments concerned in the procuring and paſſing theſe grants had highly failed in the performance of their truſt and duty." Then it was voted that this reſolution ſhould be preſented to the king, which was accordingly done on the twenty-firſt of February; to which the king, five days after, returned this anſwer:

"Gentlemen, I was not only led by inclination, but thought myſelf obliged in juſtice to reward thoſe who had ſerved well, and particularly in the reduction of Ireland, out of the eſtates forfeited to me by the rebellion there: the long war in which we were engaged did occaſion great taxes, and has left the nation much in debt; and the taking juſt and effectual ways for leſſening that debt, and ſupporting public credit, is what in my opinion will beſt contribute to the honour, intereſt, and ſafety of the kingdom."

The commons were ſo nettled with this anſwer, that they reſolved, "That whoever had adviſed it had uſed his utmoſt endeavour to create a miſunderſtanding and jealouſy between the king and his people *." They alſo reſolved, on the ſeventh of March, that the following commiſſioners, viz. the earl of Drogheda, Francis Anneſley, eſq. John Trenchard, James Hamilton, Henry Longford, eſqrs. and James Hooper, eſq. their ſecretary, ſhould each of them receive one thouſand pounds for their ſervice; and ſir Richard Leving and ſir Francis Brewſter, the other two commiſſioners, each of them 500 l. only, for their expences. Sir Richard Leving they had before voted to be ſent to the Tower for having, in his proteſt againſt the report given by his colleagues, been the author of ſeveral falſe and ſcandalous aſperſions upon their character, &c.

The commons being apprehenſive that the bill of reſumption, which paſſed their houſe on the ſecond of April, 1700, would meet with a ſtrong oppoſition in the houſe of peers, artfully tacked it to the land tax bill, ſo that the one could not be rejected without defeating the other. When the bill came up to the lords, they did not ſhew any diſpoſition to paſs it, on a double account; firſt, becauſe they looked upon it as a reflection upon his majeſty; and, ſecondly, becauſe this method of tacking it to a money-bill, entirely deprived their lordſhips of conſidering the expediency of it. However, the king being in great want of money, is ſaid to have ſent to the lords, deſiring them to paſs it, which they did immediately after. We cannot forbear obſerving, in relation to this affair, that it was certainly a great blemiſh in king William's character, that he was immoderately partial and laviſh to thoſe whom he perſonally loved, of whom the counteſs of Orkney, and the earls of Portland and Albemarle, were the moſt diſtinguiſhed inſtances. It is poſſible the commons might have noticed this partiality, and could not without reſentment behold ſuch prodigious tracts of land given to foreigners; while the duke of Ormond, the earl of Marlborough, general Douglas, general Talmaſh, Cutts, and other Britiſh officers, who were eminently inſtrumental in the reduction of Ireland, had not a foot of land granted to any one of them. It was this conduct that gave an handle to the enemies of his perſon and government, to repreſent him as confining his affections wholly to foreign favourites, and that he hated the company, and even the ſight of Engliſhmen. Certain it is, the Engliſh were not behind-hand in their endeavours to mortify him, which they never ſo completely effected as by carrying this bill: but yet, as if not ſatisfied with their victory, the commons proceeded to abſurd lengths in their career; for they came to a reſolution to addreſs his majeſty, That no perſon who was not a native of his dominions, except his royal highneſs George prince of Denmark, ſhould be admitted into his councils in England or Ireland. This reſolution was levelled againſt the earls of Portland, Albemarle, and Galway: but before the addreſs could be preſented, the king came to the houſe of peers on the eleventh of April; and having paſſed ſuch bills as were ready for his aſſent †, and

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 120—124.

† The bills ſigned by the king this ſeſſion were, An act for taking away the bounty for exporting corn, there having been a great ſcarcity of corn the preceding year. An act for granting an aid to his majeſty by ſale of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, and by a land-tax in England (which was two ſhillings in the pound). An act for laying further duties on wrought ſilks, muſlins, and other Eaſt India goods; and for purchaſing other reverſionary annuities. An act for the more effectual employing the poor, by encouraging the manufactories of this kingdom. An act for aſcertaining the meaſures for retailing ale and beer. An act to enable his majeſty's natural-born ſubjects to inherit the eſtates of their anceſtors, either lineal or collateral, notwithſtanding their fathers or mothers were aliens. An act for preventing frivolous and vexatious ſuits in the principality of Wales and the counties palatine. An act for the further preventing the growth of popery. An act for the more effectual puniſhment of vagrants, and ſending them whither by law they ought to be ſent. An act to prevent any diſpute that may ariſe by officers and members of corporations having neglected to ſign the aſſociation, and taking the oaths in due time. An act to puniſh governors of plantations in this kingdom, for crimes committed by them in the plantations. An act for the more effectual ſuppreſſion of piracy. An act to repeal an act made in the ninth year of his majeſty's reign, entitled, "An act for rendering the laws more effectual for the preventing the importation of foreign bone-lace, loom-lace, needle-work, point and cut work, three months after the prohibition of the woollen manufactory in Flanders ſhall be taken off." An act for the better aſcertaining the tithes of hemp and flax. An act to enable juſtices of the peace to build and repair gaols in their reſpective counties. An act for continuing ſeveral laws therein mentioned; and for explaining the act, entitled, "An act to prevent the exportation of wool out of the kingdoms of Ireland and England into foreign parts, and for the encouragement of the woollen manufactories of the kingdom of England." An act for the better explanation and execution of former acts touching water-men and wherry-men rowing on the river of Thames; and for the better ordering and governing the ſaid water-men, wherry-men, and lighter-men,

and prorogued the parliament to the twenty-third of May.

Among the acts of this ſeſſion a very remarkable one paſſed againſt papiſts, a complaint being received againſt the growth of popery: the ſame was referred to a committee; and when Mr. How the chairman made his report, it was propoſed to bring in a bill to oblige all perſons educated in the Romiſh religion, or ſuſpected to be of it, who ſhould ſucceed to any eſtate before they were of the age of eighteen, to take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, and the teſt as ſoon as they came of that age; and till they did it their eſtate was to devolve to the next of kin that was a proteſtant, but was to return back to them upon their taking the oaths. All popiſh prieſts were alſo baniſhed by this bill, and were adjudged to perpetual impriſonment if they ſhould again return into England; and the reward of one hundred pounds was offered to any perſon who ſhould diſcover a popiſh prieſt, ſo as to convict him. This act obtained the royal aſſent; but as it wanted ſeveral neceſſary clauſes, and was in other reſpects very indefinite, it was not followed nor executed in any ſort *.

Some little time before the prorogation of the parliament, a motion had been made to addreſs his majeſty to remove John lord Somers, lord-chancellor, from his preſence and councils; but upon putting it to the vote, it was carried in the negative. The Tories, however, finding that the king was highly chagrined by the violence of the Whigs during this ſeſſion, had found means to worm themſelves into William's confidence, who indeed ſeems to have been always veering from one party to another, and gave him the moſt poſitive aſſurances, that if he would diſmiſs a few of his Whig miniſters, and admit ſome of their own party, they would ſerve him with greater zeal than ever the Whigs had done. William fell in with their propoſals; and the firſt ſacrifice he made them was the lord Somers, whom they conſidered as the principal leader of the Whig party. Accordingly, the king ſent for that nobleman to court, and told him that it ſeemed neceſſary for his ſervice that he ſhould part with the ſeals, and wiſhed that he would make the doing this appear an act of his own; but that nobleman poſitively refuſed to take any ſtep of that kind, which the world would readily conſtrue into a conſciouſneſs of guilt or miſbehaviour in his office. The king however being determined, the earl of Jerſey was ſent to him on the ſeventeenth of April, with an order to deliver the ſeals, with which he inſtantly complied. Thus was the lord Somers diſmiſſed from this great office, which he had filled with diſtinguiſhed reputation for near ſeven years. The ſeals were committed to the cuſtody of ſir Nathan Wright, one of the king's ſerjeants at law, with the title of lord-keeper.

In the courſe of the late ſeſſion a bill was introduced into the houſe of commons for continuing the old Eaſt India company till the expiration of their charter at Michaelmas 1701. A ſtate of their caſe was at the ſame time publiſhed, in which the equity of their claim was attempted to be proved, and the injuries they had ſuſtained were greatly exaggerated. A violent oppoſition was made to this bill by the members of the new company; but the influence of their great patron Mr. Montagu being upon the decline, the bill was actually carried through both houſes, and at laſt received the royal aſſent; ſo that there were now two rival companies of merchants trading to the Eaſt Indies: and ſuch was at this time the force of party, in a matter which one ſhould imagine ought to be of no party, that theſe two companies divided almoſt the whole nation into the two oppoſite factions of the Old and New Companies; the former generally favoured by the Tories, and the latter by the Whigs, who vented their ſpleen againſt each other in the moſt bitter invectives.

Beſides the affairs of England, the king found himſelf extremely perplexed by the remonſtrances of the Scots in behalf of *their* India company. The houſe of peers had, during the ſeſſion, addreſſed his majeſty againſt the Scottiſh ſettlement at Darien in America, but the commons did not think fit to join with them in that addreſs. The king anſwered the lords by propoſing a union between the two kingdoms, as the only effectual way to prevent all diſputes of this nature for the future; and the lords accordingly brought in a bill for authorizing commiſſioners of England to treat with commiſſioners of Scotland on that ſubject; but the commons refuſing their concurrence, the bill was dropped. In the mean time, the Scots drew up an addreſs to his majeſty, which was ſent about the Scottiſh kingdom, and ſigned by many thouſands; after which it was preſented to the king on the twenty-fifth of March this year by the lord Roſs, and ſeveral of the principal Scottiſh nobility, who came up for that purpoſe. This addreſs was conceived in a very high ſtrain: it was filled with warm complaints of their having been ſacrificed, and baſely betrayed in that quarter where they were entitled to protection; concluding in this remarkable manner: "Wherefore we in all humble duty moſt earneſtly intreat, and moſt *aſſuredly expect*, that your majeſty will order your parliament of Scotland to meet as ſoon as poſſible, which we doubt not will tend to the honour of your majeſty, and the general good and ſatisfaction of the nation." Upon the preſenting of this addreſs, the commiſſioners intimated to his majeſty, that they hoped he would look upon it not only as a petition for allowing the parliament to ſit, but likewiſe as a teſtimony of the nation's concern for the intereſt of the Indian and African company. His majeſty returned for anſwer, That it would be beſt known in parliament, which could not ſit before the fourteenth of May; but it ſhould ſit then. Accordingly, againſt that time he ſent down the duke of Queenſberry in the character of his high-commiſſioner, charging him with a letter to the Scottiſh parliament, wherein he tells them, That he had purpoſed to hold that ſeſſion in perſon, but that the preſent circumſtances of affairs abroad would not allow it. He expreſſes great ſorrow for the

men, upon the ſaid river, between Graveſend and Windſor. An act for taking away the duties upon the woollen manufactures, corn, grain, bread, biſcuits, and meal, exported. An act for the appointing commiſſioners to take, examine, and determine the debts due to the army, navy, and tranſport-ſervice; and alſo an account of the prizes taken during the late war.

* Burnet.

loſſes their nation had ſuffered in its trade: and after recommending to them the furniſhing proper ſupplies, the encouraging manufactures, and other the like matters, he concluded with aſſuring them that he would maintain their laws, liberties, and kirk (that is, preſbyterian) government.

The Scots however looked upon this as only an evaſive anſwer, and they continued ſtill in violent agitation. An addreſs was preſented to the parliament of that kingdom by the ſhire of Haddington, in which the addreſſers enumerated, with great acrimony, the loſſes they had ſuffered in trade; and in particular complained of the grievous hardſhips the nation lay under, by having a numerous body of forces kept on foot, which occaſioned them, in times of peace, heavy and unneceſſary taxes, while their much wealthier neighbours (the Engliſh) were diſbanding their troops. The Scottiſh parliament now adopted the Eaſt India and African company as a national concern: and upon the reading of this addreſs, and ſeveral others of a like tendency ſent in from different parts of the kingdom, it was moved to reſolve, "That the colony of Caledonia in Darien was a legal and rightful ſettlement, and that the parliament would maintain and ſupport the ſame;" which the high-commiſſioner obſerving was likely to be carried in the affirmative, adjourned the parliament for three days; and at their next meeting for twenty days longer: in ſhort, they were not ſuffered to ſit till the winter following: and their ſettlement at Darien being then ſurrendered to the Spaniards, they could only lament their misfortunes (owing in a great meaſure to their own precipitate conduct and over ſanguine hopes) and ſhew their reſentment by angry ſpeeches and abuſive pamphlets *.

By the death of the young electoral prince of Bavaria, which happened on the ſixth of February laſt year, during the ſitting of the parliament, new intrigues began to be revived again in regard to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. Lewis XIV. king William, and the States-General, diſpoſed once more of that monarchy in idea, and aſſigned to the archduke Charles, the emperor's youngeſt ſon, that part which they had before given to the infant prince lately deceaſed. They gave Milan to the duke of Lorraine; and Lorraine, ſo often invaded and ſo often reſtored again by France, was to be annexed to that crown for ever. This ſecond treaty of partition, which was concluded on the fifteenth of March, N. S. and which ſet the politics of all the princes of Europe at work to ſupport or thwart it, proved as uſeleſs as the firſt. When this treaty of partition was offered to the emperor to ſign, he refuſed, becauſe he was in hopes of having the entire ſucceſſion. This treaty was concealed from the Engliſh parliament and privy-council, as the former had been.

His majeſty having now reſolved to go abroad, was pleaſed on Midſummer-day to conſtitute Edward earl of Jerſey, lord chamberlain; Henry earl of Romney, groom of the ſtole; and the earl of Carliſle was made one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber: the order of the garter was alſo conferred on Keppel earl of Albemarle, the king's new favourite, and on the earl of Pembroke preſident of the council. On the twenty-ſeventh of June his majeſty appointed a regency † to manage the government in his abſence, and on the ſeventh day of July embarked for Holland, where he arrived five days after.

Soon after his majeſty's departure the duke of Glouceſter, the only ſurviving ſon of the prince of Denmark, was taken ill of a fever, occaſioned by overheating himſelf on his birth-day, the twenty-fourth of July, when he entered into the eleventh year of his age. He died on the twenty-ninth of the ſame month, to the inexpreſſible grief of their royal highneſſes, being the laſt of ſeventeen children that had proceeded from this marriage: but the loſs ſuſtained by the death of this young prince was looked upon as irreparable by all who had any concern for their native country, the duke being the laſt of our native princes. It was yet concealed in the myſtic roll of fate, that Britain was to be indebted to the illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwick for every bleſſing and every glory that could make her the envy, admiration, and dread of her ſiſter nations: advantages which ſeem perpetuated to us by the proſpect of a long line of thoſe heroes and fathers of their people.

King William was at Loo when he received the melancholy news of the death of the duke of Glouceſter; ſoon after which the biſhop of Oſnabrug, brother to the duke of Lorraine, the elector of Bavaria, the electoral prince of Brandenburg, the electreſs of Brandenburgh, and the electreſs-dowager of Hanover, attended his majeſty at the Hague, where it was ſuppoſed that the ſtate of the royal family of England by the young duke's death, was taken into conſideration, and the buſineſs of the ſucceſſion to the crown of theſe realms ſo far concerted, as to have it laid before the two houſes at the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament.

In the mean time the peace of the North was greatly affected by a war which had ariſen between the kings of Denmark and Sweden. It will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething as to the grounds of this war, becauſe the part we took in it was very much to the honour of the Engliſh nation, and may ſerve as a laſting leſſon to all our miniſters, that whenever there appears an abſolute neceſſity to ſuccour an ally, it ſhould be done without delay, and proſecuted with vigour, which will not only effectually ſerve him, but ſave ourſelves a very conſiderable expence. Towards the cloſe of the laſt year (1699) ſeveral princes of Germany had entered into a private treaty with the king of Denmark for attacking Charles XII. king of Sweden, at that time a mere lad, and even for diſmembering the Swediſh monarchy. Purſuant to this ſcheme, the king of Denmark (Frederick IV.) was to invade Holſtein; the elector of Brandenburgh was to fall upon Swediſh Pomerania; Auguſtus II. king of Poland, was to attack Livonia; and in caſe the dukes of Zell and Hanover moved to the aſſiſtance of the Swedes, the landgrave of Heſſe and the duke of

* State Tracts. Burnet. Oldmixon.

† The regency conſiſted of the archbiſhop of Canterbury; ſir Nathan Wright, lord-keeper; the earl of Pembroke, lord-preſident of the council; viſcount Lonſdale, lord privy-ſeal; the duke of Devonſhire, lord-ſteward; the earl of Bridgewater, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; the earl of Marlborough, governor of his highneſs the duke of Glouceſter; and the earl of Tankerville, firſt commiſſioner of the Treaſury.

Wolfenbuttle were to cut out work for them. This was an alliance founded entirely upon intereſt, for the Swedes had done nothing to deſerve this treatment. The duke of Holſtein, who had married the king of Sweden's ſiſter, had built ſome new forts in that duchy, which the king of Denmark complained of as contrary to the Condominium which he and the duke had in that territory; and this, it ſeems, was the only ground upon which he entered into the league againſt Holſtein and Sweden. However that might be, young Charles no ſooner found himſelf likely to be attacked, than he ordered his miniſters at our court and at the Hague, to preſs king William before he went abroad, and alſo the States-general, to act in their capacities of guarantees of the treaties made for ſecuring the tranquility of the North, by preſerving there the proper balance of power. At firſt it was thought requiſite only to interpoſe our good offices: but when the king of Denmark overran Holſtein, and the king of Poland firſt attempted to ſurprize, and then beſieged in form Riga in Livonia, it became neceſſary to take other meaſures, eſpecially as czar Peter of Muſcovy appeared inclinable to enter into the confederacy. Biſhop Burnet tells us, that king William was for ſome time in debate with himſelf, whether or not he ſhould take the proper ſteps agreeable to the treaties he was engaged in with the crown of Sweden, without conſulting the houſe of commons; but weighing well the ill humour they were in, and the meaſures they had taken to thwart all his inclinations, he reſolved, as the executive part of the government lay in him, to proceed according to his own judgment for the preſent, and acquaint the parliament with it at their next meeting.

Agreeable to this reſolution, his majeſty, ſoon after the end of the laſt ſeſſion, ſent over a ſtrong ſquadron into Holland, under the command of ſir George Rooke, who in the latter end of May was joined by a Dutch ſquadron; and taking upon him the command of the united fleet, he ſailed for the Sound, where he arrived on the twentieth of June. Here they were joined by count Wuchtmeiſter, admiral-general of Sweden, with a ſquadron he had under his command; and the combined fleets ſoon afterwards bombarded Copenhagen, to the harbour of which the Daniſh fleet, conſiſting of twenty-eight line of battle ſhips, had retired. A body of Swedes then at Bremen croſſed the Elbe, advanced to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Holſtein, and compelled the Danes to relinquiſh the ſiege of Tonninghen, which they had formed. The young king of Sweden, much about the ſame time, made a deſcent upon Zealand, the largeſt and moſt fruitful iſland in the Baltic, belonging to Denmark, and ſituated at the entrance of that ſea*; which enterprize was executed with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs. Charles was the firſt man that landed; and he here diſplayed ſuch marks of courage and intrepidity as filled his enemies with the utmoſt conſternation. This was greatly increaſed, by the diſpoſition he made for laying ſiege to Copenhagen, which ſtruck the Danes with ſuch a panic, that they were glad to avoid the impending danger by an immediate peace; for which a treaty was ſet on foot, under the mediation of king William, at Travendahl: and this being ſignified to ſir George Rooke, he refuſed to let the combined fleets any longer cover the deſcent of the Swedes; and a peace was concluded on the eighteenth of Auguſt 1700, between Denmark, Sweden, and Holſtein, which left Charles at liberty to act againſt the czar and the king of Poland, who had both invaded his dominions at this critical juncture †.

King William's conduct in this whole affair was greatly applauded, and indeed with juſtice; for he at once effectually protected the Swedes, and yet obliged them to accept of reaſonable terms of peace, by which the balance of power was properly preſerved; which, if Copenhagen had been taken, would have inclined too much the other way. Hoſtilities being now at an end, the combined fleets of England and Holland returned to their reſpective ports; and the States-general were ſo ſenſible of the prudent and ſpirited conduct of ſir George Rooke, that they thanked his majeſty for having entruſted him with the command ‡.

About this time the new partition-treaty was communicated by the miniſters of the contracting parties to the other powers of Europe, from whom it generally met with a very unfavourable conſtruction: the people of Spain in particular were exaſperated to the higheſt degree at the inſolence of the three foreign powers who pretended to parcel out their dominions. They had a ſettled hatred to the houſe of Auſtria: the young archduke Charles uſed never to mention the Spaniards but with ſome opprobrious appellation. He ſoon experienced how incumbent it is on princes, as well as private men, to weigh all their words. The biſhop of Lerida, who was ambaſſador from the court of Madrid to that of Vienna, on ſome occaſion of diſlike againſt the Germans, collected thoſe expreſſions, and tranſmitted them with conſiderable exaggerations to his court in his diſpatches. They were made public; and the biſhop of Lerida being ſoon after recalled, on his return to Madrid he doubly increaſed the averſion which his countrymen had to the Germans. The French had engaged in their intereſts the cardinal Portocarrero, the marquis of Monterey, and the marquis de las Balbaſes, with many other perſons of family and diſtinction in Spain: theſe joined together to prevent the diſmembering of the monarchy. Their hatred to the Auſtrian government added a double weight to reaſons of ſtate in their breaſt. They perſuaded the Spaniſh monarch to prefer the grandſon of Lewis XIV. (the duke of Anjou) to a prince who was at ſo great a diſtance from them, and incapable of defending them. The ſcrupulous king cauſed all his divines to be conſulted on this head, who were unanimouſly of opinion with the council; and ill as he was, Charles wrote a letter with his own hand to pope Innocent XII. propoſing the caſe to him. The pope, who thought the liberty of Italy depended upon weakening the houſe of Auſtria, wrote back for anſwer, "That the laws of Spain, and the good of Chriſtendom, required of him to give the preference to the houſe of Bourbon." This letter of the pope was dated July 16, N. S. 1700. Here, obſerves M. de Voltaire, the

* There is alſo a province of the ſame name in Holland, conſiſting of eight iſlands, in the mouth of the Scheld.

† Preſent State of Europe. Life of King William. Le Clerc, &c.

‡ Naval Hiſtory. Lives of Admirals.

pope

pope treated a caſe of conſcience propoſed by a ſovereign as an affair of ſtate, while the king of Spain made a caſe of conſcience of an important affair of ſtate *.

The pope's opinion was ſtrongly ſupported by the remonſtrances of Portocarrero; and the weak prince complied with the propoſal, and made a freſh will in the beginning of October, N. S. by which he bequeathed all his dominions to the duke of Anjou. It was generally thought in Europe that this will of Charles II. had been forged by the cardinal; but if it be obſerved how generally the Spaniards came into this project, and that they delivered up all the Spaniſh territories to the duke of Anjou voluntarily, without any compulſion, it may ſurely be inferred with ſome appearance of truth, that it was the act of the whole nation: but however that was, the king of France ſtill ſeemed to act heartily as a principal in the treaty of partition. His miniſters at foreign courts ceaſed not to ſollicit, in conjunction with thoſe of the maritime powers, the acceſſion of the other powers of Europe. When count Zinzendorf, the imperial miniſter at Paris, preſented a memorial, deſiring to know what part France would act, ſhould the king of Spain voluntarily offer the throne to a grandſon of Lewis; the marquis de Torcy anſwered in writing, That his moſt Chriſtian majeſty would never liſten to ſuch a propoſal.

The partition-treaty was no ſooner known in England, than it excited various and even oppoſite ſentiments in the nation. Some approved of it as the only poſſible means of preventing the Spaniſh monarchy from becoming an acceſſion to the crown of France; and it was on this principle that William engaged in the treaty. Others condemned it as a meaſure which would increaſe the power of France to a dangerous height, and maintained that it was our buſineſs to compel Lewis to adhere to the renunciation which he and his queen had formerly made. The Jacobites greedily laid hold of this circumſtance to render the king odious to his ſubjects; and the general diſtraction that prevailed throughout the kingdom filled them with hopes of being able to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion upon the perſon of the pretended prince of Wales; nay, ſo ſanguine were their expectations on this head, that they are ſaid to have diſpatched Mr. Graham, a brother of lord Preſton, to St. Germains with an overture for this purpoſe, and an aſſurance that the houſe of commons would not ſtand by king William in the execution of the partition-treaty.

In this violent criſis of affairs king William left Holland, and arrived in England on the eighteenth day of October, not a little chagrined at the perplexities in which he found himſelf involved; and in the beginning of the next month he received advice that the king of Spain was actually dead. This was an event he hourly expected, but it was attended with a circumſtance he had little foreſeen; I mean the laſt will of that monarch, by which he had declared the duke of Anjou (afterwards Philip V.) ſecond ſon of the dauphin of France, ſole heir of the Spaniſh monarchy. In caſe this prince ſhould die without iſſue, or inherit the crown of France, he willed that Spain ſhould devolve to the duke of Berry; in default of him and children, to the archduke Charles and his heirs; failing of whom, to the duke of Savoy and his poſterity. He likewiſe recommended a match between the duke of Anjou and one of the archducheſſes.

This will had been kept ſo ſecret, that the count de Harrache, the emperor's ambaſſador, ſtill flattered himſelf that the archduke would be acknowleged Charles's ſucceſſor. He waited a long time for the breaking up of the great council, which was held immediately upon the king's death. At length, ſeeing the duke of Abrantes coming towards him with open arms and a ſmiling countenance, he made ſure that the archduke was king; when Abrantes, embracing him, accoſted him thus; "Vengo ad expeder me de la caſa de Auſtria: I am come to take my leave of the houſe of Auſtria †."

When this teſtament was firſt notified to the French court, Lewis ſeemed for ſome time undetermined whether he ſhould ſtill abide by the treaty of partition, which was very profitable for France, or whether he ſhould accept the will, which was ſo advantageous to his family; and to carry the farce on with the ſame dexterity he had begun it, he cauſed an extraordinary council of ſtate to be ſummoned; the reſult of which was, that Lewis accepted the will. The duke of Anjou was hereupon declared king of Spain in the court of France on the ſixteenth of November, N. S. was proclaimed at Madrid, by the direction of Lewis, the twenty-fourth of the ſame month; and on the fourth of December the new king ſet out for Spain, in company with his two brothers, who attended him as far as the frontiers of France.

Some little time before the deceaſe of the Spaniſh king, pope Innocent died, and was ſucceeded by cardinal Albani, who took the name of Clement XI. This pope was the youngeſt that had for many years been inaugurated, and ſat longer than moſt had done in the liſt of Roman pontiffs, not dying till the year 1721. He was but little acquainted with public affairs, but was very learned; and in ſo critical a time, a pope of courage and ſpirit was thought the fitteſt perſon to fill the Roman ſee.

Lewis XIV. by accepting of the king of Spain's will in favour of his grandſon, had acted ſo directly contrary to his engagements with England and Holland, that he found ſome difficulty in juſtifying his conduct to thoſe two powers. However, he ſent his miniſter the marquis de Torcy to wait on the earl of Mancheſter, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris, with orders to repreſent that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty had duly weighed the occaſion and intent of the late treaty with England, &c. which was to prevent a war with Europe; but finding that the emperor had refuſed to accede

* Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV.

† Ibid. This author alſo gives us the following character of Charles II. of Spain. "This prince was from his birth as weak in mind as body; and this weakneſs had ſpread itſelf through his dominions. It is the fate of monarchies to have their proſperity depend upon the diſpoſition of a ſingle man: Charles II. had been brought up in ſuch profound ignorance, that when the French were beſieging Mons, he thought that place belonged to the king of England. He neither knew whereabouts Flanders lay, nor what places belonged to him there. This king left the duke of Anjou all his dominions, without knowing what he had given him.

thereto, and the duke of Savoy abſolutely rejected the accepting of Naples and Sicily, and there having appeared diſcontentments both in England and Holland againſt the French being maſters of thoſe two kingdoms, in relation to the trade of the Levant; and moreover, none of the princes that the treaty had been communicated to having promiſed more than a bare neutrality, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, upon conſideration of the premiſes, could not but think there was a neceſſity for his accepting what the will of the king of Spain had declared in favour of the duke of Anjou, which ſhould he have refuſed, he ſaid the archduke would have had a double title, viz. from the will of Philip IV. and that of the deceaſed king: that the Spaniards were ſo unwilling to ſee their monarchy diſmembered, that they would defend their whole kingdom to the laſt province, rather than ſuffer the partition-treaty to be executed: that the ſhips which were to be furniſhed by Great Britain and Holland would not be ſufficient for effecting ſuch a purpoſe: that it was certain the treaty was more advantageous to France than the will, which the moſt Chriſtian king had accepted, merely from a deſire of preſerving the peace of Chriſtendom; and that his majeſty hoped that theſe reaſons would ſo far prevail with the king of England, that there might ſtill be the ſame good underſtanding as ever between the two crowns, which was ſo neceſſary for the good and tranquility of Europe.

The ſame topics were employed by monſieur Briord, the French ambaſſador at the Hague: but the States-general ordered Heemſkerke, their envoy at Paris, to preſent a memorial, wherein they teſtified their great ſurprize at his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's having accepted the will of the late king of Spain, in direct contravention to the ſolemn engagements he had entered into with them and the court of England: adding, that as the time limited for the emperor to accede to the treaty was not yet expired, they could never have doubted but that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty would have adhered to his treaties in every article. Lewis in anſwer to this ſent a letter to the States, in which he replied, that the principal deſign of the treaty being to prevent the union of the two kingdoms of France and Spain under one ſovereign, this was effectually provided for by the will, the heirs of the duke of Anjou being rendered incapable of the crown of Spain if they ſucceeded to that of France; ſo that he had ſtill adhered to the ſpirit and intent of the partition-treaty, though he might have departed from the letter *. A memorial to the ſame purpoſe was diſpatched to all the courts of Europe. Soon after, Don Bernardo, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at the Hague, preſented their High Mightineſſes with a letter from his new maſter, notifying his acceſſion. The States however declined giving any anſwer to this, or the French king's preſſing remonſtrances for them to acknowlege his grandſon's title, on pretence that they could not declare themſelves upon affairs of ſuch conſequence without conſulting their reſpective provinces.

The emperor loudly complained againſt the French king for having accepted the will; but in his preſent circumſtances he could do nothing more than complain. The Spaniards, however, fearful that his imperial majeſty might prevail on the maritime powers to join with him in a league to ſet aſide the ſucceſſion of the duke of Anjou, and bring them under the hated dominion of the houſe of Auſtria; and well conſidering their own inability to defend their territories againſt ſuch a confederacy, ſhould it be formed, took the reſolution of throwing themſelves into the arms of France, and depending upon her for protection. In purſuance of this reſolve, the duke of Bavaria, governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, had orders to yield up all the towns and fortreſſes in that country to the French, and admit their troops into the garriſons: the ſame was done in the duchy of Milan. A French fleet was received into the harbour of Cadiz, and another diſpatched to the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Weſt Indies. Thus Lewis XIV. ſaw the kingdom of Spain, America, one half of Italy, and the Low-Countries, fall under his orders, without his having been at the trouble of ſtriking a blow; while all Europe at firſt ſeemed loſt in ſurprize, and unable to beſtir itſelf, when it ſaw the Spaniſh monarchy become ſubject to France, whoſe rival it had been for three hundred years; and the proſpect was the more alarming, becauſe the duke of Burgundy had then no children, and by this means the king of Spain was in time likely to ſucceed to the crown of France. A great part of the Dutch army lay ſcattered up and down in the garriſons of the Spaniſh Netherlands, particularly in Luxembourg, Namur, and Mons; and upon the ceſſion of theſe to the French, and the refuſal of the Dutch troops to acknowlege the new king of Spain, they were made priſoners of war. This ſtroke filled the States with terror and diſmay: they were in a defenceleſs condition, and without an army to oppoſe the progreſs of the French and Spaniſh troops, ſhould they attempt to invade their territories. Theſe conſiderations determined their High Mightineſſes to avert the impending danger, by acknowleging the duke of Anjou as king of Spain; and they accordingly wrote a letter to the French king for that purpoſe; which was no ſooner received than orders were diſpatched for ſending back their battalions †.

France ſeemed now advancing with haughty ſtrides towards an univerſal monarchy; and to add to the calamity of Europe, England, who was the only power capable of protecting and defending the reſt, was at this period weakened and enervated by inteſtine factions and home-bred broils. William burned with indignation at finding himſelf thus outwitted by the French king; and in all probability, had he been able to engage in a new war, he would have revenged himſelf on that perfidious monarch: but, conſcious of his own inability to take a ſuitable revenge, he wiſely diſſembled his chagrin until he ſhould have ſounded the opinion of the other powers of Europe. In the mean time, being heartily wearied with the factious and turbulent ſpirit of the Whigs, he threw himſelf into the arms of the Tories. He now gave his confidence to the earl of Rocheſter, who was the head of that party, and had undertaken for their ſubmiſſion and compliance with the king's will. This nobleman was now appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland; the privy-ſeal was delivered to the earl of Tanker-

* Lamberti, tome i. 193. † Cole. Burnet. Tindal.

ville,

ville, who ſucceeded lord Lonſdale; ſir Charles Hedges was made ſecretary, in the room of the earl of Jerſey; and the lord Godolphin was appointed firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, in the room of Mr. Charles Montagu, who was created earl of Halifax; the management of the commons was entruſted to Mr. Robert Harley, who, tho' of a preſbyterian family, and educated in Whiggiſh principles, had hitherto oppoſed the court with great warmth and ability, on a diſguſt he had taken at not being conſidered at the Revolution in the manner he thought he deſerved.

This new miniſtry, however, upon comparing notes, ſoon found that they had not ſufficient weight of intereſt to carry their points in the preſent parliament, which had been ſummoned to ſit on the twenty-firſt of November, and afterwards prorogued to the fifteenth of January: they therefore perſuaded his majeſty to diſſolve this parliament by proclamation, and to iſſue writs for convoking a new one, which was appointed to meet on the ſixth of February following.

Before the meeting of the Engliſh parliament, that of Scotland, which, agreeable to the king's promiſe, had been convened this winter, notwithſtanding the heats they were in about the miſcarriage of their ſettlement at Darien, and ſome other matters, at length came to this ſalutary reſolve, "That in memory of the great and never to be forgotten deliverance, which it had pleaſed God to give that kingdom by his majeſty; and for that their ſafety and happineſs depended, under God, upon the preſervation of his perſon, and the ſecurity of his government, they would ſtand by and ſupport his majeſty and his government to the utmoſt of their power, and maintain ſuch forces as ſhould be neceſſary for theſe ends." Accordingly, an act paſſed for keeping on foot three thouſand men till the firſt of December, 1702, and another for a land-tax to maintain theſe troops: which done, the commiſſioner produced the king's letter, wherein his majeſty deſired that he might have one thouſand one hundred men on his own account to the firſt of June following, which the parliament readily complied with, and then were prorogued to the ſixth of May. The duke of Queenſberry and the earl of Argyle had exerted themſelves with ſo much ſucceſs in calming the minds of the Scottiſh aſſembly, and rendering them more amicable to the deſires of the government, that king William thought himſelf under a neceſſity of rewarding their ſervices: accordingly, Queenſberry had a garter, and Argyle was made a duke *.

We cannot take our leave of this year without making mention of a glorious victory obtained by the young king of Sweden, Charles XII. over Peter czar of Muſcovy, who had advanced towards Narva with an army of one hundred thouſand men, in order to cruſh the young monarch. At the ſame time the king of Poland inveſted Riga, the capital of Livonia. The old count d'Alberg defended this place with incredible valour, inſomuch that Auguſtus was glad of an honourable pretext for raiſing the ſiege. Riga was full of merchandize belonging to the Dutch: the States general ordered their ambaſſador at the court of Auguſtus to repreſent the matter to his majeſty. The king of Poland did not long reſiſt their importunities, and agreed to raiſe the ſiege, rather than occaſion the loſs of ſo many valuable commodities to his allies: the latter, however, were at no loſs for the real cauſe of this ſtretch of complaiſance. The only thing that Charles of Sweden had now to do, was to march againſt the czar; with whoſe conduct he was the more exaſperated, as at that very time there was an ambaſſador from him reſiding at Stockholm, who had lately ſworn to the renewal of an inviolable peace. The emperor of Muſcovy had indeed publiſhed a manifeſto, which it would have been more to his honour to have ſuppreſſed. He there alleged, as the reaſon of the war, ſome diſreſpect which had been ſhewn him when he was upon his travels incognito, and the extravagant prices his ambaſſadors had been obliged to pay for proviſions. Such were the mighty injuries for which he was about to ravage a whole kingdom with eighty thouſand men! at the head of which he appeared before Narva † on the firſt of October (1700) and immediately laid ſiege to it. Narva was very weakly fortified. The baron de Hoorn, who commanded there, had not above one thouſand regular troops, and yet this immenſe army could not reduce it in ten weeks: indeed the Muſcovites were at that time little better than a body of undiſciplined ſavages forced from their foreſts, and ignorant of all the manœuvres of war.

Charles XII. having croſſed the Baltic Sea with his army, about twenty thouſand ſtrong, advanced with haſty marches to the relief of the beſieged. The czar, who was far from deſpiſing his enemy, employed every art in order to cruſh him: with this view he reſolved to ſhut up Charles between two armies. Nor was this all; a detachment of thirty thouſand men from the camp before Narva were poſted at a league's diſtance from that city, directly in the king of Sweden's road; another body of twenty thouſand was placed at a greater diſtance upon the ſame road; and five thouſand others compoſed an advanced guard; through all which troops Charles muſt neceſſarily force his way before he could reach the camp, which was itſelf ſtrongly fortified. The king of Sweden had landed at Pernau, in the gulph of Riga, from whence he made a flying march to Revel ‡, followed by only four thouſand horſe, and the ſame number of foot. He always marched in the van of his army, without waiting for the rear. He ſoon found himſelf, with his eight thouſand men only, before the advanced poſts of the enemy. He reſolved without heſitation to attack them, the one after the other, before they could poſſibly learn with what a ſmall number they had to encounter. The Muſcovites ſeeing the Swedes advance with ſuch an appearance of confidence, imagined that the whole army was coming upon them. The advanced guard of five thouſand men fled at their

* Burnet. Tindal.

† Narva, a port town of Livonia, on the frontiers of Ingria, or Ingermanland, on the rapid river of the ſame name, iſſuing from the Peipus Lake, and falling into the Gulf of Finland, two miles below the town.

‡ Revel, a port town and city of Eſthonia, a ſubdiviſion of Livonia, at the ſouth entrance of the Gulf of Finland. It is not large, but a rich trading place, and ſurrounded with high walls, deep ditches, and ſtrong baſtions; and it is further defended by a caſtle, with ſeveral towers, ſtanding on a rock. It has a fine harbour, where part of the Ruſſian fleet is commonly laid up.

firſt approach. The twenty thouſand that lay behind them, perceiving the flight of their fellow-ſoldiers, took the alarm, and carried their terror and confuſion with them into the camp. Charles quickly carried all the poſts, and at length appeared with his eight thouſand men, exhauſted by their fatigues, before the camp of the Muſcovites, conſiſting of eighty thouſand men, and defended by one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon; and ſcarce allowing himſelf any time to reſt, he inſtantly gave orders for the attack, which began about noon, on the thirtieth of November, 1700. The Ruſſians ſtood the ſhock for ſome time without flinching; but after an engagement of three hours, the entrenchments were forced on all ſides. Charles purſued the right of the enemy as far as the river Neva, near forty thouſand of the Ruſſians flying like ſheep before four hundred Swedes only, detached in purſuit. The bridge broke under the fugitives, and the river was filled with dead carcaſſes. The reſt returned to their camp, without knowing whither they went: there they defended themſelves for a while; but at laſt their generals ſurrendered to the king, and laid their arms at his feet *.

The left wing of the enemy was not yet entirely routed; but general Waad, who commanded that wing, having heard of the gracious reception the king had given to the other generals, and of his having diſmiſſed with their liberty all the ſubaltern officers and ſoldiers, ſent a meſſage to him, requeſting the ſame favour for the corps under his command. The conqueror granted him his requeſt; and the general, with his Muſcovites, to the number of thirty thouſand, marched uncovered through leſs than ſeven thouſand Swedes. The ſoldiers as they paſſed the king, threw their arms upon the ground, and the officers preſented him with their enſigns and colours. Charles cauſed the whole of this multitude to be conducted over the river. Had he detained them, the number of priſoners would have been at leaſt five times greater than that of the conquerors. After this, he entered the city of Narva in triumph. The czar was not preſent at this battle: it ſeems he had given orders for the march of about thirty thouſand men, who were advancing from Pleſkow. Peter, impatient for their arrival, left his camp to go in queſt of this reinforcement; which having joined, he was advancing by long marches, in full hopes of ſurrounding his enemy on all ſides: but before he had proceeded half way, he received intelligence of the battle of Narva, and of the diſperſion of his whole army. Peter was too prudent to think of attacking, with his thirty thouſand raw and undiſciplined troops, a conqueror who had ſo lately defeated eighty thouſand men in their entrenchments. He returned home with a determined reſolution to diſcipline his troops: in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that at laſt, by long exerciſe, they grew even ſuperior to the enemy †. I flatter myſelf the reader will not be diſpleaſed at this digreſſive account of ſo glorious an action, part of a campaign hardly to be paralleled in hiſtory, in which a king of eighteen years of age only, marched in perſon with a handful of troops againſt three powerful monarchs who had invaded his dominions with formidable armies, and totally defeated all their cruel and perfidious deſigns. But to return to the affairs of England.

The new parliament meeting on the ſixth, was prorogued to the tenth of February, 1701, when Mr. Harley was choſen ſpeaker; and the next day king William made a ſpeech to both houſes, wherein he took notice of the great misfortune the nation had ſuſtained in loſing the duke of Glouceſter, which, he obſerved, had made it abſolutely neceſſary that there ſhould be a farther proviſion for the ſucceſſion of the crown in the proteſtant line; and therefore earneſtly recommended it to their early and ſerious conſideration. The death of the king of Spain, he ſaid, with the declaration he had made with regard to his ſucceſſor, had alſo made ſo great an alteration in affairs abroad, that it required their particular attention; and he did not doubt but their reſolutions thereupon would be ſuch as ſhould moſt conduce to the intereſt and ſafety of England, the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, and the peace of Europe. He deſired ſupplies for the current year, and put them in mind of the deficiencies and public debts which were yet unprovided for; at the ſame time recommending to them the putting the royal navy in a good condition, and of fortifying the ſea-ports for its ſecurity. He alſo recommended the improvement of trade, and making proviſion for the poor; and concluded with exhorting them to proceed in their reſolutions with ſuch vigour and unanimity, as ſhould convince the world that they were united among themſelves, than which, in his opinion, nothing could contribute more to preſerve tranquility at home, and render the nation reſpected abroad.

The elections had gone generally in favour of the Tories, ſo that their party had now a great majority in the houſe: and in order to ſecure their ſuperiority, they took care to expel a great number of Whig members, who had been guilty of corruption in procuring their elections; a practice from which they themſelves, it may be preſumed, were not totally clear. However, the power being in their own hands, their friends were not ſo ſtrictly examined.

The commons having taken the king's ſpeech into conſideration, attended his majeſty with an addreſs, ſignifying their reſolution to ſtand by and ſupport him and his government, and to take ſuch effectual meaſures as might beſt conduce to the intereſt and ſafety of England, the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, and the peace of Europe ‡.

His majeſty having communicated to the houſe a memorial he had received from the States-general, wherein, after having ſet forth their apprehenſion of being attacked by the arms of France and Spain, and the urgent neceſſity they ſhould have in ſo great a danger of the aſſiſtance of England, they requeſted his majeſty to get the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaty in readineſs, that they might rely on them, if occaſion required §. The commons deſired that the treaty between England and the

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* Voltaire's Life of Charles XII. p. 110, 111.
† Idem, p. 117.
‡ Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 128.
§ Cole, p. 320.

States,

States, in the year 1677, might be laid before them; which being done, and they having gone through the ſame, addreſſed his majeſty to enter into ſuch negotiations with the States-general and other potentates, as might moſt effectually conduce to their mutual ſecurity, and the preſervation of the peace of Europe, aſſuring him they would enable him to perform the treaty of 1677 with the States *.

On the ſeventeenth of February Mr. ſecretary Vernon produced a letter in the houſe of commons, that had been intercepted, from the earl of Melfort to his brother the earl of Perth, then governor to the pretended prince of Wales, which ſuggeſted that there were men and arms provided by the papiſts and Jacobites to aſſiſt the French king, if he would make a deſcent in favour of king James. The commons took but little notice of this letter, as no particular perſons were mentioned as concerned in ſuch a conſpiracy: but the lords, to whom the letter was alſo imparted, ordered it to be printed, and then waited on his majeſty with an addreſs, thanking him for his care of the proteſtant religion; deſiring all the treaties made ſince the laſt war might be laid before them; requeſting him to engage in ſuch alliances as he ſhould think moſt proper for preſerving the balance of power in Europe; aſſuring him of their concurrence; expreſſing their acknowlegement for his having communicated to them Melfort's letter; deſiring he would give orders for ſeizing the arms of diſaffected perſons, for removing papiſts from London, and for ſearching after thoſe arms and proviſions of war mentioned in the letter: finally, they requeſted him to equip ſpeedily a ſufficient fleet for the defence of himſelf and his kingdom †.

The credit of Exchequer-bills was ſo lowered by the change of the miniſtry, and the lapſe of the time allotted for their circulation, that they fell near twenty per cent. to the prejudice of the revenue, and the diſcredit of the government in foreign countries. The commons having taken this affair into conſideration, voted that proviſion ſhould be made from time to time for making good the principal and intereſt due on the parliamentary funds; and afterwards paſſed a bill for renewing the bills of credit, commonly called Exchequer-bills.

We have already obſerved that this was a Tory parliament. The king had, in his ſpeech of the eleventh of February, earneſtly preſſed the houſe to provide for the ſucceſſion of the crown, after the demiſe of himſelf and the princeſs of Denmark. Nevertheleſs, no notice was taken of this affair, though of ſo great importance, till the third of March. At laſt Mr. Harley propoſed, that before they ſhould proceed to the nomination of any perſon to ſucceed to the crown, certain conditions ſhould be ſettled as preliminaries, in order to ſecure the privileges of the people. A committee was accordingly appointed to deliberate on this matter; and on the twelfth of March Mr. Conyers reported the reſolution of the committee, when the houſe did then reſolve and agree to the following preliminaries, as heads of the bill of ſucceſſion ‡.

I. That whoever ſhall hereafter come to the poſſeſſion of this crown, ſhall join in communion with the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed.

II. That in caſe the crown and imperial dignity of this realm ſhall hereafter come to any perſon not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the crown of England, without the conſent of parliament.

III. That no perſon who ſhall hereafter come to the poſſeſſion of the crown, ſhall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without conſent of parliament.

IV. That from and after the time that the further limitation by this act ſhall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the privy-council by the laws and cuſtoms of this realm, ſhall be tranſacted there; and all reſolutions taken thereupon ſhall be ſigned by ſuch of the privy-council as ſhall adviſe and conſent to the ſame.

V. That after the limitation ſhall take effect, no perſon born out of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, altho' he be naturalized or made a denizen (except ſuch as are born of Engliſh parents) ſhall be capable to be of the privy-council, or a member of either houſe of parliament; or to enjoy any office or place of truſt, either civil or military; or to have any grants of lands, tenements, or hereditaments, from the crown to himſelf, or to any others in truſt for him.

VI. That no perſon that has any office or place of profit under the king, or receives a penſion from the crown, ſhall be capable of ſerving as a member of the houſe of commons.

VII. That after the limitation ſhall take effect, judges commiſſions be made, quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint, and their ſalaries aſcertained and eſtabliſhed; but upon the addreſs of both houſes of parliament, it may be lawful to remove them.

VIII. That no pardon under the great-ſeal of England be pleadable to an impeachment by the commons in parliament.

Having ſettled theſe preliminaries, the nomination of a perſon as next in ſucceſſion to the crown was naturally to follow. The commons on this occaſion gave a ſtriking proof of the little liking they had to this affair; for they employed ſir John Bowles, who was then diſordered in his ſenſes, and ſoon after became a downright lunatic, to name the electreſs-dowager of Hanover as next in ſucceſſion to the crown. Upon this a committee was appointed to conſider of the bill, and ſir John was of courſe put into the chair: the matter was treated with great coldneſs and indifference for ſeveral weeks; but at length the committee reported their reſolutions, which were, "That the princeſs Sophia, ducheſs-dowager of Hanover, be declared next in ſucceſſion to the crown of England in the proteſtant line, after his majeſty and the princeſs of Denmark, and the heirs of their bodies reſpectively:" and, "That the further limitation of the

* By this treaty we were to furniſh the Dutch with ten thouſand men, and a ſquadron of men of war, whenever they ſhould be attacked.

† Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, ii. 20.

‡ Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 130.

crown be to the ſaid princeſs Sophia and the heirs of her body, being proteſtants." A bill was formed upon theſe reſolutions, which was ſent up to the houſe of lords, where it was expected to meet with great oppoſition. Some objections were indeed made by the marquis of Normanby, and a proteſt was entered againſt it by the earls of Huntingdon and Plymouth, and the lords Guildford and Jefferies. It however paſſed by a great majority, and on the twelfth day of June received the royal aſſent; and ſoon after the earl of Macclesfield was ſent to notify the tranſaction to the electreſs Sophia, who likewiſe received from his hands the order of the garter.

The popiſh branches of the royal family, who were more nearly allied to the crown than the houſe of Hanover, looked upon this ſettlement as a very great hardſhip on them; particularly the ducheſs of Savoy, daughter to the late duke of Orleans, and grand-daughter of Charles I. by the mother's ſide, who was neareſt in blood to the crown after the princeſs of Denmark and king William. She ordered count Maffei ambaſſador of Savoy, therefore, to make the following proteſt in her behalf:

"That Anne of Orleans, ducheſs of Savoy, &c. princeſs of the blood-royal of England by the royal princeſs of Great Britain Henrietta her mother, put ſo high a value upon that prerogative, that ſhe gladly made uſe of the opportunity that then offered to ſet it forth before the eyes of the whole Engliſh nation, as an evidence ſhe drew from thence of having a right to that auguſt throne: that therefore, being informed that it had been reſolved in the parliament then ſitting, having the order of ſucceſſion under conſideration, ſhe repreſented to the king and to the ſaid parliament, that being the only daughter of the late princeſs-royal Henrietta her mother, ſhe was the next in ſucceſſion after his majeſty William the Third, and the princeſs Anne of Denmark, according to the laws and cuſtoms of England, which always preferred the neareſt to the remoteſt line: that her title being thus notoriouſly known and indiſputable, ſtood in need of no farther proof: however, that ſhe thought fit to proteſt againſt all reſolutions and deciſions contrary thereunto, in the beſt and moſt effectual manner that might be practiſed in ſuch a caſe; wherein ſhe complied rather with cuſtom than neceſſity; becauſe ſhe had ſo great an idea of the wiſdom and juſtice of the king and parliament, that ſhe had no cauſe to fear they would do any thing prejudicial to her and her children *."

No regard, however, was paid to this declaration, which was looked upon at St. Germains as an affront to king James, his queen, and the pretended prince of Wales, as no notice was taken of their right; but the ducheſs was ſubſtituted immediately after the princeſs of Denmark; a pretenſion which tended greatly to confirm the ſuſpicion of the pretender's illegitimacy.

His majeſty coming to the houſe on the thirteenth of March, gave the royal aſſent to ſome few acts; and on the ſixteenth, ſecretary Hedges delivered a meſſage ſigned by the king to the commons, whereby they were informed, "That his majeſty having directed Mr. Stanhope, his envoy-extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the Hague, to enter into negotiations in concert with the States-General of the United Provinces, and other potentates, for the mutual ſecurity of England and Holland, and the preſervation of the peace of Europe, according to an addreſs of their houſe; and that the ſaid Mr. Stanhope having tranſmitted his majeſty copies of the demands made by himſelf and the deputies of the States upon that ſubject to the French ambaſſador there; his majeſty had thought fit to communicate the ſame to them, it being his intentions to acquaint them from time to time with the ſtate and progreſs of thoſe negotiations into which he had entered, purſuant to their addreſſes before-mentioned †."

The propoſals inſiſted on by Stanhope and the States-general with France were in ſubſtance as follow: "That the French king ſhould immediately withdraw his troops from the Spaniſh Netherlands: that for the ſecurity of England, the cities of Oſtend and Nieuport ſhould be delivered into the hands of his Britannic majeſty: that no kingdoms, provinces, cities, lands, or places appertaining to the crown of Spain, ſhould ever be yielded or transferred to the crown of France, on any pretence whatever; that the Engliſh ſhould retain the ſame rights, privileges, and immunities, with regard to navigation and commerce in the dominions of Spain, which they enjoyed at the death of his late Catholic majeſty; as alſo all ſuch immunities, rights, and franchiſes, as the ſubjects of France, or any other power, either poſſeſs for the preſent, or may enjoy for the future: that all treaties of peace and commerce between England and Spain ſhould be renewed, and that a treaty formed on theſe demands ſhould be guarantied by ſuch powers as one or other of the contracting parties ſhould ſollicit and perſuade to undertake that office."

The States-general joined in the above propoſals, with this difference, that they demanded as cautionary towns, Venlo, Ruremond, Stevenſwaert, Luxembourg, Namur, Charleroi, Mons, Dendermonde, Damme, and St. Donas, with all their fortifications and appurtenances.

The French, however, having now gotten poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh Netherlands, haughtily rejected theſe propoſals, equitable and reaſonable as they certainly were: and Mr. d'Avaux, the French ambaſſador at the Hague, where theſe negotiations were carried on, returned for anſwer, That the king his maſter had no other reply to return to the demand of the States-general of the United Provinces, than that he was ready to renew the treaty of Ryſwick, which was all the ſecurity the States were to expect. He added, that he had no orders to give any anſwer to his Britannic majeſty's envoy; but if that king had any thing to demand, it might be done by his ambaſſador at Paris, or the French miniſter; and that he had no commiſſion to treat with any but the States.

This being communicated to the commons, they, inſtead of reſenting the treachery and injuſtice of the French monarch, ſeemed to think of nothing but thwarting and perplexing their own; and with this view they began to wreak their vengeance on all thoſe who had any hand in concluding the

* Lamberti, i. 504. † Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 131.

treaty of partition, which they now took under conſideration *. Accordingly, upon receiving his majeſty's meſſage, they drew up an addreſs, which was preſented to the king on the twenty-firſt of March; wherein they thanked him for his gracious meſſages, and at the ſame time begged leave to lay before his majeſty the ill conſequences of the treaty of partition (paſſed under the great-ſeal of England during the ſitting of parliament, and without the advicce of the ſame) to this kingdom and the peace of Europe, whereby ſuch large territories of the Spaniſh monarch were to be delivered to the French king.

This addreſs greatly chagrined the king: however, he thought proper to diſſemble his reſentment; and without taking notice of that part of it which related to the partition-treaty, he returned for anſwer, that he was glad the commons were pleaſed with his communicating to them the ſtate of the negotiations, which he ſhould continue to inform them of, and always be ready to receive their advice thereupon, being perſuaded nothing could contribute more to the happineſs of the kingdom and the peace of Europe, than the concurrence of the parliament in all his negotiations, and a good underſtanding between him and his people.

The topic of the partition-treaty had, it ſeems, been taken up by the lords ſome few days before the commons had aſſumed the conſideration of that affair: the debate was begun by Sheffield marquis of Normanby, and ſome others of the Tory party; and after canvaſſing the ſubject for two or three days, they on the twentieth of March preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, which, as it conveys a full idea of the ſenſe of one part of the nation concerning this famous treaty, we ſhall inſert it here, though it is ſomewhat long.

Their lordſhips therein repreſent to his majeſty, that after having read and conſidered the ſaid partition-treaty of the third of March, 1700, N.S. made with the French king, together with the ſeparate and ſecret articles which he had been pleaſed to communicate to them, they had to their great ſorrow found the matters thereof would be of very ill conſequence to the peace and ſafety of Europe; for that beſides the occaſion it might have given to the late king of Spain to have made his will in favour of the duke of Anjou, if that treaty had taken effect, the prejudice to his majeſty and his ſubjects, and indeed to all Europe, by the addition of Sicily, Naples, ſeveral ports of the Mediterranean, the province of Guipuſcoa, and the duchy of Lorraine to France, had been not only very great, but contrary to the pretence of the treaty itſelf, which was to prevent any umbrage that might have been taken by uniting ſo many ſtates and dominions under one head: that by all the informations they had had of the fatal treaty, they could not find that the verbal orders or inſtructions (if any were given to his majeſty's plenipotentiaries) were ever conſidered in any of his majeſty's councils, or that the draught of that treaty had ever been laid before his majeſty at any meeting of his council; much leſs that it was adviſed or approved of by any council or committee of council: wherefore they thought themſelves bound in duty to his majeſty, and juſtice to their country, moſt humbly to beſeech him, that for the future he would be pleaſed to require, and admit in all matters of importance, the advice of his natural-born ſubjects, whoſe known probity and fortunes might make him and his people entertain a juſt aſſurance of their fidelity to his ſervice; and that in order thereunto he would be pleaſed to conſtitute a council of ſuch perſons, to whom his majeſty might be pleaſed to impart all affairs both at home and abroad, which might any way concern him and his dominions: for as intereſt and natural affection to their country would incline them to wiſh the welfare and proſperity of it, much more than others who had no ſuch ties upon them; and as their experience and knowlege of their country would alſo render them more capable than ſtrangers of adviſing his majeſty in the true intereſt of it; ſo they were confident, that after ſuch large and repeated demonſtrations of his ſubjects duty and affection, his majeſty could not doubt of their zeal in his ſervice, nor want the knowlege of perſons fit to be employed in all his moſt ſecret and arduous affairs; and that ſince it appeared the French king's accepting of the king of Spain's will was a manifeſt violation of that treaty, they humbly adviſed his majeſty in future treaties with that prince to proceed with ſuch caution as might carry a real ſecurity †.

The king being at Hampton-court when this addreſs was voted, the lord-keeper waited on him with it in the name of the upper houſe, when his majeſty was pleaſed to return an anſwer, conceived in the following general terms: "That their addreſs contained matters of very great moment, and he would always take care, that all treaties he made ſhould be for the honour and ſafety of England."

It will however be but fair to preſent the reader with ſome of the arguments on the other ſide of the queſtion, that he may be enabled to form a ſuitable judgment on this important controverſy. The advocates for the partition-treaty alleged, that conſidering the weakneſs of Spain, which had been ſo fully proved in the affair of Barcelona, that crown could not be ſuppoſed capable of making any reſiſtance againſt the arms of France, when freed from a war; ſince, at the time that kingdom was preſſed on all ſides, it had been able with a ſmall army to take that place. If then France, with ſo ſmall a force, could make ſuch a conqueſt, what could be expected from Spain, ſhould he ſend his whole ſtrength againſt them? A fleet before Cadiz, and two ſmall armies marching through Navarre and Catalonia, might without much difficulty make the conqueſt of Spain. The emperor had, by abandoning all other conſiderations to his project of ſubduing the Turks, both exhauſted his own ſtrength, and diſguſted his allies during the war; and at the concluſion of the peace of Ryſwick, he had ſhewn ſo little regard to the honour and intereſts of a prince to whom he was ſo much indebted

* The debates in the commons on this ſubject were carried on with a degree of warmth which ſeemed to have baniſhed all regard to decency or common good breeding. Sir Edward Seymour compared the diviſion which had been made of the Spaniſh territories, to a robbery on the highway; and Mr. Howe had even the inſolence to call it a felonious treaty: an expreſſion which incenſed the king to ſuch a degree, that he is reported to have ſaid, he would have demanded perſonal ſatisfaction with his ſword, had he not been reſtrained by the diſparity of condition between himſelf and the perſon who had offered ſuch an outrageous inſult to his honour. Burnet. Tindal.

† Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, ii. 25. Tindal.

as he was to king William, that very few of the Engliſh ſeemed willing to engage in a new war for him and his family. We were become ſo weary of taxes, and ſo jealous of a ſtanding army, that we had very conſiderably reduced both our land and ſea-forces; and the dangers of the progreſs the French might make, had the Spaniſh king died ſome months before, were too obvious and alarming to require exaggeration. Things being in this ſtate, might it not be fairly inferred that king William, in concluding the partition-treaty, had ſolely in view the preſervation of the peace of Europe? It was aſſerted, that how bad ſoever the partition-treaty might be, it ſeemed ſtill more deſirable to yield up ſome parts of the Spaniſh monarchy than to let France conquer it, or rather take all. It was obſerved, that Spain itſelf, the Weſt Indies, and Flanders, being the branches of that monarchy in which we were chiefly concerned, while theſe were kept entire in the ſame hands, our intereſts could not be ſuppoſed in any great danger. As to the dominions in Italy, though very valuable, it was ſaid that the naval power yet belonging to them were not now ſo conſiderable as they had been ſome years before: nor was it certain that, notwithſtanding the partition-treaty, they would have become a ſure acquiſition to the crown of France, which perhaps would have found as much oppoſition to it as ſhe was like to receive now to her taking poſſeſſion of the whole. The Spaniards had never before this time been guilty of betraying their country; and their coming ſo tamely under the French yoke was ſo little looked for, that till all ſaw it, none could believe it. In fine, the friends of this treaty and of the court ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, that it was the only means to prevent the impending deſtruction of Europe; and that in the making it the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria was ſincerely eſpouſed, and a ſolicitous care uſed that the balance of Europe ſhould not be entirely broken; and at the ſame time England and Holland did not neglect themſelves, but made ſuch a diſtribution as might be leaſt prejudicial to their intereſt *.

On the laſt day of March the king imparted to the commons the French king's declaration that he would grant no other ſecurity than a renewal of the peace of Ryſwick; ſo that the negotiation ſeemed to be at an end. He likewiſe communicated two reſolutions of the States-general, with a memorial from their envoy in England, relating to the ſhips they had equipped with a view to join the Engliſh fleet, and the ſuccour ſtipulated in the treaty concluded in the year 1677, which they deſired might be ſent over with all convenient expedition. The houſe having taken this meſſage into conſideration, on the ſecond of April unanimouſly reſolved to deſire his majeſty would carry on the negotiations in concert with the States-general, and take ſuch meaſures therein as might moſt conduce to their ſafety, aſſuring him they would effectually enable him to ſupport the treaty of 1677.

Though William was by no means pleaſed with that part of this addreſs, which, by confining him to the treaty, implied their diſapprobation of a new confederacy, he received it with his uſual unconcern: he thanked them for the aſſurances they had given him, and ſaid he did not doubt but the readineſs they had ſhewn on this occaſion would very much contribute to the procuring ſuch a ſecurity as they deſired.

On the nineteenth day of April, N. S. the marquis de Torcy delivered to the earl of Mancheſter, at Paris, a letter written in Latin, from the king of Spain to king William, notifying his acceſſion to that throne, and expreſſing a deſire of cultivating a mutual friendſhip between the two crowns. This letter was by the king's orders read in the cabinet-council, where there was a ſhort debate about it; but it was never brought to any farther deliberation there; for king William obſerving, that although the nation were very ready to aſſiſt both the Dutch and the emperor to obtain a ſufficient barrier againſt France, yet they did not at all incline to enter into a war for recovering the kingdom of Spain from the duke of Anjou; therefore his majeſty thought proper, after he had thoroughly weighed all circumſtances, to acknowlege the duke's title to the crown, and congratulate him on his acceſſion, which he accordingly did in a very complaiſant anſwer to his Catholic majeſty's letter, dated from Kenſington, April 17, 1701, O. S.

The emperor was not a little alarmed at this incident: he loudly exclaimed at being thus abandoned by his allies: nevertheleſs he was determined to aſſert his right by force of arms, and had propoſed to ſend prince Eugene with an army into Italy, to take poſſeſſion of the duchy of Milan, as a fief of the empire. The new pope Clement XI. was attached to the French intereſt, while the Venetians favoured the emperor; but they refuſed to declare themſelves at this juncture.

In the mean time, the French king laboured hard, by his ambaſſador count d'Avaux, to perſuade the States-general what a cordial kindneſs he bore them; and ſeveral memorials paſſed between the one and the other: but the Dutch had too dearly experienced the French monarch's pretended love to their republic, to give a ready credence to his profeſſions; and therefore they exerted themſelves in providing for their own ſecurity, by reinforcing their garriſons, and ſolliciting ſuccours from foreign potentates. They alſo wrote a letter to king William, in which they expreſſed the moſt ſincere zeal for the intereſt of England, and earneſtly preſſed that the ſtipulated number of troops ſhould be immediately ſent to their aſſiſtance †. Hereupon the three Scottiſh regiments which

* See Two Letters to a Friend, concerning the Partition-Treaty, republiſhed in the third volume of State Tracts, page 184. Biſhop Burnet was ſuppoſed to have had a hand in them.

† In this letter we meet with the following lively deſcription of the double dealings and treacherous proceedings of Lewis, at the very time he was profeſſing the moſt cordial amity for the States: "We will tell you, ſir, in what condition France puts itſelf, and your majeſty will judge by that if our fear, which re-animates our demands, be ill founded. France, not contented with having taken poſſeſſion of all the places in the Netherlands that remained to Spain, has thrown into them, and cauſes actually every day formidable forces to march thither: they draw a line from the Scheld, near Antwerp, to the Maeſe: they are going to begin to draw ſuch a line, according to our advices, from Antwerp to Oſtend: they ſend a numerous artillery into the places that are neareſt our frontiers: they make, with great diligence, many magazines in Flanders, in Brabant, in Guelderland, and at Namur, which they fill up with all ſorts of ammunition for war and ſubſiſtence; beſides the great ſtores of forage which they gather from all parts: they

which the king had retained in his own pay, were tranſported from Scotland, and the king communicated the letter of the States-general to the houſe of commons, who having taken the ſame into conſideration, came to the following reſolution, "That they will effectually aſſiſt his majeſty to ſupport his allies in maintaining the liberty of Europe; and will *immediately* provide ſuccours for the States-general, according to the treaty of 1677.

The houſe of peers, to whom the letter was alſo communicated, addreſſed his majeſty thereupon in a very warm and affectionate manner, requeſting that his majeſty would not only perform the articles of any former treaty with the States-general, but that he would enter into a league offenſive and defenſive with them for their common preſervation, and invite into it all the princes and ſtates that were concerned in the viſible danger ariſing from the union of France and Spain. They furthermore exhorted him to enter into ſuch alliances with the emperor as his majeſty ſhould think fit, purſuant to the ſpirit of the treaty of 1689, aſſuring him of their reſolution to aſſiſt him in the moſt effectual manner. They concluded, however, with this ſtinging reflection (proceeding from that ſpirit of party which now took poſſeſſion of every breaſt) that it was with great grief they humbly repreſented to his majeſty, that the danger to which his kingdom and allies had been expoſed, were chiefly owing to the fatal counſels which had prevented his majeſty's ſooner meeting his people in parliament. His majeſty was ſo well pleaſed with this diſpoſition in both houſes to concur with his views, that he expreſſed his ſatisfaction in an anſwer to each apart.

The commons, in the mean time, reſumed the conſideration of the partition-treaty, determined to proſecute in the ſevereſt manner the adviſers of it. They had appointed a committee to examine the Journals of the Houſe of Lords, and to report their proceedings in relation to the treaty of partition. Sir Edward Seymour, a violent Tory, was appointed chairman of this committee; and on his report the houſe came to a reſolution, "That William earl of Portland, by negotiating and concluding the treaty of partition, which was deſtructive to the trade of this nation, and dangerous to the peace of Europe, was guilty, and ſhould be impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanours:" and ſir John Leviſon Gower was ſent up to impeach the earl at the bar of the houſe of lords and at the ſame time to acquaint that houſe, that the commons would in due time exhibit articles againſt him. Immediately after which the commons had a conference with the lords; when they deſired their lordſhips to communicate to them what informations they had received of any tranſactions relating to the negotiations or treaties of partition of the Spaniſh monarchy: whereupon their lordſhips delivered to them the two Latin commiſſions of powers granted to the earls of Portland and Jerſey, for negotiating the ſaid treaties, the one dated the firſt of July, 1699, the other the ſecond of January, 1700; as alſo a private paper of lord Portland's, in which ſecretary Vernon adviſes him to negotiate the firſt treaty. The houſe afterwards ordered that Mr. ſecretary Vernon ſhould lay before them all the letters which had paſſed between the earl of Portland and him, in relation to thoſe treaties. Vernon at firſt declined complying with this order, alleging, that this affair containing matters of private import tranſacted by his majeſty, he did not dare reveal the ſecrets of his royal maſter without his permiſſion. The commons growing warm upon this, king William thought proper to order Vernon to comply with their demand, and the papers in queſtion were accordingly laid before them.

It muſt be acknowleged that the conduct of the commons on this occaſion is chargeable with the moſt barefaced partiality. They reſolved to ſcreen the earl of Jerſey, Sir Joſeph Williamſon, and Mr. Vernon, who had been as deeply concerned as any others in this tranſaction, and pointed all their vengeance againſt the earls of Portland and Orford, and the lords Somers and Halifax (Charles Montagu, late chancellor of the Exchequer): nay, ſome of the members had even the mean wickedneſs to tamper with Kidd, who was then a priſoner in Newgate for his piratical practices, in order to perſuade him, through the hopes of pardon, to accuſe lord Somers as having been concerned with him in his enterprize. Kidd, however, as weak and as bad a man as he was, could never be prevailed upon to charge any of the noble perſons who were his owners, with having any thing to do with his proceedings. The other party, therefore, finding him unfit for their purpoſe, left him to the courſe of the law, and he with ſome of his crew were hanged.

In the mean time, the lord Somers underſtanding that the commons were in debate about impeaching him for having adviſed the treaty of partition, his lordſhip deſired to be heard before that houſe, previous to their coming to any reſolution in regard to him. The commons thought proper to grant his requeſt, and on the fourteenth of April his lordſhip was admitted and heard in his defence, when he delivered the copies of two letters to the houſe; the firſt of which he received from the king while in Holland (in 1698) deſiring his advice in the firſt treaty of partition; and the other was his lordſhip's anſwer to it, in which he objected to ſeveral particulars in that treaty, and propoſed other articles, which he thought were for the intereſt of his country. He then obſerved, in his own vindication, that when the treaty was concluded, he conceived himſelf bound to put the great-ſeal to it, by his majeſty's command, in which he had, as chancellor, executed his office according to his duty; and by his letter he had, as a privy-counſellor, offered ſuch advice as to him appeared beſt. His lordſhip then withdrawing, the houſe fell into a long and warm debate upon the juſtification he had offered: at length, however, the Tory party prevailed, and a reſolution paſſed, "That John lord Somers, by adviſing his majeſty to conclude the treaty of partition, whereby large

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they build forts under the cannon of our place. Beſides, they have worked, and work ſtill, continually to draw the princes that are our friends from our intereſt, to make them enter into their alliance, or to engage them to a neutrality at leaſt. In ſhort, by intrigues and diviſions in the empire, they make our friends ſueleſs, and increaſe thoſe of France.

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 133.

territories of the Spaniſh monarchy were to be delivered up to France, was guilty of a high crime and miſdemeanour *. The houſe next ordered ſir Simon Harcourt to go up to the lords and impeach him. Immediately after, they paſſed votes to the like effect againſt Edward earl of Orford, and Charles lord Halifax, and the general impeachment was brought up next day (April 15) againſt all three to the houſe of lords.

Not content with theſe proofs of their hatred and diſlike to theſe lords, and perhaps apprehenſive that they ſhould not be able to make out the charge againſt them, the commons reſolved to go a ſpeedier way to work; and by a proceeding altogether unprecedented, they, ſome few days after the impeachment, drew up an addreſs to his majeſty, which was preſented on the twenty-third of April; wherein, after repreſenting the great ſatisfaction they had to obſerve, in their enquiry concerning the treaty of partition, the great care his majeſty had taken in not entering into that negotiation without the advice of his Engliſh counſellors; and finding that John lord Somers, on whoſe judgment his majeſty chiefly relied in that important affair, did, in concert with Edward earl of Orford, and Charles lord Halifax, adviſe his majeſty to enter into that treaty of ſuch dangerous conſequence, without the advice of his council: "That they might no longer be able to deceive his majeſty, and abuſe his people, they requeſted he would be pleaſed to remove the ſaid John lord Somers, Edward earl of Orford, and Charles lord Halifax, from his council and preſence for ever; as alſo William earl of Portland, who tranſacted thoſe treaties: and concluded with repeating their aſſurances to ſtand and ſupport his majeſty to the utmoſt of their power †."

An addreſs of this nature, after an impeachment formally preferred, was not only againſt all precedents in parliamentary proceedings, but even contrary to the common laws of ſociety, inaſmuch as it was puniſhing before trial. His majeſty ſeems to have ſeen it in its proper light; for he returned the following ſoft and evaſive anſwer; "That he would employ none in his ſervice, but ſuch as ſhould be thought moſt likely to improve the mutual truſt between him and his parliament, which was ſo neceſſary in that conjuncture, both for their own ſecurity, and the defence and preſervation of their allies."

The lords were greatly incenſed at this ſtep of the commons, which they conſidered as an inſult upon their tribunal, and a violation of common juſtice: and although they had themſelves ſaid very harſh things of the treaty of partition, and the manner of tranſacting it, in their addreſs; yet they now thought it neceſſary to preſent a counter-addreſs to that of the commons, wherein they beſeech his majeſty not to paſs any cenſure on thoſe lords, until they were tried upon the impeachment the commons had preferred againſt them.

In fine, that I may not weary my readers with a minute detail of this affair, which laſted for near three months, and the particulars of which may be ſeen in the State Tracts, the Debates of Parliament, and other publications of thoſe times, I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that the commons, fearing that they might fall into diſgrace with the nation, for having preferred impeachments which they could not properly ſupport, uſed every art to delay the trials of the four lords. With this view, they endeavoured to excite a quarrel between the two houſes, by laying claim to a number of unuſual privileges, which they were certain the upper houſe would not allow, and by affecting to cavil at an expreſſion of lord Haverſham at one of their conferences: this circumſtance they laid hold of as a pretext for abſenting from the trial, when a day was at laſt appointed; ſo that the four lords having no proſecutors to appear againſt them, were acquitted, and the impeachments diſmiſſed on the twenty-fourth day of June; and at the ſame time the lords diſcharged an impeachment which had been lodged againſt the duke of Leeds ſome years before by the commons, which they had not proſecuted.

While theſe matters were upon the carpet, the Whig party omitted no endeavours to vilify and depreciate their adverſaries in the minds of the people: they openly charged them with being penſioners to the French king, whoſe intereſt they eſpouſed on all occaſions: they repreſented them as implacable enemies to the preſent government; and that all their views and actions tended ultimately to the reſtoration of the abdicated king and his family. They even went ſo far as to try to procure petitions from the city of London, and ſeveral of the principal counties in England, to expreſs their diſſatisfaction at the proceedings of the houſe of commons and the preſent miniſtry; by which they hoped to have procured a revolution in behalf of their own party. Their endeavours in this reſpect, however, failed in general: the county of Kent alone could be prevailed on to ſend up an addreſs, or petition, as it was ſtiled, which being a very extraordinary one in its kind, I ſhall here inſert a copy.

"We the gentlemen, juſtices of the peace, grand jury, and other freeholders, at the general quarter-ſeſſions of peace at Maidſtone in Kent, deeply concerned at the dangerous eſtate of this kingdom, and of all Europe; and conſidering that the fate of us and our poſterity depends upon the wiſdom of our repreſentatives in parliament, think ourſelves bound in duty humbly to lay before this honourable houſe the conſequences in this conjuncture, of your ſpeedy reſolution and moſt ſincere endeavour to anſwer the great truſt repoſed in you by your country.

"And in regard that from the experience of all ages, it is manifeſt that no nation can be great or happy without union, we hope that no pretence whatever ſhall be able to create a miſunderſtanding among ourſelves, or the leaſt diſtruſt of his moſt ſacred majeſty, whoſe great actions for this nation are writ in the hearts of his ſubjects, and can never, without the blackeſt ingratitude, be forgot.

"We moſt humbly implore this honourable houſe to have regard to the voice of the people, that our religion and ſafety may be effectually provided for; that your loyal addreſſes may be turned into bills of ſupply; and that his moſt ſacred majeſty (whoſe propitious and unblemiſhed reign

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 134.

† Ibid. iii. 137.

over us we pray God long to continue) may be enabled powerfully to aſſiſt his allies before it is too late."

This petition, which it muſt be confeſſed was a moſt indecent reflection upon the houſe of commons, was ſigned by the deputy-lieutenants of the county, ſeveral juſtices of the peace, all the grand-jury, and other freeholders, and was boldly delivered to the houſe of commons on the eighth of May, by David Polhill, William Colepepper, Thomas Colepepper, Juſtinian Champney, and William Hamilton, eſquires. Upon being called in, and queſtioned at the bar of the houſe, they owned the petition, and their hands to it: after which they were ordered to withdraw; and the houſe taking the petition into conſideration, voted it to be a ſcandalous, inſolent, and ſeditious libel, tending to deſtroy the conſtitution of parliaments, and to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed government of theſe realms; and ordered the five perſons who had preſented it to be taken into cuſtody, as promoters of the ſaid petition *.

Loud were the outcries raiſed by the Whigs at this tyrannical exertion of power, as they called it, in the commons; and the impriſoned gentlemen were viſited in their confinement by all the leading men of that party, who affected to treat them as martyrs to the liberties and privileges of the people; though, as Dr. Drake very juſtly obſerves, in his Hiſtory of this Parliament, the commons would have been wanting in their duty to the people, whoſe repreſentatives they are, if they had tamely put up with ſuch an inſult upon their authority, without ſhewing their reſentment, and thereby deterring others from following an example of ſo dangerous conſequence.

The confinement of the preſenters, however, added fewel to the flame which had been blown up among the people; and ſoon after a paper came out, ſuppoſed to have been drawn up by one Daniel de Foe, a ſcurrilous party-writer of thoſe times, entitled, A Memorial from the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the Counties of —— in Behalf of themſelves, and many thouſands of the good People of England. It was ſigned, Legion; and ſent with a letter to the ſpeaker, commanding him, in the name of two hundred thouſand Engliſhmen, to deliver it to the houſe of commons. The letter and the memorial are both of them too extraordinary for us to with-hold from the reader: the former was conceived in the following terms:

Mr. Speaker,

"The incloſed memorial you are charged with, in behalf of many thouſands of the good people of England.

"There is neither popiſh, Jacobite, ſeditious, court or party intereſt in it, but honeſty and truth.

"You are commanded by two hundred thouſand Engliſhmen to deliver it to the h—— of c——; and to inform them it is no banter, but ſerious truth, and a ſerious regard to it is expected: nothing but juſtice and their duty is required; and it is required by them who have both a right to require, and power to compel, viz. the people of England.

"We could have come to the houſe ſtrong enough to oblige them to hear us, but we have avoided any tumult, not deſiring to embroil, but to ſave our native country.

"If you refuſe to communicate it to them, you will find cauſe in a ſhort time to repent it."

To R——t H——y, eſq; ſ——r to the h—— of c——s.

The memorial was in ſubſtance as follows. It began with this maxim, "That whatever power is above law, is burthenſome and tyrannical, and may be reduced by extrajudicial methods." It charged the commons with breach of faith, in not paying the public debts contracted on the ſecurity of their acts: with impriſoning gentlemen who were none of their members, and who, at the command of the people (whoſe ſervants the commons were) came to put them in mind of their duty, declaring that it was the undoubted right of the people of England, in caſe their repreſentatives in parliament did not proceed according to their duty and the people's intereſt, to inform them of their diſlike, diſown their actions, and direct them as they thought fit: it particularly cenſured the commons for voting the partition-treaty fatal to Europe becauſe it gave too great a part of the Spaniſh dominions to the French; and yet taking no ſteps to prevent their poſſeſſing the whole, &c. &c. It likewiſe contained a new clauſe of rights, digeſted under ſeven heads; and the commons were admoniſhed to act according to their duty, as ſpecified in this memorial, on pain of incurring the reſentment of an injured nation. This ſtrange expoſtulation concluded thus; "For Engliſhmen are no more to be ſlaves to parliaments than to kings: our name is LEGION, and we are many †."

On the twelfth day of June his majeſty came to the houſe, and gave the royal aſſent to the act of ſucceſſion, intitled, An act for the farther Limitation of the Crown, and better ſecuring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject; and to ſome other acts ‡. On this occaſion his majeſty made a ſpeech, wherein he expreſſed his warm acknowlegements to both houſes, for the care they had taken to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion of the crown in the proteſtant line, and for their repeated aſſurances of ſupporting him in ſuch alliances as ſhould be for the preſervation of the liberty of Europe, and the ſecurity of England and Holland; and putting them in mind that the ſeaſon of the year required his preſence abroad, recommended diſpatch in the buſineſs before them.

The commons, though exceedingly provoked by the remonſtrance lately preſented them, thought it beneath their dignity to take notice of it in the houſe; but in order to guard againſt conſequences,

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 140. Burnet.

† State Tracts. Burnet. Oldmixon. Kennet.

‡ Viz. An act for preventing the inconveniencies that may happen by privilege of parliament. An act for continuing the acts therein mentioned for preventing theft and rapine upon the northern borders of England. An act for appointing wardens and aſſay-maſters for aſſaying wrought plate in the cities of Exeter, York, Briſtol, Cheſter, and Norwich. An act for continuing a former act to prevent falſe and double returns of members to ſerve in parliament. An act for the better ſettling and preſerving the library kept in the houſe at Weſtminſter, called Cotton-Houſe, in the name and family of the Cottons, for the benefit of the public; and to ſeveral other private acts.

they drew up an addreſs to his majeſty, repreſenting, That ſeveral diſaffected and evil-minded perſons having gone about to raiſe tumults in ſeveral parts of the kingdom to diſturb the public tranquility, they therefore humbly beſought his majeſty to provide for the public peace and ſecurity. They appear however to have been not a little intimidated by the ſpirit of this remonſtrance; for they almoſt inſtantly altered their meaſures. In their former addreſs they had reſtricted the king to the alliance concluded with the States general in 1677, which would have been of very little uſe in the preſent emergency; but now they preſented an addreſs in anſwer to his ſpeech, wherein they thanked him for having approved of their proceedings; declared they would ſupport him to the utmoſt; and deſired him to engage in ſuch new alliances with the emperor and other ſtates as he ſhould deem neceſſary for bridling the exorbitant power of France, and maintaining the independency of Europe. They likewiſe proceeded in earneſt upon the buſineſs of ſupplies; they granted the ſum of a million and a half for the public expences, to be raiſed by a land tax, certain duties upon merchandize, and a weekly deduction from the exciſe, ſo as to bring down the civil liſt to ſix hundred thouſand pounds, as the duke of Glouceſter was dead, and James's queen had refuſed her allowance. They voted thirty thouſand ſeamen, and reſolved that ten thouſand troops ſhould be ſent to the aſſiſtance of the States-general. They likewiſe paſſed a bill for taking away all privilege of parliament in legal proſecutions during the intermediate prorogations; and they introduced another for appointing commiſſioners to examine and ſtate the public accounts *.

By this time, however, the miſunderſtanding between the two houſes was become ſo great, on occaſion of the impeachment of the four lords, and the liberty the peers took of making amendments to ſome public bills, by which the commons had thrown the management of the greateſt part of the national affairs into the hands of the Tories, that the king, fearing ſome fatal conſequences from their diſputes, in which however he had never interfered, reſolved to put an end to the ſeſſion. For this purpoſe he came to the houſe on the twenty-fourth of June, the very day the lords had ordered the impeachments abovementioned to be diſmiſſed; and having ſent for the commons, they attended accordingly, when their ſpeaker, on preſenting the money-bills, made the following ſpeech:

"Sir, It is with great joy and ſatisfaction that I attend your majeſty at this time, ſince your commons have complied with all your majeſty was pleaſed to deſire at their meeting: they have paſſed the bill of ſucceſſion, which has ſettled the crown in a proteſtant line, and continued the liberty of England, which your majeſty hath ſettled and preſerved: they have paſſed a bill for taking away thoſe privileges which might have proved burthenſome and oppreſſive to your ſubjects: they have given your majeſty thoſe ſupplies, which are more than ever were given in a time of peace, to enable your majeſty, when you are abroad, to ſupport your allies, procure either a laſting peace, or to preſerve the liberties of Europe by a neceſſary war."

Then his majeſty gave the royal aſſent to the ſeveral acts to be found in the notes †; and afterwards made a ſpeech, wherein he returned both houſes his hearty thanks for the great zeal they had expreſſed for the public ſervice, and their ready compliance with what he recommended to them at the opening of the parliament; and particularly thanked the commons for the ſupplies, and for the encouragement they had given him to enter into alliances for the preſervation of Europe ‡.

The king now ſeemed to have wholly abandoned the Whigs, and given himſelf up to the Tory party; at leaſt ſo much may be gathered, from the promotions he made ſoon after the breaking up of the parliament: for he beſtowed the command of the ten thouſand auxiliaries voted by the commons for the ſervice of the States-general, on the earl of Marlborough, univerſally eſteemed the chief of the Tory party, with the title of commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in Holland. A new commiſſion of admiralty was made out, at the head of which was placed the earl of Pembroke. The command of the fleet was beſtowed upon ſir George Rooke; and his majeſty having declared his deſign of going to Holland, he was pleaſed to appoint the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord-keeper (ſir Nathan Wright) the earl of Pembroke, the dukes of Devonſhire and Somerſet, the earl of Jerſey, and lord Godolphin, lords juſtices during his abſence: and at the ſame time the earl of Marlborough was appointed (over and above his poſt of commander in chief) his majeſty's ambaſſador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary for the negotiations at the Hague: Edward Southwell, Chriſtopher Muſgrave, and James Vernon, eſqrs. were conſtituted commiſſioners of the privy-ſeal, vacant by the death of Ford Grey, earl of Tankerville; ſir Thomas Trevor, attorney-general, was made lord chief-juſtice of the Common-pleas, in the room of ſir George Treby, deceaſed; and Edward Northy, eſq. was made attorney-general. All or moſt of theſe gentlemen were Tories.

King William having ſettled the regency, and other matters relating to domeſtic government, embarked for Holland, July 1ſt. On his arrival at the Hague he aſſiſted at an aſſembly of the States-general, whom he addreſſed in a very affectionate ſpeech, wherein he ſaid, "He always came into that country with joy, but eſpecially in this dangerous conjuncture, becauſe he foreſaw his preſence would be neceſſary for the ſervice of the ſtate. He hoped to have paſſed the reſt of his

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* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 133.

† An act for granting to his majeſty an aid for defraying the expence of his guards and garriſons for one year, and for other neceſſary occaſions. An act for granting to his majeſty ſeveral duties upon low wines, or ſpirits of the firſt extraction; and continuing ſeveral additional duties upon coffee, tea, chocolate, ſpices, and pictures; and certain impoſitions upon hawkers, pedlars, and petty chapmen; and the duty of 15 l. per cent. upon muſlins; and for improving the duties upon japanned and lacquered goods; and for continuing the coinage-duty for the ſeveral terms and purpoſes therein mentioned. An act for appropriating three thouſand ſeven hundred pounds weekly, out of certain branches of exciſe, for public uſes; and for making a proviſion for the ſervice of his majeſty's houſhold, and other his neceſſary occaſions; and to ſeveral other private acts.

‡ Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 183.

days

days in repoſe and peace, and to have left that ſtate in a flouriſhing condition; but there had happened ſuch great alterations in the affairs of Europe, that he knew not what might be the conſequences. However, he could aſſure their High Mightineſſes, that whether things were accommodated amicably, or whether they ſhould be obliged to have recourſe to arms, he perſiſted in the ſame zeal he ever had for their ſervice and proſperity. He could aſſure them the whole Engliſh nation were ready to aſſiſt the States, and ſtrongly to contribute towards their defence, and to whatever might tend to the common ſecurity *."

The States in their anſwer, which was equally affectionate, told his majeſty, "That they could not omit to thank him for his aſſurances, not only in his own, but in the name of the Engliſh nation, in favour of themſelves and the common cauſe, well knowing how much they might rely upon a people, whoſe courage had gained ſo much reputation in the world, and were always of opinion that their intereſts were inſeparable from thoſe of England †."

After this the king, as his health would permit him, which indeed ſeemed to decline apace, ſpent a good part of his time in reviewing the frontier garriſons of the States, and gave ſuch orders as he judged neceſſary for the better defence and ſecurity of the country. On his return to the Hague, he found that the count d'Avaux, the French ambaſſador, had delivered a letter from the French king to the States, accompanied with a memorial of his own, to notify his being called home by his maſter. In the memorial there were ſeveral ſtrokes, very much reflecting upon king William, and that ſhewed the malignity of Lewis' heart, who no doubt was well apprized of the contents of his miniſter's paper: particularly, the ambaſſador ſaid, "That he ſhould abuſe his maſter, ſhould he write to him that any ſucceſs was to be expected from the conferences: that his maſter had too diſcerning a judgment, after the king of Great Britain had, by his envoy, openly declared that he would never depart from the intereſt of the emperor: that he would not liſten to any propoſals of accommodation till ſatisfaction were given to that prince. His excellency then obſerved, that the ties between their High Mightineſſes and the king of England were too ſtrict, and they had too well made known their blind ſubmiſſion to the ſentiments of that monarch; and no doubt but that they had already taken a reſolution to make the ſame declaration to the moſt Chriſtian king's ambaſſador ‡."

To this memorial the States-general returned a very ſpirited anſwer on the firſt of Auguſt; in one part of which they expreſs themſelves to this effect: "They could not comprehend, they ſaid, why the effect of the union between them and the king of Great Britain ſhould be rather war than peace, ſince his Britannic majeſty on all occaſions had given ſufficient proofs of his inclination to peace: that they did not blindly follow the king of Great Britain's ſentiments, but had great deference for his advice; although they acknowleged themſelves to be ſtrictly united to him by alliances many years ago, for their mutual ſecurity: that he was one of the chief parties in the treaty of partition; and that they had declared, previous to their having entered upon theſe negotiations, that they thought his conſent neceſſary, as well for thoſe reaſons as for his private relation to the republic §."

Thus all the pretenſions of the French to give the States a reaſonable ſecurity went off with the count d'Avaux, and every thing ſeemed to tend towards a new war between France and Holland; the latter exerted their utmoſt endeavours in making preparations for their own defence: they repaired their fortifications, augmented their army, and hired auxiliaries from various quarters. An alliance had been already formed ‖ between king William and the king of Denmark; which latter engaged to furniſh three thouſand horſe, one thouſand dragoons, and eight thouſand foot, in conſideration of receiving a ſubſidy of three hundred thouſand crowns a-year during the war. Great endeavours were alſo uſed to bring about a peace between Sweden and Poland, but without effect. Lewis XIV. had alſo interpoſed his mediation between theſe powers, with a view of ſecuring the young king of Sweden in his intereſts; and the court of Vienna had ſollicited the aſſiſtance of the king of Poland; but the dyet of that kingdom being ſuſpended, and king Auguſtus conſequently delivered from its intrigues, he reſolved to perſiſt in the proſecution of the war.

We have already obſerved that the emperor, as being the perſon more immediately affected by the acceſſion of the duke of Anjou to the crown of Spain, had reſolved to do himſelf juſtice by force of arms: with that view he aſſembled an army, the command of which he beſtowed on prince Eugene. As this general will make ſo diſtinguiſhed a figure in the ſubſequent part of this hiſtory, the following account of him, as given us by M. de Voltaire in his Age of Lewis XIV. cannot fail to be acceptable.

"The firſt general who put a check to the ſuperiority of the French arms was a Frenchman; for ſo we ſhould call prince Eugene, though he was the grandſon of Charles Emanuel duke of Savoy: his father the count de Soiſſons had ſettled in France, where he was lieutenant-general of the king's armies, and governor of Champagne: he married Olympia Mancini, one of the nieces of cardinal Mazarine. From this match, unfortunate in other reſpects, was born this prince, who afterwards proved ſo dangerous an enemy to Lewis XIV. though hardly known to that monarch in his youth. He was known in France by the name of the Chevalier de Carignan; but afterwards taking the Petit Collet, he was called the abbot of Savoy. It is ſaid that he aſked Lewis for a regiment, which was refuſed him, on account of his being too much connected with the princes of Conti, who were then

* It is ſomewhat difficult to reconcile this declaration of king William, with regard to the diſpoſition of the Engliſh, with the repreſentation Dr. Burnet gives of the Engliſh miniſtry and parliament at this time, in his ſecond volume; wherein he peremptorily charges them with being Jacobites, and penſioners to France: but indeed that prelate is ſo contradictory to himſelf in different parts of his work, that it is not very eaſy to unriddle his meaning.

† Lamberti. Cole. Coke.

‡ Lamberti.

§ Idem.

‖ On the fifteenth of July, 1701.

in disgrace for having written some indecent letters, reflecting upon the king and madame de Maintenon. Disappointed in this application, he went to serve the emperor against the Turks in Hungary in 1684, together with the princes of Conti. The campaign being ended, Lewis sent an order to these princes, and all who had accompanied them in this expedition, to return home. The abbot of Savoy was the only one who refused to comply with this mandate, openly declaring he renounced France for ever. When Lewis XIV. was told of this, he said to his courtiers with an air of contempt, "Don't you think I have had a great loss?" This prince, however, who was held in so much contempt at the court of France, was born with all the qualifications which form the hero in war, and the great man in peace: he had a just and lofty turn of thinking, and a becoming presence of mind both in the field and in the cabinet: he was guilty of faults, as all generals have been; but these were lost in the number of his great actions. He shook the power of Lewis XIV. and the Ottoman Porte: he governed the empire; and in the course of his victories and ministry, shewed himself equally superior to vain-glory and avarice. He cherished, and even protected learning, as much as could be done at the court of Vienna."

At this time he was about thirty-seven years of age, and had the experience of his own victories over the Turks, and the faults which he had seen committed by the Imperialists in the late wars, in which he served against France. He entered Italy at the head of the imperial army, consisting of thirty thousand men, in the month of July, by the way of Vicenza, in the territories of Venice, the entrance towards Verona being blocked up by the French army under marshal Catinat, having made a feint of passing the Po near Ferrara: and having thus amused the French, he passed the Adigi near Carpi, where he surprized and cut in pieces a body of five thousand French, commanded by M. St. Fremont. After this success the Imperialists having the command of all the country between the Adigi and the Adda, penetrated into the territory of Bresciano, while Catinat and the duke of Savoy retreated behind the Oglio. This retreat was approved of by many good officers: but Catinat's enemies represented it so much to his disadvantage at the court of France, that mareschal Villeroy was sent over about the latter end of August, to supersede Catinat in his command, and with orders to attack the Imperialists at all events. The duke of Savoy still preserved the title of generalissimo; but Villeroy was in fact commander in chief. He accordingly gave immediate orders for attacking prince Eugene in the post of Chiari, near the Oglio. The duke of Savoy and most of the general officers were of opinion, that it was against all the rules of war to attack this post, for these very essential reasons; first, That it would answer no valuable end; secondly, That the entrenchments were inaccessible; and lastly, If they failed, the reputation of the whole campaign would be lost. Villeroy however told the duke of Savoy that he must march, and sent an aid de camp to order marshal Catinat in his name to begin the attack: upon which that general marched directly up to the entrenchments. Prince Eugene however gave the French such a reception, that they were obliged to retire with the loss of five thousand men. Towards the end of the campaign, the prince took possession of all the Mantuan territories, except Mantua itself and Goits, which he blocked up. He reduced all the places on the Oglio, and continued in the field during the whole winter of 1701, where he gave daily proofs of the most intrepid courage, indefatigable vigilance, and consummate prudence.

In the month of January following he formed a design of surprising Cremona; an attempt which, had it succeeded, would have been a decisive blow in favour of the Imperialists. He found means, by the assistance of a priest called Bozzoli, provost of St. Mary le Nova, to introduce four hundred men through the common sewer of the town into this priest's house. They immediately killed the guard at the two gates, which were flung open, and prince Eugene entered the city with four thousand men. All this was done before the governor, who was a Spaniard, had the least suspicion: the whole affair was conducted with the greatest secrecy, order, and diligence. The Spanish governor, on the first alarm, appeared in the street with a few soldiers, but was presently shot dead; and all the general officers were either killed or made prisoners. Marshal Villeroy, who was at that time in Cremona, was awakened with the noise of the firing, and ran out into the streets, when he was immediately made prisoner, and led out of the town without knowing any thing that had passed, and unable to conceive the cause of so extraordinary an event: in short, the place must have been infallibly reduced, had prince Eugene been supported by another body of troops which he had ordered to advance from the Parmesan to secure the bridge: but these not arriving in time, an Irish regiment in the French service took possession of the bridge, and the prince was obliged to retire with his prisoners, including mareschal Villeroy, and several other persons of distinction. This enterprize, tho' unsuccessful, added great lustre to the military fame of prince Eugene *.

Lewis XIV. alarmed at the progress of the Imperialists, sent the duke of Vendôme to command his forces in Italy. He likewise pressed the duke of Savoy to assist him with a body of auxiliary troops; but that prince having obtained all he could from France, became very indifferent to her interests: it is said that he was greatly disgusted with that court for having sent over Villeroy to take the command, who had behaved with insupportable arrogance towards the duke. Philip V. the new king of Spain, had lately been married to the duke's daughter, whom he went to meet at Barcelona, where he found himself involved in a very troublesome dispute with the states of Catalonia, who refused to pay a tax he had imposed, until he should confirm their privileges; a concession which he was obliged to make, after a long and violent contest.

A misunderstanding arising about this time between the estates of Cologne and prince Clement of Bavaria, their elector, the French king laid hold of this opportunity to strengthen his interest on the Rhine, and for that purpose laboured hard to engage

* Burnet. Voltaire. War in Italy, 1701.

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that prince in his cauſe; and he ſo far prevailed by his artful negotiations, and heightening ſome apprehenſions the elector had, that the Eſtates might be too powerful for him, that when king William ſent the earl of Galway to endeavour to bring him over to the intereſt of England, Holland, and the empire, he appeared wholly engaged to France; which afterwards was more apparent, by his admitting French troops into ſeveral places, and committing ſome violences upon the conſtitution of his electorate. Lewis alſo found means to form ſuch a ſtrong party in the Portugueſe councils, that his moſt Faithful majeſty, though perſonally attached to the Auſtrian family, was obliged to agree to a treaty of alliance with the French monarch.

Every thing now tending to a war, our fleet became his majeſty's chief care, which he reſolved ſhould be much ſuperior to that of the enemy, being very ſenſible of the ill conſequences that followed the want of this ſalutary precaution at the beginning of the laſt war. By the latter end of July we had a fleet of forty-eight ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, and ſmall veſſels, ready for ſea at Spithead, under the command of ſir George Rooke, who ſailing from thence overawed the French coaſt during the remainder of the ſeaſon. About the latter end of Auguſt vice-admiral Benbow was detached with a ſtrong ſquadron to the Weſt Indies: the French expected that this fleet would have proceeded to the Mediterranean; and in order to confirm them in this belief, and cover its true deſtination, king William made a formal demand of the court of Spain of the free uſe of their harbours, which however was civilly evaded, though the French ſhips had free admittance. After the ſending of the fleet to ſea, his majeſty thought proper to revoke his letters-patent to the commiſſioners of the admiralty, and to appoint the earl of Pembroke, a nobleman univerſally beloved and eſteemed, lord high-admiral of England. The deſign of this promotion was to be rid of the diſadvantages attending a board, and this end it anſwered perfectly well; for his lordſhip immediately ſent away captain Edward Loades to Cadiz, to bring home the ſea-ſtores and the merchants effects before the war broke out; which piece of ſervice was ſucceſsfully performed. The Whig party made a violent outcry, becauſe our grand fleet did not perform any thing of conſequence this ſummer; and ſevere cenſures were paſſed upon ſir George Rooke, as if he had purpoſely continued idle: but the ill-nature and falſity of theſe cenſures will ſufficiently appear, when we conſider that this was a fleet of amuſement only, the war not being declared; and therefore the longer ſir George could keep the French and their allies in ſuſpence, the greater ſervice he did; but how often do we find parties making uſe of any thing that will ſerve a turn, without conſidering or caring whether it is founded either on juſtice or truth!

King William being well apprized of all the proceedings of Lewis, exerted himſelf with uncommon diligence, in order to render his ſchemes abortive. With this view he projected the grand alliance between the emperor Leopold, England, and Holland, againſt France, for recovering the Spaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria, and for the ſecurity of England and Holland in point of their commerce and navigation, and of the Hanover ſucceſſion to the crown of Great Britain, as well as for a ſafe barrier to the Dutch. This treaty, which was concluded at the Hague, September 7, O. S. was framed in the nature of propoſals, upon which France might come in; and accordingly the ſame was communicated to the Spaniſh ambaſſador; and on their being rejected, it was determined to have recourſe to arms. For the particular articles of this treaty, the reader is referred to the notes *.

Thus were the French and the confederates upon the point of entering into the war, which ſeemed only to be deferred till each ſide could prepare for action; and poſſibly it might not have been declared till the next ſummer, if an accident had not happened which brought things to a criſis ſomewhat ſooner: this was the death of that weak and unfortunate prince James II. who being ſeized with a vomiting of blood, departed this life at St. Germain's on the ſixteenth of September, N. S. 1701, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and of his exile the thirteenth. His character has already been touched upon at the end of his unhappy reign. Since the miſcarriage of his laſt attempt for recovering his throne, he had laid aſide all

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* 1. There ſhall be a perpetual and inviolable friendſhip between the emperor, the king of Great Britain, and the States-general.

2. The allies think nothing more effectual for eſtabliſhing the general peace, than the procuring ſatisfaction to the emperor in the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, and ſufficient ſecurity for the dominions and commerce of the allies.

3. The allies ſhall employ two months time, from the day of exchanging the ratifications, to obtain by amicable means the ſaid ſatisfaction and ſecurity.

4. But if that cannot be obtained within the time limited, they engage to aſſiſt one the other with all their forces, according to the ſpecification to be agreed on in a particular convention.

5. The other confederates ſhall, among the other things, endeavour to recover the Spaniſh Netherlands, to be a barrier between Holland and France; as likewiſe the duchy of Milan, &c. for the emperor's ſecurity; and alſo the kingdoms of Naples, and the lands and iſlands upon the coaſt of Tuſcany, belonging to the Spaniſh dominions.

6. The king of Great-Britain and the States may ſeize what lands and cities they can belonging to the Spaniards in the Indies, and keep them.

7. In a war, the confederates ſhall faithfully communicate their deſigns to one another.

8. No parties ſhall treat of peace, truce, &c. but jointly with the reſt; they ſhall prevent the union of France and Spain under the ſame government, or the French poſſeſſing the Spaniſh Indies. The ſubjects of the king of Great Britain and the States ſhall enjoy all the privileges of trade which they had before the death of the late king of Spain.

9. At the making of peace, the confederates ſhall provide for the maintaining the trade of the Engliſh and the Dutch to the dominions taken from the Spaniards, and likewiſe ſecure the States by a barrier.

10. They ſhall at the ſame time agree about the exerciſe of religion in the places acquired.

11. They ſhall aſſiſt one another with all their forces, if the French king or any one elſe ſhall invade any one on account of this alliance.

12. After a peace there ſhall remain a defenſive alliance between theſe allies for maintaining the ſaid peace.

13. All kings, princes, and ſtates, that pleaſe, may enter into this alliance; but the empire ſhall be particularly invited, and the confederates may jointly or ſeparately invite whom they pleaſe.

14. This treaty ſhall be ratified by all the confederates within ſix weeks, or ſooner.

thoughts of worldly affairs, and devoted his whole attention to the concerns of his ſoul. The jeſuit Le Bretonneau, who attended him in his laſt moments, relates, that he did not only forgive all his enemies, but ſaid, "He thought himſelf more obliged to the prince of Orange than to all the world; becauſe by taking from him three crowns, that prince had put him in a way to purchaſe one infinitely more precious than all." His corpſe was carried to Paris, and repoſited in the church of the Benedictines, in the ſuburbs of St. James, where it now lies, not interred, but in a hearſe; together with the body of his daughter, who died before him; in the fond hopes, perhaps, that ſome convenient time may offer for the tranſporting it to England, in order to its being interred in Weſtminſter-abbey among his royal anceſtors and relations: an event which, to the unſpeakable happineſs of this country, appears very unlikely to happen.

Immediately after his death, a queſtion was ſtarted in the French council, what ſteps ſhould be taken with regard to his ſon? Lewis was inclined to give him the titles his father had borne; but the miniſtry adviſed their maſter to remain paſſive, and allow him to aſſume what title he pleaſed. They enforced their advice with ſuch arguments of ſound policy, that Lewis reſolved not to acknowlege the ſon of James II. as king. The ſame day, however, Mary of Modena, widow to the deceaſed James, went to Madam de Maintenon's apartments to ſpeak to the French king. She found him there; and with a flood of tears conjured him not to treat her ſon, herſelf, and the memory of a king he had protected, with ſo much indignity as to refuſe a title, the only remains of their former greatneſs. She obſerved, that as her ſon had always received the honours of prince of Wales, he ought to be treated as king after the death of his father; and that even William himſelf could not complain of this, provided he was left to enjoy the throne of which he had deprived him. To theſe arguments ſhe added others which concerned the intereſt and glory of Lewis: ſhe repreſented to him, that whether he acknowleged the ſon of James II. or not, the Engliſh would nevertheleſs declare war againſt France, and that he would only feel the regret of having ſacrificed the moſt noble ſentiments to a fruitleſs precaution. The repreſentations and tears of the royal widow were powerfully ſeconded by Madam de Maintenon. The king reſumed his former ſentiments. In a word, the pretended prince of Wales was proclaimed king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the name of James III. the very day it had been determined in council not to acknowlege him. M. de Voltaire, from whom we have taken this remarkable anecdote *, ſays, That the marquis de Torcy frequently owned it, though he has not inſerted it in his Memoirs, becauſe he thought it was not to the honour of his maſter to be prevailed on by two women to alter a reſolution which he had taken in his council. The pretender's title was likewiſe recognized by the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the pope.

William was no ſooner informed of this tranſaction, than he diſpatched a courier to the king of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Ryſwick, to complain of this manifeſt violation of that treaty. At the ſame time, he recalled his ambaſſador, the earl of Mancheſter, from Paris, with orders to return without taking leave; and monſieur Pouſſin, the French reſident in England, was ordered to depart the kingdom. This action of Lewis, in acknowleging as their king a perſon whom they had baniſhed, appeared a violent inſult offered to the nation, and an attempt towards exerciſing an abſolute authority over Europe. The ſpirit of freedom which then prevailed among us, and which was not a little increaſed by the hatred the people bore to Lewis, on account of his ambition and power, produced every effect that king William could deſire: the city of London, and moſt of the counties of England, tranſmitted addreſſes to his majeſty in Holland, declaring their ſenſe of the indignity offered him, and promiſing to ſupport his government againſt the Pretender and all his enemies. Lewis endeavoured to vindicate his own conduct in a long manifeſto, which he diſperſed throughout Europe; in which he pretended to aſſert, that there was nothing in what he had done contrary to the treaty of Ryſwick, which he explained by ſaying, he did not intend to aſſiſt the pretender (king James III. as he ſtiled him) in recovering his crown during the life-time of his preſent majeſty king William. Lewis alſo prevailed on the pope to preſs the emperor, and other Roman catholic princes, to acknowlege the pretended king, but without effect.

Our king having concluded alliances with ſeveral foreign princes againſt France, particularly that with the emperor and Holland, uſually ſtiled the Grand Alliance, of which we have already given an account, began to prepare for his return to England; but being detained in Holland, partly by his ill ſtate of health, and partly in concerting meaſures with the States to attack the French frontiers the next campaign, he did not arrive in his Britiſh dominions till the fifth of November, when the firſt thing that engaged the attention of his majeſty and his council was, whether the preſent parliament ſhould be continued or diſſolved, and a new one called? It was, after ſome debate, carried for the latter meaſure; and on the eleventh the king iſſued a proclamation for diſſolving the parliament, and calling another to meet on the thirtieth of December. The reaſon alleged for the diſſolution of this parliament was, that his majeſty might have the ſenſe of the nation in this extraordinary conjuncture: but it is more than probable that the chief inducement to this ſtep was to prevent a revival of the heats and animoſities between the two houſes, whereby the ſupplies neceſſary for the approaching war might have been delayed.

Never did the two parties proceed with ſuch zeal and activity in influencing the elections: the Whigs, however, on this occaſion gained an inconteſtable majority. The city of London, and ſome other places, gave their repreſentatives inſtructions for their conduct in the enſuing ſeſſion; in which they preſſed them to aſſiſt his majeſty vigorouſly in maintaining his title to the crown, to

* Age of Lewis XIV.

make

make good his alliances, and reduce the power of France, recommending above all things a union between the two houſes.

Notwithſtanding the returns being generally made in favour of the Whig intereſt, when the parliament met on the thirtieth of December, the choice of ſpeaker fell upon Harley, who was deemed the principal leader of the former oppoſition, and who was ſet up againſt ſir Thomas Lyttleton, recommended by the court.

On the laſt day of the year 1701, king William made a ſpeech to his new parliament; in the framing of which he was ſuppoſed to have been aſſiſted by the lord Somers, and which was ſo acceptable to the well-wiſhers of the Revolution, and their friends abroad, that it was printed with decorations in Engliſh, Dutch, and French, and hung up in frames in almoſt every houſe in England and Holland. As this was the laſt ſpeech king William ever made in parliament, and might have paſſed for a model of future ſpeeches, I ſhall, after the example of almoſt every other hiſtorian of thoſe times, inſert it at full length.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I promiſe myſelf you are met together, full of that juſt ſenſe of the common danger of Europe, and the reſentment of the late proceedings of the French king, which has been ſo fully and univerſally expreſſed in the loyal and ſeaſonable addreſſes of my people.

"The owning and ſetting up the pretended prince of Wales for king of England, is not only the higheſt indignity offered to me and the nation, but does ſo nearly concern every man who has a regard for the proteſtant religion, or the preſent and future quiet and happineſs of his country, that I need not preſs you to lay it ſeriouſly to heart, and to conſider what further effectual means may be uſed for ſecuring the ſucceſſion of the crown in the proteſtant line, and extinguiſhing the hopes of all pretenders, and their open and ſecret abettors.

"By the French king's placing his grandſon on the throne of Spain, he is in a condition to oppreſs the reſt of Europe, unleſs ſpeedy and effectual meaſures be taken. Under this pretence he is become the real maſter of the whole Spaniſh monarchy: he has made it to be entirely depending on France, and diſpoſes of it as his own dominions; and by that means he has ſurrounded his neighbours in ſuch a manner, that though the name of peace may be ſaid to continue, yet they are put to the expence and inconveniencies of war.

"This muſt affect England in the neareſt and moſt ſenſible manner, in reſpect to our trade, which will ſoon become precarious in all the variable branches of it; in reſpect to our peace and ſafety at home, which we cannot hope ſhould long continue; and in reſpect to that part which England ought to take in the preſervation of Europe.

"In order to obviate the general calamity with which the reſt of Chriſtendom is threatened by this exorbitant power of France, I have concluded ſeveral alliances, according to the encouragement given me by both houſes of parliament, which I will direct ſhall be laid before you, and which I doubt not you will enable me to make good.

"There are ſome other treaties ſtill depending, that ſhall be likewiſe communicated to you as ſoon as they are perfected.

"It is fit I ſhould tell you the eyes of all Europe are upon this parliament: all matters are at a ſtand till your reſolutions are known, and therefore no time ought to be loſt.

"You have yet an opportunity, by God's bleſſing, to ſecure to you and your poſterity the quiet enjoyment of your religion and liberties, if you are not wanting to yourſelves, but will exert the ancient vigour of the Engliſh nation: but I tell you plainly, my opinion is, if you don't lay hold on this occaſion, you have no reaſon to hope for another.

"In order to do your part, it will be neceſſary to have a great navy, and to provide for the ſecurity of our ſhips in harbour; and alſo that there be ſuch a force at land as is expected in proportion to the forces of our allies.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I do recommend theſe matters to you with that concern and earneſtneſs which their importance requires: at the ſame time, I cannot but preſs you to take care of the public credit, which cannot be preſerved but by keeping ſacred that maxim, that they ſhall never be loſers that truſt to a parliamentary ſecurity.

"It is always with regret when I do aſk aids of my people; but you will obſerve, that I deſire nothing which relates to any perſonal expence of mine: I am only preſſing you to do all you can for your own ſafety and honour, at ſo critical and dangerous a time; and am willing, that what is given ſhould be wholly appropriated to the purpoſes for which it is intended.

And ſince I am ſpeaking on this head, I think it proper to put you in mind, that during the late war I ordered the accounts to be laid yearly before you, and alſo gave my aſſent to ſeveral bills for ſtating and examining the public accounts, that the ſubjects might have the ſatisfaction to know how the money given for the war was applied; and I am willing that matter may be put in any other way or examination, that it may appear whether any miſapplications and miſmanagements, or whether the debt that remains upon us has really ariſen from the ſhortneſs of ſupplies, or the deficiency of the funds.

"I have already told you how neceſſary diſpatch will be for carrying on that great public buſineſs whereon our ſafety, and all that is valuable to us, depends. I hope what time can be ſpared will be employed about thoſe other very deſirable things which I have recommended from the throne; I mean the forming ſome good bills for employing the poor, for encouraging trade, and the ſuppreſſion of vice.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I hope you are come together determined to avoid all manner of diſputes and differences, and reſolved to act with a general and hearty conſent for promoting the common cauſe, which alone can make this a happy ſeſſion.

"I ſhould think it as great a bleſſing as could befal England, if I could obſerve you as much inclined to lay aſide thoſe unhappy fatal animoſities which divide and weaken you, as I am diſpoſed to make

make all my ſubjects ſafe and eaſy as to any, even the higheſt offences committed againſt me.

"Let me conjure you to diſappoint the only hopes of your enemies, by your unanimity. I have ſhewn, and will always ſhew, how deſirous I am to be the common father of all my people: do you in like manner lay aſide parties and diviſions: let there be no other diſtinction heard amongſt us for the future, but of thoſe who are for the proteſtant religion and the preſent eſtabliſhment, and of thoſe who wiſh for a popiſh prince and a French government.

"I will only add this, if you do in good earneſt deſire to ſee England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the proteſtant intereſt, it will appear by your right improving the preſent opportunity."

In anſwer to this excellent and patriotic ſpeech, the two houſes preſented ſeparate addreſſes to his majeſty, but agreed in returning him thanks for his ſpeech, and in their reſolutions to maintain and ſupport his title and the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and to enable him to make good all his alliances for the preſervation of the liberties of Europe, and reducing the exorbitant power of France *: which addreſſes were graciouſly received by the king, with aſſurances of the great ſatisfaction he conceived of their duty and affection. In a word, every thing was carried on to the high ſatisfaction of the nation in general. Care was taken to expedite forces by ſea and land, forty thouſand men being appointed for the naval ſervice, and as many to make up the complement, already in good forwardneſs, by land; and the commons, in order to raiſe his majeſty a preſent ſum of money for thoſe purpoſes, reſolved, that whoever ſhould advance or lend the ſum of 600,000 pounds for the ſervice of the fleet, and fifty thouſand pounds for the preſent ſubſiſtence of the land-forces, ſhould be repaid with intereſt at ſix per cent. out of the firſt aids.

His majeſty was pleaſed, on the fourth of January 1702, to conſtitute the earl of Mancheſter principal ſecretary of ſtate; and on the eighteenth the duke of Somerſet was made preſident of the council, in the room of the earl of Pembroke, now lord high-admiral of England.

Both houſes now ſeemed to vie with each other in their zeal for the government. It was unanimouſly reſolved to addreſs his majeſty, that he would inſert an article in all his treaties of alliance, importing, that no peace ſhould be made with France, until his majeſty and the nation have reparation for the great indignity offered by the French king, in owning and declaring the pretended prince of Wales king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. A bill was alſo brought into the houſe of commons for attainting the pretended prince of Wales; which being carried up to the other houſe, paſſed, with the additional clauſe of attainder againſt the late king James's queen, who now aſſumed the character of queen-regent during her ſon's minority. This however was not carried without great oppoſition in the houſe of lords; and when the bill was ſent back to the commons, they excepted to the amendment as irregular, and propoſed that the queen ſhould be attainted in a ſeparate bill; to which the lords aſſented: however, this was afterwards neglected in the lower houſe.

But the longeſt and warmeſt debates of this ſeſſion were produced by a bill which was brought into the houſe of lords for abjuring the pretended prince of Wales, and ſwearing to king William, by the title of Rightful and Lawful, and his heirs, according to the act of ſettlement. It was propoſed that this oath ſhould be voluntary, and ſhould only be tendered to all perſons, and their ſubſcription or refuſal recorded, without any other penalty †. Though the Whigs poſſeſſed an evident majority in both houſes, yet there was in each a conſiderable number of Tories, who uſed their endeavours to traverſe the meaſures of their rivals; and being headed by the earl of Nottingham in the houſe of peers, made ſtrong efforts to throw out this bill, on pretence that the government was firſt ſettled with another oath, which was like an original contract, and that it was neither juſt nor honourable to add a new obligation. Oaths, they ſaid, relating to mens opinions, had ever been conſidered as levere impoſitions; and that a voluntary oath was in its own nature unlawful, ſince no man could ſwear lawfully, unleſs required to it by a ſuperior authority.

During theſe diſputes another bill of abjuration was brought into the houſe of commons by ſir Charles Hedges, which was to be obligatory on all perſons who enjoyed employments in church or ſtate: it likewiſe included an obligation to maintain the government in the king, lords, and commons, and to maintain the church of England; together with the toleration for diſſenters. A long debate enſued upon the queſtion, "Whether the oath ſhould be impoſed, or voluntary?" and at length it was carried for impoſition, by the majority of one voice. They agreed to an additional clauſe, declaring it equally penal to compaſs or imagine the death of her royal highneſs the princeſs Anne of Denmark, as to compaſs or imagine the death of the king's eldeſt ſon and heir.

This bill was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed in the houſe of peers: the Whigs rejected with indignation the clauſe to maintain the government in the king, lords, and commons, inſiſting that the lords and commons were no part of the government or the executive power, but only of the conſtitution or legiſlative authority: beſides, they ſaid, that as the extinguiſhing the hopes of the pretended prince of Wales was the only object of the preſent bill, it was improper to crowd it with any foreign matters. The clauſe in favour of the church and the toleration was likewiſe laid aſide, and for the ſame reaſon; and when, after long debates, the bill paſſed, ten lords entered a proteſt againſt it as an unneceſſary and ſevere impoſition ‡.

The king came to the houſe on the tenth of February, and gave the royal aſſent to a bill for reviving and continuing the act for ſtating and examining the public accounts: after which the commons took into conſideration the conduct of the Kentiſh petitioners who inſulted the laſt parliament ‖; and there happening to be a controverted election for the borough of Maidſtone in Kent,

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 185. Burnet, ii. 295.

† Proceed. Houſe of Lords, ii. 33, 34. ‡ Ib. 34.

‖ Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 188.

between

between Thomas Bliſſe and Thomas Colepepper, eſquires (the latter one of the Kentiſh petitioners). The houſe, on examining into the ſame, reſolved, That the ſaid Thomas Colepepper had been guilty of corrupt, ſcandalous, and indecent practices, in endeavouring to procure himſelf elected burgeſs for that town; and that he had promoted that ſcandalous and ſeditious petition in the houſe of commons, commonly called the Kentiſh Petition, containing groundleſs reflections on the houſe of commons, by aſperſing the members with receiving French money, and being in the intereſt of France; for which offence he ſhould be committed to Newgate, and the attorney-general ſhould proſecute him for the ſaid crimes. And on the twenty-ſixth of February they came to theſe further reſolutions, That to aſſert that the houſe of commons were not the only repreſentative of the commons of England, tended to the ſubverſion of the rights and privileges of the houſe of commons, and the fundamental conſtitution of the government of this kingdom: That to aſſert that the houſe of commons have no power of commitment but of their own members, tends to the ſubverſion of the conſtitution of the houſe of commons: that to print or publiſh any books or libels reflecting on the proceedings of the houſe of commons, or any member thereof, for or relating to his ſervice therein, is a high violation of the rights and privileges of the houſe of commons. It was determined, however, to take due care of the rights and privileges of the ſubject, while the houſe was maintaining its own dignity; and accordingly it was reſolved by a conſiderable majority, That it was the undoubted right of the people of England to petition or addreſs the king for the calling, ſitting, or diſſolving of parliaments, and for the redreſſing of grievances; and that every ſubject under an accuſation, either by impeachment or otherwiſe, had a right to be brought to a ſpeedy trial.

Theſe matters, however intereſting, did not prevent the commons from attending to others of a more public and important nature: they addreſſed the king to engage his allies to increaſe their quotas of land-forces, to put on board the fleet, in proportion to the numbers which his majeſty ſhould embark. At the ſame time they ſettled the ſums appropriated to the ſeveral uſes of the war. The ſupplies were raiſed by an impoſition of four ſhillings in the pound upon land, annuities, penſions, and ſtipends, and on the profits ariſing from the different profeſſions; by a tax of two and a half per cent. on all ſtock in trade, and money at intereſt; of five ſhillings in the pound on all ſalaries, fees, and perquiſites; a capitation-tax of four ſhillings; an impoſition of one pound per cent. on all ſhares in the capital ſtock of any corporation or company which ſhould be bought, ſold, or bargained for; a duty of ſix-pence per buſhel on malt; and a further duty on mum, cyder, and perry.

The party humours were by this time become very fierce between the two Eaſt India companies: both ſtrove to gain the court, as well as the new members of the houſe of commons. The ſpirit of this time may in ſome meaſure be ſeen by many warm pamphlets then publiſhed; and at the two coffee-houſes near the Royal Exchange, which ſtill retain the names of Garraway's and Jonathan's, theſe matters were made ſo important, as to be ſaid then to prepare and direct the greateſt buſineſs of the nation. Both companies were at this time reckoned to have no fewer than ſixty ſhips at ſea; and great was the emulation at their public ſales. Theſe conſiderations made the government ſee the abſolute neceſſity of compoſing their fierce contentions by a coalition, which was at length complied with, though not formally concluded, before king William died.

The ſame fate attended a moſt excellent and patriotic ſcheme, projected by that monarch, and which failed ſolely through the unhappy diſſentions which prevailed in the northern parts of the iſland. This was an union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The king had this affair ſo much at heart, that even when he was diſabled from going to the parliament in perſon, he ſent a letter to the commons, expreſſing an earneſt deſire that a treaty for this purpoſe might be ſet on foot: but as the ferment in Scotland, in relation to the Darien affair, was not yet thoroughly ſubſided, it was thought dangerous to riſk the calling a new parliament there; and therefore this project was poſtponed to a more favourable opportunity.

The whole nation now ſeemed to join in the cry for a war with France; and his majeſty iſſued out a proclamation for the better encouragement of ſeamen and able-bodied landmen, in which he offered a conſiderable gratuity by way of bounty-money, to ſuch as ſhould enter themſelves on board the fleet by a fixed time: and after that, another proclamation was iſſued, to give farther time for ſuch who were at any great diſtance, to come and partake of the like bounty. Accordingly, a great number very chearfully entered themſelves, as directed by theſe proclamations. His majeſty had, before his return from Holland, engaged in a negotiation with the prince of Heſſe d'Armſtadt, who aſſured him, that if he would lay ſiege to and take Cadiz, the admiral of Caſtile, and divers other grandees of Spain, who were moſt heartily diſguſted with the inſolence and foppery of their new maſters the French, would declare for the houſe of Auſtria. The emperor and the Dutch had alſo determined upon the ſiege of Keyſerſwaert, which the elector of Cologne had delivered into the hands of the French. The elector of Hanover had reſolved to diſarm the prince of Wolfenbuttle and Saxe-Gotha; the king of the Romans and prince Lewis of Baden undertook to inveſt Landau; and the emperor promiſed to ſend a powerful reinforcement to prince Eugene in Savoy. The great elector of Brandenburgh and duke of Pruſſia (Frederic-William) who for his ſervices and attachment to the common intereſts of the German empire, was, by the intereſt of our king, who was his relation, inveſted with the regal dignity, and recognized by moſt of the princes and ſtates of Europe as king of Pruſſia, in the preceding year had agreed to furniſh a certain number of troops on having a fixed ſubſidy paid him: in a word, every thing appeared in the greateſt forwardneſs by ſea and land to humble the enemies of theſe kingdoms, when, in the midſt of our flattering proſpects, a cloud of ſorrow overſpread the land, upon the news of the king's indiſpoſition.

His majeſty, who had for ſome time been viſibly declining in his health, had retired to Hampton-court, where he amuſed himſelf with his favourite diverſions of riding and hunting. On the twenty-firſt of February, as he was taking the

air in the park of Hampton-court, he had the misfortune to fall from his horse, and broke his right collar-bone. He was immediately carried into the palace, where the bone was set, and the same evening he returned to Kensington. He seemed to be in a fair way of recovery till the first of March, when a defluxion fell upon his knee, with such symptoms as gave his physicians and surgeons very alarming apprehensions. Finding himself unable to go in person to the parliament-house as he intended, and yet being very sollicitous about the great national affairs then depending, he was pleased to grant a commission under the great-seal to several peers, for passing the bills then lying ready for the royal assent; which were, a bill for the attainder of the pretended prince of Wales; and an act, that the solemn affirmation and declaration of the people called Quakers shall be accepted instead of an oath, in the usual form.

On the fourth day of March his majesty was so well recovered, that he took several turns in the gallery at Kensington; but at length, being somewhat fatigued, he sat down on a couch and fell asleep: soon after which he was seized with a shivering fit, which was succeeded by a fever and a violent looseness. Sir Thomas Millington, sir Richard Blackmore, Dr. Brown, Dr. Hutton, and several other physicians, were immediately sent for, who administered such remedies as they thought most like to give him relief: but he continued very ill till Friday the sixth of March, when, being so weak that he could not write his name, he, in the presence of the lord-keeper and the clerks of parliament, applied a stamp, prepared for the purpose, to three bills; one of which was, the act of abjuration and settlement, to which we owe the security of a protestant succession in the august family now reigning. On Saturday morning his majesty found himself somewhat easier, though still extremely weak, and continued so all the morning: towards the evening he was again more faint, and in the night was attacked by three violent fits; during the intervals of which he sent for several noblemen, and spoke to them about private affairs. On Sunday morning early, being the eighth of March, his majesty received the holy sacrament from the hands of Tennison, archbishop of Canterbury, who, with Dr. Burnet bishop of Salisbury, prayed by him, he himself assisting with great devotion. The lords of the council and many of the nobility attended all the while in an outer room. About eight o'clock in the morning the agonies of death overtook him; and just as he was expiring, he faintly asked for his great favourite the earl of Portland, who was immediately introduced to the bed-side; but the king being by that time speechless, he grasped his hand, and laid it to his heart with marks of the most tender affection. He had before delivered to lord Albemarle the keys of his closet and scrutore, telling him he knew what to do with them. He was sensible to the last moment, and died in the arms of Mr. Sewel, one of the pages of the Back-stairs, sitting up in bed in his night-gown, being kept alive five or six hours merely by the help of cordials. Thus departed William III. in the fifty-first year, fourth month, and fourth day of his age, after having reigned thirteen years and one month, wanting five days.

The remains of king William were deposited in Westminster-abbey on Sunday night the twelfth of April, with all the magnificence a private funeral would admit of. Soon after his will was opened in Holland: in this he had declared his cousin John-William-Henry Friso, prince of Nassau-Dietz, and hereditary stadtholder of Friezland, his sole and universal heir, appointing the States-general his executors. By a codicil annexed, he bequeathed the lordship of Breevert, and a legacy of two hundred thousand guilders, to the earl of Albemarle.

William III. according to bishop Burnet's description of him, was in his person of the middle stature, a thin body, and delicate constitution; subject to an asthma and continual cough from his infancy. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave and solemn aspect, but very little majesty in it. He spoke very little; and when he did, his conversation was dry, and his manner disgusting.

The character of William III. has shared the same fate which commonly attend the characters of those who act in exalted stations. By his friends he has been represented as adorned with every virtue; by his enemies, as deformed by every vice; but neither the one nor the other seem to have drawn their portraits from truth: the greatest eulogium upon this prince's memory, is the frantic joy which his enemies shewed at his death. Tho' we might count his disgraces by the number of battles he fought against the French, and by the sieges which they compelled him to raise, yet can we not in justice refuse him the title of a great general and a great king: though repeatedly beaten, he could never be said to be defeated, the victors being generally as great losers as the vanquished. William had inspired his troops with a confidence and courage that, like his own, was superior to all danger and ill success. Fortune indeed seems to have taken a delight in traversing all his military projects, if we except his campaign in Ireland, and the taking of Namur; but she could never get the better of his courage, fortitude, and equanimity, in which he rivalled the most eminent warriors of antiquity.

In the government of his dominions he discovered an exquisite discernment, and consummate prudence. Almost all the powers of Europe considered him as a friend; one in whom they could repose an unlimited confidence; a distinction never before possessed by any king of England, and which William maintained by the most inviolable attachment to the interests of his allies, and an unwearied application to business. He checked the alarming progress of the French arms in Flanders and Germany: he was the prop of Europe, when ready to crouch beneath the power of Lewis XIV. To him the English are indebted for the knowlege of their own strength as a maritime and commercial nation. Though he was himself seldom cordially treated by his parliaments, who much embarrassed and obstructed him in his undertakings, yet he suffered not this treatment to get the better of his sollicitude for the glory and welfare of these kingdoms. In a word, now that party prejudices have given way to reasons of justice and equity, William III. is deservedly considered as one of the greatest kings that ever filled the English throne.

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C. Grignion sculp.ᵗ

QUEEN ANN.

It muſt be acknowleged, however, that with all his virtues, this prince was not free from vices, or more properly ſpeaking, from imperfections; the chief of which was ambition. This was the diſtinguiſhing part of his character, as may appear in moſt part of the ſteps he took at the time of the Revolution, but particularly in his refuſing to accept the ſovereign power in conjunction with his queen, whoſe priority of title could never be diſputed. Other cauſes have indeed been aſſigned for this refuſal of a conjunct reign, but they do not ſeem ſatisfactory; in particular, when they would aſcribe this ſtep rather to prudence than ambition, to preſerve queen Mary from the odium of ſwaying the ſceptre of her living father. William ſtands juſtly blameable for that impolitic, and indeed ungrateful bias, which he on all occaſions diſcovered towards his foreign favourites. This occaſioned the diſtruſt between him and his people, and is an example that all princes would do well to conſider, when they are called to the government of a ſtrange people.

It is not to be wondered at, that a prince bred up from his cradle amidſt the noiſe of battle and a camp, ſhould not have poſſeſſed any great taſte for the arts and ſciences, nor have ſhewn himſelf the patron or encourager of learning and learned men. Generoſity indeed was on few occaſions one of his moſt ſhining virtues: military merit, which he beyond all other things admired, experienced ſeveral inſtances of it. However, upon a candid review of this prince's conduct and character, we may with juſtice ſay, that his virtues and accompliſhments were greater, and his failings leſs numerous, and much more excuſable, than moſt of his predeceſſors, whoſe lives and actions we have recorded in the courſe of this work; nor can Engliſhmen think of him but with gratitude, as an illuſtrious inſtrument in the hand of Providence for reſcuing theſe nations from popery and ſlavery.

King William was the poſthumous ſon of William of Naſſau prince of Orange, by the princeſs Mary, eldeſt daughter of king Charles I. On the fourth of November, 1677, he married his firſt couſin the princeſs Mary, eldeſt daughter of James duke of York (afterwards king James II.) by whom he had no iſſue; nor did he ever marry again after her death, which happened on the twenty-eighth of December, 1694.

ANNE, the laſt Sovereign of ENGLAND of the Name of STUART.

A. D. 1702.

UPON the death of king William, the crown, purſuant to the act of ſucceſſion, devolved to the princeſs Anne of Denmark. This princeſs was ſecond daughter of James duke of York, afterwards king James II. by Mrs. Anne Hyde, eldeſt daughter of ſir Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon. The duke was privately married to this lady during his firſt exile in the year 1659; and upon that great turn of affairs at the Reſtoration, there did not want thoſe who would have had him deny the marriage, ſuggeſting the advantages he might make by another choice; but he could never be brought to liſten to their advice; and in the year 1660 ſhe was, by an order of council, declared ducheſs of York, and to have the precedency of the princeſs of Orange and the queen of Bohemia. The ducheſs was a lady of a very fair character, and a conſtant member of the church of England till her laſt long indiſpoſition, when ſhe was prevailed upon to embrace the faith of the church of Rome, in which ſhe died, to the unſpeakable grief of her father, who expoſtulated with the duke as well as herſelf on that ſubject. The ducheſs of York died in the palace of St. James, on the thirty firſt of March, in the year 1671. She had iſſue by the duke four ſons and four daughters, viz. Charles, James, Charles, and Edgar; Mary, Anne, Henrietta, and Catherine. Charles, James, Charles, and Henrietta, died in her life-time, and Edgar and Catherine did not ſurvive her a year; but her two daughters Mary and Anne lived to be queens of England.

The latter of theſe princeſſes, whoſe reign I am now entering upon, was born at St. James's, on the ſixth of February 1665. As the lady Anne grew up, ſhe was found not to be ſo healthy as could have been wiſhed; wherefore ſhe was, by the advice of the phyſicians, ſent over to France when about five years of age. This gave occaſion to many people to ſuſpect that ſhe was ſent thither to be bred a catholic: but theſe fears were quieted by her return to England ſome months afterwards, having received conſiderable benefit in her conſtitution from the change of air. When her ſiſter the princeſs Mary was married to the prince of Orange, the duke of York was very preſſing with his brother (Charles II.) to leave him the diſpoſal of his other daughter the princeſs Anne; but the king judged it moſt prudent to fall in with the views and remonſtrances of his parliament, and give her hand to a proteſtant prince. When the princeſs was in the twentieth year of her age, the prince of Hanover (afterwards king George I. of England) arriving here, it was the general talk that a treaty of marriage was on foot between him and the lady Anne, and that he came over purpoſely to ſee her. However this might be, he returned without making any propoſals of the kind. Two years after prince George of Denmark, ſecond ſon of Frederick III. a younger brother of Chriſtian V. king of Denmark, came into England on purpoſe to pay his addreſſes to the young princeſs, and on the twenty-eighth of July 1683, they were ſolemnly married by Dr. Henry Compton,

Compton, biſhop of London (who had the charge of her highneſs's education) in the chapel-royal of St. James, in the preſence of the king and queen, their royal highneſſes the duke and ducheſs of York, and all the principal nobility of the land.

Upon the death of king Charles II. the princeſs Anne became a degree nearer to the crown. However, during all the time of her father's reign, ſhe kept her court as private as ſhe could, conſiſtent with her ſtation. A very good correſpondence had all along ſubſiſted between her royal highneſs and her ſiſter the princeſs of Orange; but the birth of the pretended prince of Wales tending to remove them at a greater diſtance (and perhaps for ever exclude them and their iſſue) from the crown, togther with the report of his being a prince impoſed upon the nation gaining ground every day, a greater intimacy grew between the two ſiſters, who carried on a ſecret correſpondence for ſome time. When at length the prince of Orange landed in England, and was preparing to march to the capital, in order to bring the infatuated James to a proper ſenſe of his paſt ill conduct, and that numbers of the nobility and gentry crowded to enliſt under his banners, the banners of liberty; Prince George of Denmark, her highneſs's conſort, quitted king James, his father-in-law, whom he had accompanied as far as Saliſbury, and went off to the prince of Orange at Torbay. He left behind him a letter for the king; wherein, among other things, he excuſed himſelf in the following expreſſions: "My juſt concern for that religion wherein I have been ſo happily educated, which my judgment truly convinces me to be the beſt, and for the ſupport whereof I am highly intereſted in my native country; and is not England now become ſo by the moſt endearing tye!" by which he meant her royal highneſs, who, upon the news of her huſband's having left the king, and that the latter was upon his return to London, was thrown into great agonies and perplexities; and ſo apprehenſive was ſhe of her father's diſpleaſure, that ſhe told the lady Churchill (afterwards ducheſs of Marlborough) then her lady of the bed-chamber and chief confident, that rather than ſee the king, ſhe would jump out at the window, not knowing but ſhe might be ſent away into France, or put under ſuch reſtraint as might endanger her life. Accordingly, by the help of lady Churchill and lady Berkeley, ſhe left the court in the dead of the night before the day of her father's arrival; and attended by theſe two ladies, went to the biſhop of London's houſe in the city, and there taking coach with all imaginable ſecrecy, the biſhop and the earl of Dorſet conducted her royal highneſs ſafely to Nottingham, where the earl of Devonſhire was in arms, who furniſhed her with ſome money, gave her two hundred men for a guard, and ſhe from thence went to Oxford, where ſhe ſoon after met with her huſband with a detachment of the prince of Orange's forces *.

The ſucceſs of the prince of Orange's expedition has already been fully related: I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that her royal highneſs finding the parliament inclined to ſettle the crown on king William for life, ſhe readily gave her conſent to it; and during the whole of that king's reign, ſhe took care that no diſturbance ſhould be raiſed by her friends, who had preſſed her earneſtly to form an oppoſition. The return ſhe met with for this behaviour has been already enlarged upon in the hiſtory of the laſt reign; it was indeed ſuch as few princeſſes of her expectations could have brooked ſo patiently and ſubmiſſively as herſelf. However, king William's death put an end to her diſagreeable ſituation, and placed her on the throne in the thirty-third year of her age.

The late king dying on Sunday the eighth of March, about eight in the morning, the privy-council that was then aſſembled waited upon her majeſty, and recognized her right and title to the throne: upon which occaſion ſhe made them a ſhort ſpeech, which was delivered with a majeſty and ſweetneſs peculiar to this princeſs in all her public orations: therein ſhe expreſſed her deep ſenſe of the loſs which the nation had ſuſtained by the death of his late majeſty, and of the great weight and burden which it brought upon herſelf in particular: but the ſincere regard ſhe had to the religion and liberties of her country, ſhe ſaid, would influence her to leave nothing undone on her part to preſerve them inviolable, to maintain the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line, and the government in church and ſtate as by law eſtabliſhed. She alſo declared her firm reſolution to carry on the preparations for oppoſing the exorbitant power of France, and that ſhe would loſe no time in giving her allies all aſſurances that ſhe would purſue the true intereſt of England, together with that of the confederates, for the ſupport of the common cauſe.

As by an act paſſed in the late reign, the parliament continued ſitting even after the king's death, both houſes met immediately; and the lords having deſired a conference with the commons, acquainted them with the death of king William, declaring, that on the demiſe of his late majeſty,

* Her royal highneſs thought it prudent, before ſhe left the court, to write a letter of excuſe to the queen for her ſo ſudden retreat, which was in theſe words:

"Madam, I beg your pardon if I am ſo deeply affected with the ſurpriſing news of the prince being gone, as not to be able to ſee you, but to leave this paper to expreſs my duty to the king and yourſelf, and to let you know that I am going to abſent myſelf, to avoid the king's diſpleaſure, which I am not able to bear either againſt the prince or myſelf; and I ſhall ſtay at ſo great a diſtance as not to return before I hear the happy news of a reconciliation: and as I am confident the prince did not leave the king with any other deſign than to uſe all poſſible means for his preſervation, I hope you will do me the juſtice to believe that I am not capable of following him for any other end. Never was any one in ſuch an unhappy condition; ſo divided between duty and affection, between a father and a huſband; and therefore I know not what to do but to follow one to preſerve the other. I ſee the general defection of the nobility and gentry, who avow to have no other end than to prevail with the king to ſecure their religion, which they ſaw ſo much in danger by the violent counſels of the prieſts, who to promote their own religion did not care to what danger they expoſed the king. I am fully perſuaded that the prince of Orange deſigns the king's ſafety and preſervation, and hope all things may be compaſſed without more bloodſhed, by the calling of a parliament. God grant a happy end to theſe troubles, that the king's reign may be proſperous, and that I may ſhortly ſee you in perfect peace and ſafety: till when, let me beg your majeſty to continue the ſame favourable opinion you have hitherto had of, &c."

the princeſs Anne was the only rightful queen of theſe realms, and that orders had been given for proclaiming her majeſty. The commons readily joined with their lordſhips in recognizing her majeſty's title, and unanimouſly voted an addreſs of condolance and congratulation. In the afternoon the queen was proclaimed with the uſual ceremony, amidſt the loud acclamations of the people; and indeed the joy expreſſed by the whole nation on the acceſſion of queen Anne was obſerved to be greater and more general than had appeared on any other occaſion ſince the Reſtoration of the church and monarchy under king Charles II. The ſame day her majeſty was pleaſed to iſſue a proclamation, by which all magiſtrates and officers civil and military, were continued in the exerciſe of their reſpective functions till further orders.

The queen alſo ſummoned all the late king's miniſters of the kingdom of Scotland who were then in London, to attend her, before whom ſhe took the coronation-oath appointed to be taken by the laws of Scotland, on the acceſſion of a new ſovereign. After which ſhe ſent a commiſſion to the earl of Marchmont, lord-chancellor of that kingdom, to be her commiſſioner in the general aſſembly of the kirk that was then ſitting; and likewiſe diſpatched a letter to the privy-council there, authorizing them to act as her council, and to iſſue proclamations, requiring all officers, civil and military, to continue the exerciſe of their ſeveral offices, declaring her reſolution to protect them in their religion, laws, and liberties; and the like orders were ſent to Ireland, where the joy of the people appeared no leſs ſincere on her majeſty's aſcending the throne than in England.

The next day, being the ninth of March, each houſe of parliament attended her majeſty ſeparately, with an addreſs of condolance and congratulation. The peers, who firſt preſented theirs, aſſured her majeſty of their firm reſolution to ſupport her undoubted right and title, and the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line, againſt all her enemies whatſoever, being fully ſenſible, they ſaid, that the great loſs they had ſuſtained was no otherwiſe to be repaired but by a vigorous adherence to her majeſty and her allies, in the proſecution of the meaſures already entered into to reduce the exorbitant power of France: that they would exert themſelves to the utmoſt to maintain the balance of Europe, and deſired no time might be loſt in communicating to the allies her majeſty's reſolution of adhering to the alliances already made, which they would exert their utmoſt endeavours to enable her to maintain.

Her majeſty returned the lords her thanks for the aſſurances they gave her, and told them her endeavours ſhould always be very ſincere to promote the true intereſt of England, and ſupport the common cauſe.

The ſame day in the evening, the commons in a body attended her majeſty with their addreſs, in which they condoled with her for the loſs of the late king; but, they ſaid, her majeſty's zeal for their religion and eſtabliſhment gave them a certain proſpect of future happineſs, and moderated their grief, and engaged them unanimouſly to aſſure her, that they would aſſiſt and maintain her majeſty on the throne where God had placed her againſt all her enemies; and alſo that they were firmly reſolved to maintain her majeſty's alliances, and the ſucceſſion of the crown in the proteſtant line, and effectually provide for and make good the public credit of the nation *.

Her majeſty thanked the commons for their aſſurances, and told them they could not be more agreeably confirmed than by giving diſpatch to their preparations for the public ſervice and for the ſupport of the allies. The lord archbiſhop of Canterbury and the other biſhops alſo attended her majeſty with an addreſs of condolance and congratulation, as did the lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London, and afterwards all the counties and corporations of England.

On the eleventh of March the queen went to the houſe of peers with the uſual ſolemnity, where ſhe delivered this her firſt ſpeech to the parliament:

My lords and gentlemen,

"I cannot too much lament my own unhappineſs in ſucceeding ſo immediately after the loſs of a king, who was the great ſupport not only of theſe kingdoms, but of all Europe; and I am extremely ſenſible of the weight and difficulty it brings upon me.

"But the true concern I have for our religion; for the laws and liberties of England; for the maintaining the ſucceſſion to the crown in the proteſtant line, and the government in church and ſtate, as by law eſtabliſhed, encourages me in this great undertaking, which I promiſe myſelf will be ſucceſsful, by the bleſſing of God, and the continuance of that fidelity and affection of which you have given me ſo full aſſurance.

"The preſent conjuncture of affairs requires the greateſt application and diſpatch; and I am very glad to find in your ſeveral addreſſes ſo unanimous a concurrence in the ſame opinion with me, that too much cannot be done for the encouragement of our allies to reduce the exorbitant power of France.

"I cannot but think it very neceſſary upon this occaſion to deſire you to conſider of proper methods towards obtaining an union between England and Scotland, which has been ſo lately recommended to you as a matter that very nearly concerns the peace and ſecurity of both kingdoms.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I need not put you in mind that the revenue for defraying the expences of the civil government is expired.

"I rely entirely upon your affections, for the ſupplying it in ſuch manner as ſhall be moſt ſuitable for the honour and dignity of the crown.

My lords and gentlemen,

"It ſhall be my conſtant endeavour to make you the beſt return for that duty and affection you have expreſſed to me, by a careful and diligent ad-

* This reſolution of the commons about public credit, together with the good harmony that appeared between the new queen and her parliament, immediately raiſed the national funds above their former value, which upon king William's death had fallen about fifteen per cent. Burnet. Tindal.

miniſtration for the good of all my ſubjects; and as I know my own heart to be entirely Engliſh, I can very ſincerely aſſure you there is not any thing you can expect or deſire from me which I ſhall not be ready to do for the happineſs and proſperity of England; and you ſhall always find me a ſtrict and religious obſerver of my word."

This ſpeech was extremely agreeable to the parliament, and the two houſes unanimouſly joined in a warm addreſs of thanks to her majeſty for the ſame; and on the fourteenth of March voted, That the ſame revenue which had been ſettled on king William ſhould be ſettled on her majeſty for life *. The ſame day the duke of Bedford and the earl of Marlborough were elected knights companions of the moſt noble order of the garter, and on the 15th the earl was declared captain-general of all her majeſty's forces in England, and of thoſe which were employed abroad in conjunction with her allies. Her majeſty wrote a letter to the States-general to notify the death of king William, and to aſſure them of her reſolution to concur with them in all the meaſures that ſhould be found neceſſary to preſerve the common liberty of Europe, and to reduce the power of France within due bounds. This letter Mr. Stanhope, the Engliſh envoy in Holland, delivered to the States, who immediately publiſhed it, to refute thoſe reports that had been raiſed that the queen would not proſecute the meaſures concerted by king William and the confederates. This letter greatly revived the drooping ſpirits of the States, who had been ſeized with the moſt dreadful conſternation on the firſt news of king William's death: but animated by her majeſty's aſſurances, they now reſolved to proſecute vigorous meaſures; and their reſolutions were ſtill more inſpirited by the arrival of the earl of Marlborough on the twenty-eighth of March, in the quality of her majeſty's ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to their High Mightineſſes.

After ſeveral conferences with the penſionary Fagel, and the other miniſters, he was on the thirty-firſt of March, conducted to his public audience of the States General, with great ſolemnity, to whom he made a ſpeech, wherein, after having condoled their mutual loſs, and aſſured them of her majeſty's ſincere deſire to entertain the ſame union, friendſhip, and correſpondence, as had ſubſiſted between the two nations in the preceding reign, he alſo told their High Mightineſſes, that he was farther ordered to aſſure them, that the queen his miſtreſs would not only faithfully obſerve the treaties and alliances already made with them, but was ready to renew and confirm them, and to concur in all the meaſures taken by the late king, in purſuance of the ſaid alliances; that ſhe was alſo willing to aſſiſt the allies with all her forces, by ſea and land, for the preſervation of the liberties of Europe, and reducing the exorbitant power of France; and had ordered him to concur with them in the neceſſary operations for effecting theſe ends †. This ſpeech was anſwered by Dyckvelt, preſident of the week, who, in the name of the States, expreſſed their hearty thanks to her majeſty, and their reſolution of concurring with her in a vigorous proſecution of the common intereſt: to which the preſident added, "that his excellency's perſon would be highly acceptable to them, not only for the queen's choice of him, and for the ſake of king William, who had firſt inveſted him with that character, but alſo for his own merit."

The French king, on the news of William's death, which had filled the court of Verſailles with a joy they could hardly reſtrain within the bounds of common decorum, diſpatched credentials to the ſieur de Barré, whom the count d'Avaux had left at the Hague to manage the affairs of France, together with inſtructions to renew the negotiations with the States, in hope of detaching them from the alliance. De Barré accordingly preſented a memorial to the States, offering them his maſter's friendſhip, which he ſaid he did not doubt they would be ready to cultivate, "now they were no longer under the influence of the deceaſed king:" but gave them to underſtand, at the ſame time, that his maſter's forces were ready to enter upon action, and they muſt now determine whether they would chuſe quiet and liberty, or war and ruin, and the ruin of their trade, ſacrificed to foreign intereſts ‡.

The States, in their anſwer to this memorial (both which they made public), ſaid, "That they had always a high eſteem for his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's friendſhip, and had never done any thing to incur his diſpleaſure; but that the preparations for war upon their frontiers, laid them under the neceſſity of putting themſelves in a poſture of defence, and of aſking aſſiſtance from their allies: that the reſident was miſtaken, if he thought their High Mightineſſes had not as much liberty during the life-time of his Britannic majeſty, to debate and take ſuch reſolutions as they judged neceſſary for their preſervation, as they had at preſent: that they could not indeed enough deplore their misfortune, in being deprived of his wiſe conduct and counſels, whoſe deſerts the republic could never forget; and they were reſolved to follow the ſame principles, and continue the ſame alliances they had entered into in his life-time; and make uſe of ſuch other means as God had put into their hands for maintaining their liberties and religion." Upon this anſwer, the ſieur de Barré diſpatched an expreſs to France; and the earl of Marlborough, having concerted meaſures for beginning the military operations, returned to England.

In the mean time the Engliſh parliament having gone through ſeveral bills, her majeſty came to the houſe on the thirtieth of March, and gave the royal aſſent to the act for the better ſupport of her majeſty's houſhold, and the honour and dignity of the crown; to an act for ſtating the public accounts; and to ſome other acts, which may be ſeen in the notes ‖. After which her majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, wherein ſhe told them, it

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 199.
† Lamberti, vol. i. Burnet. Boyer.
‡ Lamberti. Broderick.
‖ An act for explaining a clauſe in an act made in the parliament begun and holden at Weſtminſter the twenty-ſecond of November, in the ſeventh year of the reign of our ſovereign lord William III. intitled, An act for the better ſecurity of his majeſty's royal perſon and government.

An act for reviving an act, entitled, An act for exempting apothecaries from ſerving the offices of conſtable, ſcavenger, and other pariſh and ward-offices, and from ſerving upon juries.

An act for continuing the act made in the eighth year of his late majeſty's reign, for the better preventing the counterfeiting the current coin of this kingdom.

was with great pleaſure that ſhe gave her aſſent to the act for ſtating the public accounts, as ſhe thought it highly reaſonable that her ſubjects ſhould be ſatisfied how the large ſums they had granted her had been expended, eſpecially when their common ſafety ſtill required the continuance of great taxes: at the ſame time ſhe returned the commons thanks for having continued to her, during her life, the ſame revenue they had granted to the late king; telling them, that although it would, in all probability, fall ſhort of what it had formerly produced, ſhe would nevertheleſs give directions that one hundred thouſand pounds thereof ſhould be applied this year to the public ſervice; being willing, ſhe ſaid, to ſtraiten herſelf in her own expences, rather than not contribute all ſhe could to the eaſe and relief of her people, with a juſt regard to the honour and dignity of the crown.

This popular and generous declaration ſo won upon the parliament, that both houſes preſented her majeſty addreſſes of thanks, in which they took notice of her unparalleled grace and goodneſs, in contributing out of her own revenue to the eaſe and relief of her ſubjects *.

The queen being ſettled in the throne, began to think of forming her miniſtry, wherein ſhe gave evident proofs of her partiality for the Tories: ſhe had, indeed, from her infancy, imbibed ſtrong prejudices againſt the Whigs, whom ſhe conſidered as filled with a republican ſpirit, and by no means friends to the church of England, to which ſhe was moſt zealouſly devoted. The treatment ſhe had met with from her ſiſter and king William, had not a little confirmed her in her diſlike to the Whigs, to whom ſhe imputed that treatment; and her conſort prince George, who had found himſelf equally ſlighted during the preceding reign, encouraged her in her reſentments againſt that party: beſides, the Tories had engaged very warmly in her intereſts in the affair of her revenue, which, though it might have been done principally out of oppoſition to king William, was charged to the account of their affection to her. Theſe circumſtances conſidered, the reader will not be ſurprized to find that the Tories were chiefly conſidered.

On the fourteenth of April, the duke of Devonſhire was conſtituted lord-ſteward of the houſehold; the earl of Jerſey, lord-chamberlain; the earl of Bedford, treaſurer; ſir Edward Seymour, comptroller; and Peregrine Bertie, eſq. vice-chamberlain: two days after, her majeſty, in council, declared his royal highneſs the prince of Denmark generaliſſimo of all her forces by ſea and land. It had been debated, on her majeſty's acceſſion to the throne, whether her princely conſort ſhould have any higher title than he had before: ſome alleged, he ſhould have the name, if not the authority, of King; and inſtanced the examples of Philip of Spain, who married our queen Mary I. and of Henry, lord Darnley, who eſpouſed Mary queen of Scots. As to the firſt, the emperor Charles V. had, before his ſon's marriage, conferred on him the title of king of Naples, Jeruſalem, &c. and not long after reſigned to him all his hereditary dominions; but for the other, he never had any ſovereignty, and ſo was more parallel to the preſent caſe; perhaps the main reaſon that induced the Scots to proclaim him king, was his near relation to the crown of Great Britain. It might alſo have been obſerved, that Francis, dauphin of France, the queen of Scots firſt huſband, had the title of king of Scotland, though in France he was ſtyled only Roy Dauphin (King Dauphin †.) However, the prince of Denmark contented himſelf with the ſame titles and character as before, and was the firſt who did homage to her majeſty at her coronation, which was ſolemnized on the twenty-third of April, as duke of Cumberland. The duke of Ormond was now made commander in chief of all her majeſty's land forces on board the fleet; and the lord Somers, and ſome others of the Whig party, being diſmiſſed from the council-board, the marquis of Normanby, the earl of Abingdon, ſir John Leveſon Gower, ſir Edward Seymour, and John How, eſq. (the ſame who had expreſſed himſelf in ſo indecent terms about the partition-treaty in the laſt reign), were ſworn of the privy council. The privy ſeal was delivered to the marquis of Normanby, and ſir John Leveſon Gower was appointed chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter; the earl of Rocheſter was continued lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and enjoyed a great ſhare of her majeſty's confidence; and Dr. John Sharpe, archbiſhop of York became her ghoſtly director and counſellor in all eccleſiaſtical affairs. Soon after the earl of Nottingham and ſir Charles Hedges were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate.

There were however ſeveral of the Whig party at this time in the miniſtry: theſe had been admitted in order to gain them over; but the Tories were the preponderating party. When it came to be debated in council, whether England ſhould enter into the war as principals, or only as auxiliaries, the Tories, with the earl of Rocheſter at their head, were for the latter, alleging, that in the late war the emperor and ſome other allies had been very remiſs in furniſhing their quotas, and bringing their troops early into the field, whereby many advantages had been loſt, and the burthen of the war in a manner thrown upon the Engliſh; that their deficiencies were conſtantly ſupplied by England; and when they were put in mind of what they had ſtipulated and engaged for, their inability to perform their parts was accepted as an excuſe; while the Engliſh, from a nice notion of honour, anticipated their revenues, and mortgaged their country in the quarrel: whereas, had they acted only as auxiliaries, they would have had no more to do but to pay the troops ſent to their aſſiſtance, and the ſtreſs and burden of the war muſt have been borne, as it ought to be, by thoſe who were moſt nearly concerned in the event.

The Whigs, however, the chief of whom were the dukes of Devonſhire and Somerſet, inſiſted upon the expediency of our acting as principals: in this opinion they were joined by the earl of Marlborough, between whom and the earl of Rocheſter there was at this time a rivalſhip for the queen's favour: the intereſt of the latter however prevailed; Marlborough was not only the better courtier, but by the canal of his counteſs actually

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 199.

† Coke's Court of England, p. 127.

directed

directed the queen in all her reſolutions. He obſerved on this occaſion, that the honour of the nation was concerned to fulfil the king's engagements, and affirmed that France could never be reduced within due bounds unleſs the Engliſh would enter as principals in the quarrel. This allegation was ſtrongly ſupported by the two dukes above-mentioned and the earl of Pembroke, who at length drew over the majority of the council to their ſide, and a declaration was ordered to be prepared againſt France and Spain. Her majeſty, however, thought proper to lay the matter before the houſe of commons, and accordingly Mr. Comptroller, by her command, communicated to them the convention between her majeſty, the emperor, and the States-general; whereupon the commons addreſſed her majeſty with thanks for having condeſcended to adviſe with them before ſhe declared war, and aſſured her that they would to the utmoſt aſſiſt and ſupport her majeſty in carrying on the ſaid war. The queen having the concurrence of the commons, cauſed the following declaration of war againſt France and Spain to be ſolemnly proclaimed on the fourth day of May.

ANNE R.

"Whereas it hath pleaſed Almighty God to call us to the government of theſe realms, at a time when our late dear brother William III. of glorious memory, had, in purſuance of the repeated advice of the parliament of this kingdom, entered into ſolemn treaties of alliance with the emperor of Germany, the States-general of the United Provinces, and other princes and potentates, for preſerving the liberty and balance of Europe, and for reducing the exorbitant power of France; which treaties are grounded upon the unjuſt uſurpations and encroachments of the French king, who had taken, and ſtill keeps poſſeſſion of a great part of the Spaniſh dominions, exerciſing an abſolute authority over all that monarchy, having ſeized Milan and the Spaniſh Low-countries by his armies, and made himſelf maſter of Cadiz, of the entrance into the Mediterranean, and of the ports in the Spaniſh Weſt Indies by his fleets, everywhere deſigning to invade the liberties of Europe, and to obſtruct the freedom of navigation and commerce: and it being provided by the third and fourth articles of the fore-mentioned alliance, That if in the ſpace of two months, which are ſome time ſince expired, injuries complained of were not remedied, the parties concerned ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other with their whole ſtrength: and whereas, inſtead of giving the ſatisfaction that ought juſtly to be expected, the French king has not only proceeded to farther violences, but has added thereunto a great affront and indignity to us and our kingdoms, in taking upon him to declare the pretended prince of Wales king of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and has alſo influenced Spain to concur in the ſame affront and indignity, as well as in his other oppreſſions: we find ourſelves obliged, for maintaining the public faith, for vindicating the honour of our crown, and for preventing the miſchiefs which all Europe is threatened with, to declare, and we do hereby accordingly declare war againſt France and Spain; and placing our entire confidence in the help of Almighty God in ſo juſt and neceſſary an undertaking, we will, in conjunction with our allies, vigorouſly proſecute the ſame by ſea and land, being aſſured of the ready concurrence and aſſiſtance of our ſubjects in a cauſe they have ſo openly and ſo heartily eſpouſed; and we do hereby will and require our lord high-admiral of England, our general of our forces, our lieutenants of our ſeveral counties, governors of our forts and garriſons, and all other officers and ſoldiers under them by ſea and land, to do and execute all acts of hoſtility in the proſecution of this war againſt France and Spain, their vaſſals and ſubjects, and to oppoſe their attempts, willing and requiring all our ſubjects to take notice of the ſame, whom we henceforth ſtrictly forbid to hold any correſpondence or communication with France, Spain, or their ſubjects: but becauſe there are remaining in our kingdoms many of the ſubjects of France and Spain, we do declare our royal intention to be, that all the ſubjects of France and Spain who ſhall demean themſelves dutifully towards us ſhall be ſafe in their perſons and eſtates."

Given at our court at St. James's, the fourth day of May, 1702, in the firſt year of our reign.

Two days after the iſſuing of this declaration lord Godolphin was conſtituted lord high-treaſurer. This office his lordſhip had for ſome time refuſed, until he was over-ruled by the perſuaſions of the earl of Marlborough, to whoſe eldeſt daughter his ſon was married. This nobleman refuſed to command the forces abroad unleſs the treaſury was put into the hands of Godolphin, on whoſe punctuality in point of remittances he knew he could depend. The ſame day her majeſty was pleaſed to appoint George prince of Denmark lord high-admiral, though to do this it was requiſite to remove the earl of Pembroke, then lord high-admiral, who was actually preparing to go to ſea. It is true a large penſion was offered him; but his lordſhip anſwered with a generoſity and ſpirit not often to be met with, That however convenient it might be for his private intereſt, yet the accepting ſuch a penſion was inconſiſtent with his principles; and ſince he could not have the honour of ſerving his country in perſon, he would endeavour to do it by his example *. The new lord high-admiral had a council appointed him by his commiſſion, viz. ſir George Rooke, ſir David Mitchel, George Churchill, eſq. and Richard Hill, eſq. who were to aſſiſt him with their advice, and alſo in the execution of his office.

The two houſes now joined in an addreſs to her majeſty, that ſhe would prevail with the emperor, the States-general, and the reſt of her allies, to prohibit all trade and correſpondence with France, and enter into meaſures with the Dutch for protecting the foreign trade of both nations. The Lords alſo addreſſed her majeſty to encourage privateers and adventurers who ſhould endeavour to poſſeſs themſelves of the Spaniſh dominions in America, this being the only part of the world where the nation could gain any advantage by the war on the terms of the grand alliance; but unfortunately this advice was neglected. Her ma-

* Campbell's Lives of Admirals.

jeſty having been pleaſed, by order of council, to require that the princeſs Sophia, electreſs-dowager of Hanover (by act of parliament appointed next in ſucceſſion to her majeſty, in caſe ſhe ſhould leave no iſſue behind her) ſhould be prayed for in churches, &c. both lords and commons voted her thanks for her great zeal for the ſucceſſion of the crown in the proteſtant line, expreſſed in her ſaid order.

And now the violent Tories in the lower houſe, who were moſt of them Jacobites, perceiving that every thing was conducted with vigour and diſpatch, reſolved to ſtart ſome ſubject which might, if not defeat, at leaſt retard the proſecution of the war. With this view they moved for an addreſs, "That no perſon who was not a native of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or at leaſt of Engliſh parents, unleſs they were formerly in half pay, ſhould be an officer in her majeſty's new-raiſed forces." This motion was ſuppoſed to be meant as a reflection on the memory of the late king, who was accuſed of an immoderate attachment to foreigners: the motion however was ſilenced, and the enemies of the government for this time put to confuſion. This however was but a ſmall part of the inſults aimed at the character of the late king; for about this time a report was induſtriouſly ſpread, that he had formed a deſign to exclude the princeſs Anne from the crown, and to get the elector of Hanover declared his immediate ſucceſſor; a report which gained ſo much credit, that the city of Norwich, in their addreſs to the queen, printed in the Gazette of the thirtieth of April, congratulated her majeſty's happy acceſſion to the throne, "notwithſtanding the malicious deſigns and contrivances uſed to defeat her majeſty of her undoubted right."

Hereupon ſeveral peers, friends to the Revolution and the memory of the late king, inſiſted that a proper ſcrutiny ſhould be made into the matter; and after a ſtrict and ſcrupulous ſearch among the papers his majeſty had left behind him, nothing appeared on which ſuch a ſtory could with truth be founded. The houſe of lords therefore voted the ſaid report to be a villainous attempt to diſhonour the late king's memory, and humbly beſought her majeſty to cauſe the authors or publiſhers of ſuch a report to be proſecuted by the attorney-general; and Dr. Drake being charged with having ſuggeſted ſomething of this kind in a pamphlet he publiſhed, entitled, The Hiſtory of the laſt Parliament, he was brought before the houſe, when he ſeemed to be under a ſtrange ſurprize and abſence of thought at his examination: for being aſked, if he had heard any perſons ſay that they could charge any perſons whatever with ſuch ſpeeches? he anſwered, he did not know of any ſuch perſon: and on being aſked farther, if in any of the pamphlets he had cited as obnoxious, there was any thing ſaid about ſetting aſide her preſent majeſty? the doctor anſwered, he did not remember there was: and yet it appears, that about the ſame time there was a pamphlet cited by the doctor under their lordſhips conſideration, entitled, "Reaſons for addreſſing his majeſty to invite into England their highneſſes the electreſs-dowager and the electoral prince of Hanover;" written by Toland: wherein it was expreſsly ſaid, that it appears from hiſtory, "That all free people have ſet aſide the children of tyrants, for reaſons of eternal and univerſal force, as inheriting the principles and deſigns of their parents, bearing an affection to their friends, and owing revenge to their enemies." And their lordſhips were ſo well ſatisfied of the drift of this clauſe, and others of the like nature, that they paſſed their cenſures on theſe pamphlets, and ordered the authors to be proſecuted for the ſame: and indeed thoſe gentlemen and their zealous brethren were much leſs forward in giving credit to ſuch a report, when they had ſeen his majeſty make the earl of Rocheſter, uncle to the princeſs Anne, his prime miniſter, and the earl of Marlborough, who was her principal confidant, general of his armies, and ambaſſador and plenipotentiary to his allies *. But to proceed:

As the queen in her ſpeech had recommended an union between England and Scotland, a bill was introduced into parliament to empower her majeſty to name commiſſioners to treat with the Scots on that ſubject. The Tories endeavoured all in their power to defeat this bill; but the meaſure was ſo plainly conducive to the intereſt of England, and the ſupport of the preſent government, that notwithſtanding all their efforts it paſſed through both houſes, and at laſt received the royal aſſent. The buſineſs of the ſeſſion being finiſhed, on the twenty-fifth of May the queen went to the houſe of peers; and after giving her aſſent to ſeveral public and private bills, prorogued the parliament to the ſeventh day of July †, after having in a ſhort ſpeech thanked them for their zeal, recommended unanimity, and declared ſhe would carefully preſerve and maintain the act of toleration.

In the beginning of June her majeſty was pleaſed to appoint Simon Harcourt, eſq. to be ſollicitor-general, and to confer the honour of knighthood both upon him and Mr. Northey, attorney-general. In the ſame month great alterations were made of general officers, viz. the earl of Rivers and Charles Churchill, eſq. were made lieutenants-general; ſir Charles O'Hara, William Selwyn, and Richard Ingoldſby, eſq. majors-general; and the earl of Arran, the lord Windſor, Cornelius Wood, Hatton Compton, William Lloyd, Guſtavus Hamilton, and William Seymour, brigadiers-general; and William Matthews, eſq. brigadier-general of her majeſty's guards. The prince of Denmark was conſtituted conſtable of Dover-caſtle, and lord-warden of the Cinque-ports. The honourable John Granville was appointed lord-warden of the ſtannaries; and the earl of Carberry, governor of Milford-haven. His royal highneſs was pleaſed to appoint Charles earl of Winchelſea lieutenant of

* Life of Queen Anne. Tindal. Hiſtory of Europe.

† In this ſhort ſeſſion the queen gave her aſſent to the following acts, viz. an act obliging the Jews to maintain and provide for their proteſtant children. By this act, if any Jewiſh parent, with a view to compel his proteſtant child to change his religion, ſhould refuſe ſuch a child maintenance ſuitable to the ability of the parent, and the age and education of the child, the lord-chancellor was empowered to make ſuch an order for the maintenance of the child as to him ſhould ſeem moſt proper and convenient. An act for continuing the impriſonment of Counter, and other conſpirators againſt king William. An act for the relief of the proteſtant purchaſers of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland. An act for enlarging the time for taking the oath of abjuration. By this act it was declared treaſonable for any one to attempt the hindering any perſon who was or ſhould be next in ſucceſſion, according to the act of ſettlement for ſucceeding to the crown on the death of her majeſty.

Dover-caſtle and the Cinque-ports; and the lord viſcount Weymouth, the lord Dartmouth, ſir John Trevor maſter of the Rolls, ſir Thomas Trevor lord chief-juſtice of the Common-pleas, and the honourable John Granville, eſq. were ſworn of her majeſty's privy-council; the earl of Marlborough was alſo made maſter of the ordnance.

In the mean time William Fuller, an infamous impoſtor, who had repeatedly abuſed the patience both of the lords and commons, on pretence of making ſome important diſcoveries concerning the birth of the pretended prince of Wales, was brought to his trial at the bar of the Queen's Bench, upon an information for contriving and publiſhing ſeveral ſcandalous libels, particularly one, entitled, "Original Letters from the late King James," &c. It appeared at this trial, that Fuller had been cenſured by the houſe of commons in the year 1691, for crimes of the like nature, for which he was proſecuted at common law, and puniſhed; notwithſtanding which he ſtill perſiſted in his villainous practices. It appeared alſo, that he had applied himſelf to ſome of the miniſtry, pretending to make diſcoveries, as above-mentioned; and though the ſtories were ſo very fooliſhly laid together, that they could never obtain any credit with reaſonable people, yet the commonalty gave great credit to them. Fuller would have trifled with the court of Queen's Bench, as he had formerly done with the two houſes of parliament, pretending, that if they would allow him time, he would produce witneſſes to the truth of what he had affirmed; but the impoſture was ſo notorious, that the jury found him guilty without withdrawing, and the lord chief-juſtice Holt ſentenced him to ſtand thrice in the pillory; to be ſent to the houſe of correction, there to be whipped, and kept to hard labour for five months; to pay a fine of one thouſand marks, and to remain in priſon till it was paid.

It is now time to ſhift the ſcene, and take a view of the affairs of Scotland, where a warm conteſt had ariſen between the Revolutioniſts and thoſe in the oppoſition, concerning the exiſtence of the preſent parliament. I have already taken notice that the queen, on her acceſſion, ſent a letter to the privy-council of that kingdom, to continue to act till farther orders. Her majeſty, not long after, thought fit to ſend them another letter, in anſwer to one the late king had received, concerning their trade to Africa and the Indies, and the union with England, wherein her majeſty tells them, ſhe would maintain the ſovereignty and independency of that her antient kingdom, and be as tender of their rights as of her kingdom of England; that ſhe would govern each kingdom according to their reſpective laws, and endeavour to avoid all misunderſtandings and differences between them; to that end ſhe would endeavour to eſtabliſh an union between them. That the parliament of England having ſhewn ſuch an inclination towards an union, ſhe hoped the parliament of Scotland would not obſtruct the deſign. That the late king had ordered, that none of the ſubjects of Scotland ſhould be impreſſed for the Engliſh ſea-ſervice, and ſhe would continue to protect them in this matter. She regretted their loſſes and diſappointments in their trade to Africa and the Indies; and in ſettling a colony in America, which was now a misfortune to the whole kingdom: ſhe would concur in any propoſals for their reparation and aſſiſtance; and ſhe would encourage not only the trade of that company, but of the whole kingdom, and to the utmoſt of her power promote the welfare of her people *.

Notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances, and that her majeſty had taken the coronation oath of that kingdom, in the preſence of twelve Scottiſh counſellors, then in London, thoſe who wanted to embroil affairs, affirmed that this was an irregular way of proceeding, and that the oath ought to have been tendered by perſons deputed for that purpoſe, either by the parliament, or the privy-council of the kingdom: they alſo clamoured loudly for the calling a new parliament; while the preſent miniſtry, conſiſting of the duke of Queenſberry, the earls of Marchmont, Melvil, Seafield, Selkirk, and Hyndford, who were ſtaunch Revolutioniſts, were deſirous that the preſent parliament ſhould continue, in purſuance of a late act for continuing the parliament that ſhould be then in being, ſix months after the death of the late king, and that it ſhould aſſemble in twenty days after that event: but the queen having, by ſeveral adjournments, deferred the meeting almoſt three months after the king's deceaſe, the Antirevolutioniſts therefore affirmed it was diſſolved; and the duke of Hamilton, who was at the head of this party, together with the marquis of Tweddale, the earls Mariſchal and Rothes, and many other gentlemen, repaired to London, in order to make the queen acquainted with their objections to the continuance of the preſent parliament. The duke of Queenſberry, however, having warmly repreſented to the queen and her Engliſh miniſtry, that the calling another parliament at this juncture might occaſion tumults in Scotland; and, moreover, that it could not be convened time enough for her majeſty's ſervice, which required immediate ſupplies of men and money for the war; he carried his point, and orders were ſent from England for the parliament of Scotland to meet, according to their laſt adjournment, on the ninth day of June, Queenſberry himſelf being appointed high-commiſſioner for holding the ſame.

Duke Hamilton finding himſelf baffled in his deſigns haſtened back to Scotland, and, on the day of the parliament's meeting, deſired to be heard before the queen's high-commiſſion was read, which being granted, his grace, in behalf of himſelf and the other members who adhered to him, objected, in a long ſpeech, againſt the legality of their meeting; after which he read a paper, containing theſe words:

"Foraſmuch as by the fundamental laws and conſtitutions of this kingdom, all parliaments do diſſolve by the death of the king or queen, except in ſo far as is innovated by the ſeventeenth act of the ſixth ſeſſion of king William's parliament, impowering the parliament laſt in being at his majeſty's death to meet and act what ſhould be needful for the defence of the true proteſtant religion, as now by law eſtabliſhed, and maintaining the ſucceſſion to the crown as ſettled by the claim of rights, and for preſerving and ſecuring the

* Burnet. Lockhart's Memoirs.

peace and ſafety of the kingdom; and now ſeeing that the ſaid ends are fully ſatisfied by her majeſty's ſucceſſion to the throne, whereby the religion and peace of the kingdom are ſecured, we conceive ourſelves not warranted by this law to meet, ſit, or act; therefore do diſſent from all that ſhall be done, and thereupon take inſtrument*."

The duke having accordingly taken inſtruments, he went out of the houſe, but without giving in his paper; thereupon the clerk-regiſter and ſeventy-nine of the members declared that they adhered to duke Hamilton's paper, and likewiſe took inſtruments and withdrew. But nevertheleſs the duke of Queenſberry, having a greater number remaining with him in the houſe, his commiſſion to be her majeſty's high-commiſſioner was read, and afterwards a letter from her majeſty to the parliament, wherein ſhe told them, that it would have been a great ſatisfaction to her, at her acceſſion, to have met them in perſon; but the multiplicity of weighty affairs deprived her of that opportunity: however, ſhe gave them full aſſurance, that ſhe was firmly reſolved to maintain and protect them in the full poſſeſſion of their religion, laws, and liberties, "and of the preſbyterian government of the church:" that ſhe had been obliged, in purſuance of an expreſs article of treaty entered into by the late king and her allies, to declare war againſt France and Spain, wherein ſhe expected their hearty concurrence and aſſiſtance: and laſtly, ſhe earneſtly recommended to their conſideration an union of the two kingdoms.

The queen's letter being read, the duke of Queenſberry and the earl of Marchmont, in ſeparate ſpeeches, enforced the ſeveral points therein; and the parliament meeting again on the eleventh of June, proceeded to appoint committees for the ſecurity of the kingdom; for controverted elections; for drawing up an anſwer to her majeſty's letter; and for reviſing the minutes: then they paſſed an act for recognizing her majeſty's authority; another for declaring the preſent parliament to be a lawful parliament; and another for ſecuring the proteſtant religion and preſbyterian church-government, upon which there happened great debates and ſeveral warm ſpeeches; and among the reſt one of ſir Alexander Bruce, in which he had given vent to ſuch ſtinging reflections againſt rigid preſbytery as drew upon him the ſevere cenſure of the houſe, which ended in his expulſion; and, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition thoſe of the epiſcopal communion could make, the act paſſed; and the parliament tranſmitted an anſwer to the queen's letter, wherein, after expatiating on the bleſſings for which they were indebted to the late king, by the preſervation and ſettlement of their religion, laws, and liberties, they lamented their misfortune of being deprived of her majeſty's royal preſence, who had ſhewn herſelf diſpoſed to adopt the gracious reſolutions of their late ſovereign in regard to them, and particularly the preſbyterian government as then eſtabliſhed. That the growing power and unbounded ambition of the French king, and his owning the pretended prince of Wales as king, having engaged her majeſty in a juſt and neceſſary war, they promiſed to raiſe ſupplies for the defence of their kingdom; and aſſure her, that the groundleſs ſeceſſion of ſome members ſhould increaſe and ſtrengthen their care and zeal for her majeſty's ſervice, and what ſhe had recommended to them: and as the union of the kingdoms had been ſo long deſired by all good men, they were reſolved to make ſuch a ſuitable return to the advances already made by the parliament of England, as might beſt contribute to accompliſh this great deſign.

In the mean time, however, the duke of Hamilton and his party had prepared an addreſs to the queen, to juſtify their withdrawing themſelves, ſhewing, that, by the conſtitution of Scotland, the convention or parliament was diſſolved by the death of the late king. This addreſs they ſent up to London by the lord Blantyre; but her majeſty refuſed to receive it, and adhered to the parliament; to which ſhe ſent the following Letter:

Anne R.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"Being informed, that at your firſt meeting, by virtue and warrant of the ſeventeenth act of the ſixth ſeſſion of this parliament, and of our proclamation of adjournment agreeable thereto, ſeveral members of parliament, after prayers ſaid, and declining to wait the reading of our commiſſion granted to James, duke of Queenſberry, repreſenting our royal perſon in this meeting of parliament, did preſume to declare openly, that they did not conceive themſelves warranted to meet and act in this preſent ſeſſion of parliament, and therefore diſſented from any thing that ſhould be done or acted therein, and thereupon did take inſtruments, and withdrew and removed from their attendance; we have thought fit to ſignify to you our juſt reſentment of that irregular and unuſual proceeding, and our reſolution to own and maintain this preſent ſeſſion of parliament, and the dignity and authority of the ſame, and of our high-commiſſioner thereto, againſt all oppoſers: and this we thought fit to declare for your better encouragement, that you may proceed vigorouſly in your work, for the defence of the true proteſtant religion, and the maintaining the poſſeſſion of the crown, and for the preſerving and ſecuring of the peace and ſafety of the kingdom. And ſo we bid you heartily farewell.

"Given at our court at St. James's, the ſeventeenth day of June, 1702, and of our reign in the firſt year."

On the twenty-fifth of June, the high-commiſſioner gave the royal aſſent to an act for enabling her majeſty to appoint commiſſioners for treating of an union between the two kingdoms; after which it was propoſed to ſettle the ſucceſſion of the Scottiſh crown in the houſe of Hanover, as had been done in England; but there appearing a majority againſt ſettling the ſucceſſion at this time, and the debates running very high, the lord-commiſſioner thought fit to adjourn them on the thirtieth of June, having firſt commended their unanimity and chearfulneſs in recognizing her majeſty, ſecuring the proteſtant religion and preſbyterian church-government, and diſpatching the other acts for her majeſty's ſervice.

* Hiſt. of Europe, vol. viii. p. 457.

Soon

Soon after, the queen, in conſequence of the power given her by the acts of parliament of both kingdoms, appointed commiſſioners for treating of an union between England and Scotland.

The commiſſioners for England were,

The archbiſhop of Canterbury,
Lord keeper Wright,
The earl of Pembroke,
The marquis of Normanby,
The duke of Devonſhire,
The duke of Somerſet,
The earl of Jerſey,
The earl of Burlington,
The earl of Nottingham,
The earl of Rocheſter,
The earl of Marlborough,
The earl of Scarborough,
The biſhop of London,
Sir Charles Hedges,
The chief juſtice Holt,
The chief juſtice Trevor,
Sir John Leveſon Gower,
Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave,
Sir John Cook, L L. D.
Robert Harley,
Charles Godolphin,
Samuel Clarke,
Stephen Waller, LL. D.

The commiſſioners of Scotland were,

The duke of Queenſberry,
The duke of Argyle,
The marquis of Annandale,
The marquis of Lothian,
The earl of Seafield,
The earl of Hyndford,
The earl of Leven,
The viſcount Tarbat,
The viſcount Stair,
The lord Galloway,
The lord Boyle,
Sir James Stuart,
Sir George Maxwell,
Sir James Smollet,
Sir Alexander Douglas,
Sir David Dalrymple,
Sir Patrick Johnſtown,
Mr. Montgomery,
Mr. Scrimſer,
The provoſt of Aberdeen.

Dr. Davenant was appointed ſecretary to the Engliſh commiſſioners, and Robert Pringle to thoſe for Scotland *.

On the twenty-ſecond of October, the commiſſioners met, for the firſt time, at the Cockpit, where, after both commiſſions had been read, the lord-keeper Wright made a ſhort ſpeech on the ſubject, and was anſwered by the duke of Queenſberry. On the thirtieth of the next month they adjuſted the preliminaries, which imported, "that nothing agreed on among themſelves ſhould be binding, unleſs it be ratified by her majeſty and the reſpective parliament of both nations; and that, unleſs all the heads propoſed for the treaty were agreed to, no particular thing agreed ſhall be binding." The lord-keeper then propoſed on the part of England, "That the two kingdoms ſhould be inſeparably united in one monarchy, under her majeſty, her heirs and ſucceſſors; and under the ſame limitations as provided by the act of ſettlement." This propoſal met with the ready acquieſcence of the Scots. The duke of Queenſberry then propoſed, "That both nations ſhould be united under one monarchy and one parliament, with a mutual communication of trade and privileges." In the mean time the queen, willing to quicken their deliberations, came to the aſſembly, and made them a ſpeech, wherein ſhe ſaid, "ſhe was ſo fully perſuaded that a union of the two kingdoms would prove the happineſs of both, and render this iſland more formidable than ever, that ſhe wiſhed the treaty might be brought to a ſpeedy concluſion." Some days after, the Scots gave in ſix propoſals; but they were ſo extravagant, eſpecially one, by which they demanded the preſervation of the rights and privileges of their company trading to Africa and the Indies, that the Engliſh commiſſioners could not comply with them, and nothing more was done upon this commiſſion, which was annulled by the new Scottiſh parliament called by the queen. The tranquility of Ireland ſuffered no interruption at this time. The earl of Rocheſter, who, though lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, continued to reſide wholly in England, committed the government of it to lords-juſtices: the earl of Mount Alexander, major-general Erle, and Thomas Knightley, eſq. were appointed lords-juſtices in the room of the archbiſhop of Dublin and the earl of Drogheda.

We are now entering upon a war, the moſt glorious to England and her allies, if we conſider her almoſt uninterrupted ſucceſſes for the ſeveral years it laſted, that ever was known. The emperor and the States-general publiſhed their reſpective declarations of war againſt France and Spain much about the ſame time that queen Anne iſſued her's. The emperor's declaration turned chiefly upon the flagrant injury which had been done to the Auſtrian family by the French king's accepting the will made by the late king of Spain, Charles II. in favour of his grand-ſon the duke of Anjou. That of the States ſet forth in ſubſtance, "That Lewis had long ſince caſt his eyes upon their provinces: that he had twice attacked their republic (namely, in the years 1672 and 1688) by a moſt unjuſt war, in order to make his way to univerſal monarchy: that ſo far was he from deſigning to obſerve the treaty of Ryſwick, that he thereby ſolely aimed at lulling the allies aſleep, by making them lay down their arms, and particularly by ruining the commerce of the Dutch, to enervate them, ſince that treaty was ſcarcely ratified before he began manifeſtly to encroach on their trade, which is the great ſinew of their ſtate, by openly refuſing the tariff promiſed by that treaty †.

The French king affected to be greatly incenſed at theſe declarations, eſpecially that of the States, of whom he ſpoke in the moſt contemptuous terms; but, notwithſtanding all his vapouring, he was not ready to publiſh his declaration of war till the

* Lockhart's Hiſt. of Europe, vol. vii. 457.

† Lamberti, vol. ii.

beginning of July, when it came forth to the following effect:

By the King.

"Although the treaty concluded at Ryſwick, at a time when the king, by the ſuperiority of his forces, was in a condition to have given laws to the neighbouring princes, that were jealous of his power, was a certain proof of the ſincere deſire that his majeſty had always to give peace to his ſubjects, and to reſtore peace to Europe; his majeſty nevertheleſs finds that the emperor, without any lawful right to the Spaniſh monarchy, hath put himſelf in a condition, by the augmentation of his troops, by treaties and alliances with ſeveral princes, and particularly with England and the States-general of the United Provinces, to trouble the repoſe of Europe by a new war, as unjuſt as it is ill-grounded. They have begun hoſtilities on all ſides, againſt and contrary to the treaties ſo ſolemnly ſworn to. All Europe is witneſs of his majeſty's moderation; he hath ſeen places attacked, advantageous poſts ſeized, convoys ſtopped, and priſoners taken, before any declaration of war, and at a time when his majeſty was endeavouring, by his ambaſſadors and envoys, to preſerve the peace. All theſe ſteps being ſo contrary to ſincere dealing, and their own intereſts, and the manifeſtos and declarations of war of the emperor, England, and the States-general, having been publiſhed, his majeſty finds himſelf under an indiſpenſible neceſſity (in order to preſerve his own and the king his grand-ſon's dominions) to arm on his ſide, and to make levies ſufficient to oppoſe the undertakings of the common enemies; and for that end his majeſty is reſolved to employ all his forces, by ſea and land, and (by the help of divine protection, which he implores on the juſtneſs of his cauſe) to declare war againſt the emperor, England, the States-general of the United Provinces, and the princes their allies: his majeſty orders all his ſubjects, vaſſals, and ſervants, to cruize upon the ſubjects of the emperor, England, and Holland," &c. &c.

In the mean time, Lewis obſerving what a formidable confederacy was forming againſt him, left no ſtone unturned to draw over the German princes to his intereſt, and did not only ſucceed in his attempts upon the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, but prevailed alſo with the two dukes of Wolfenbuttle, Rodolphus and Anthony, to raiſe forces in the empire in his favour: whereupon the old duke of Zell, by the emperor's direction, made an incurſion into their country, in order to compel them by force of arms to abandon the intereſts of the common enemy. This ſucceeded ſo well, that, after the duke of Zell had made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong holds in the ſaid principality, he blocked up Wolfenbuttle itſelf *. The two brothers, Rodolphus and Anthony, then held the regency together: Anthony, whether out of generoſity, not to forſake his friend and ally, who had ſo well paid him, and from whom, perhaps, he expected greater advantages, or out of obſtinacy, ſhewed no inclination to quit the French intereſt; and though the duke of Holſtein-Ploen uſed all his endeavours to perſuade him to underſtand his own good, he could never bring him to hearken to reaſon. But Rodolphus, either terrified by the impending danger, or deſirous to have the regency to himſelf, began to incline to a compoſition: accordingly, a negociation was ſet on foot, which ended in an agreement between the duke of Zell and the elector of Hanover, his nephew, and Rodolphus Auguſtus of Wolfenbuttle, to this effect: "That duke Anthony Ulric ſhould be excluded from the regency; that Rodolphus ſhould take the government into his own hands, and quit all his engagements with France: on the other ſide, that the elector of Hanover and the duke of Zell ſhould take into their ſervice a thouſand horſe, and two thouſand four hundred foot, of the troops of Wolfenbuttle, which had been raiſed with French money, and withdraw their own forces out of the principality."

The war was begun in the name of the elector Palatine, with the ſiege of Keyſerſwaert †, a ſtrong town on the Rhine, which the elector of Cologne had put into the hands of the French. The place was inveſted, in the month of April, by the prince of Naſſau Saarburgh, mareſchal du camp to the emperor: under this officer the Dutch troops ſerved as auxiliaries, becauſe war had not yet been declared by the States-general; at the ſame time prince Lewis of Baden aſſembled an army upon the Upper Rhine, in the neighbourhood of Crooh Weiſſemberg and Lauterburg, to cut off the communication between Landau and Straſburgh, and the country of Alſace. The badneſs of the weather and the overflowing of the Rhine retarded the beſiegers ſo much, that Keyſerſwaert was not taken till the ſeventeenth of June; and marſhal Boufflers, who commanded the French army under the duke of Burgundy, eldeſt grand-ſon of France, was very near ſurprizing the city of Nimeguen, while the allies were engaged in the ſiege: the earl of Athlone, who commanded a ſeparate army of the Dutch, arrived ſcarce an hour before the French, and poſted his army under the walls of Nimeguen, whereby he prevented the loſs of that important place; for which he received the thanks of the States-general. Coehorn, with a detachment of ten thouſand men, broke into Flanders, forced and demoliſhed the French lines between the two forts of St. Donat and Iſabella, which the enemy had been for many months raiſing, with great labour and expence, and laid the greateſt part of the Chatellany of Bruges under contribution: but, upon the approach of the marquis of Bedmar and count de la Motte, he was obliged to

* A city of Brunſwick and Lower Saxony, in Germany, ſituated on the river Ocker, the ancient reſidence of the duke of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle, to whom it is ſubject. It is a ſtrong place by art and nature, has a ſtately palace finely furniſhed, a noble library, and lies twelve miles ſouth of Brunſwick, latitude fifty-two degrees twenty-ſix minutes north, longitude ten degrees forty-one minutes eaſt. Buſching.

† Keyſerſwaert is a town below Duſſeldorp, on the Rhine; mean, but well fortified, and did belong to the elector of Cologne. It had a broad ditch, very regular fortifications, and high walls faced with brick; as alſo the counterſcarp, which was in a very good condition. It is ſeated on the north ſide of the Rhine, ſix German miles between Cologne to the north-weſt, and the ſame diſtance from Gulic (or Juliers) to the north. The French poſſeſſed themſelves of it, for cardinal Furſtemburgh, in 1688; but the late elector of Brandenburgh retook it in the year 1689, and delivered it to the elector of Cologne, who in 1701 received a French garriſon into it, which continued there till it was taken by the army of the allies. It is now ſubject to the duke of Neuburg. Buſching.

retire under the walls of Sluys*; and, to prevent their taking fort St. George, he laid the country under water.

The unſucceſsful attempt upon Nimeguen, and the reduction of Keyſerſwaert, were not the only mortifications which the French ſuffered; for their army in Germany being weak, and drawing together but ſlowly, under the command of marſhal de Catinat, prince Lewis of Baden ſeized this advantage, and laid ſiege to Landau †, on the ſixth of June; but the place being ſtrong, and defended by a numerous garriſon, held out till the beginning of September, when prince Lewis informed the king of the Romans that the town was upon the point of ſurrendering, who came unto the Imperial army, and was preſent when the garriſon beat a parley, on the tenth of September, and conſequently had the honour of that conqueſt ‡.

The States-general had now completed their levies, and waited only for the Engliſh to begin jointly with them the operations of the campaign in Flanders, while the combined ſquadrons of both nations prepared to carry terror and deſtruction on the coaſt of France and Spain. With this view they ſent to preſs the coming over of the earl of Marlborough, to take upon him the ſupreme command of the allied army. It is ſaid, that the queen was at firſt deſirous, out of her affection to her conſort, the prince of Denmark, to inveſt him with that high character, and had actually propoſed this meaſure to the States-general; which, however, was not received in the manner ſhe wiſhed and expected. Thoſe people thought that a war of ſuch importance as that which they were going to enter upon, required a general to conduct it, who poſſeſſed the confidence of both nations, and had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a military capacity; now this advantage was wanting in the prince of Denmark, while the earl of Marlborough poſſeſſed it in an eminent degree: the queen, therefore, very prudently gave up this point to her allies, and, to make the prince ſome amends for his diſappointment, had created him (as we have ſeen) lord high-admiral of England, one of the moſt honourable and lucrative poſts in the ſtate; and the earl of Marlborough was confirmed in the ſupreme command of the Britiſh forces in Germany, to which he had been appointed by the late king. Accordingly, on the twelfth of May, his lordſhip ſet out for Holland, in order to aſſume the command. The earl of Athlone, who enjoyed the rank of veldt (or field) marſhal, was requeſted by ſome of the Dutch officers to inſiſt upon an equal command with the Engliſh general; but the States obliged him to yield that point in favour of Marlborough, whom they declared generaliſſimo of all their forces. As this nobleman became afterwards the greateſt general of the age, it will not be improper to give a brief account of his life and character.

John Churchill, earl (afterwards duke) of Marlborough, was ſecond ſon of ſir Winſton Churchill, of Wotton Baſſet, in Wiltſhire, by Elizabeth, daughter of ſir John Drake, of Aſhe, in Devonſhire, at which place he was born, on the twenty-fourth of June, 1650 §. He was brought young to court, and made a page of honour to the duke of York, who, upon his diſcovering a natural inclination to a military life, procured him, at the age of ſixteen, an enſign's commiſſion in the guards. He afterwards went to ſerve in the French armies abroad, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a particular manner; and, upon his return to England, the fame of his bravery, and his ſiſter's intereſt ‖, raiſed him to be a lieutenant-colonel, gentleman of the bed-chamber and maſter of the robes to the duke of York, whom he attended in his retirement to Bruſſels, and afterwards to Scotland. In 1681, he married Sarah, daughter and co-heireſs of Richard Jennings, of Sandridge, in Hertfordſhire, who was then in great favour with the princeſs Anne, the duke of York's ſecond daughter. Upon the duke's return from Scotland, colonel Churchill was created baron Churchill, of Aymouth, in Scotland, and appointed captain of the third troop of horſe-guards. When the duke of York came to the crown, lord Churchill was made lieutenant-general, and ſent ambaſſador to the court of France, to notify that prince's acceſſion to the throne. In 1685, he was created an Engliſh peer, by the title of baron Churchill, of Sandridge, in Hertfordſhire. We have taken notice of the part he acted at the Revolution, when he left his old maſter and benefactor, and went over to the prince of Orange, who, as ſoon as he aſcended the throne, created him earl of Marlborough. The new earl commanded the Engliſh forces that ſerved, in the year 1689, in Flanders, under prince Waldeck; and next year he reduced the city of Cork and town of Kingſale for king William. In the year

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* Sluys, a pretty large town of Dutch Brabant, in the Netherlands, and one of the five ſea-ports of Flanders, ſituated on a ſmall arm of the ſea which parts it from the iſland of Cadſand. It is very ſtrong, and even thought impregnable becauſe of its ſluices. It lies ten miles north-eaſt of Bruges, latitude fifty-one degrees twenty-one minutes north, longitude three degrees twenty-one minutes eaſt. Buſching.

† Landau is a little but ſtrong city of Germany, in the Lower Alſatia, upon the confines of the Palatinate of the Rhine, once imperial, but yielded to the French by the treat of Munſter. This town was the great magazine where the French, after they had plundered moſt of the towns of the Palatinate in 1688, laid up the booty, all which was burnt by an accidental fire in May, 1689. It was now taken from the French by the Germans, but they retook it in 1703, as will be ſeen in the hiſtory of the next campaign. In 1704, the Imperialiſts reduced it again, after the battle of Blenheim. It ſtands on the Queich, eight miles ſouth of Neuſtadt, and ſixteen ſouth-weſt of Spires.

‡ Broderick. Burnet.

§ His origin is traced up to Roger de Courcil, a younger branch of the illuſtrious houſe of Leon, in France, who attending William the Conqueror into England, received for his ſervices a conſiderable eſtate in land; was grandfather to ſir Bartholomew de Courcil, by corruption called Currichel, and ſo Churchill, who held the caſtle of Briſtol for king Stephen; and whoſe deſcendant, Otho de Churchill, was the founder of a ſpreading family in Devonſhire, Somerſetſhire, and Wiltſhire. Of this laſt county, and of the town of Wotton Baſſet, was Winſton Churchill, eſq. who having had a liberal education at St. John's college, Oxford, aſſerted and ſuffered for the cauſe of king Charles I. but upon the Reſtoration was choſen member of parliament for Weymouth, admitted fellow of the Royal Society, ſoon after knighted and appointed commiſſioner of the claims in Ireland, where he began to retrieve his broken fortune; and afterwards, by the favour of the duke of York, made one of the clerk comptrollers of green-cloth to the king. Peerage of England, Life of the Duke of Marlborough.

‖ Miſs Arabella Churchill. She was maid of honour to the ducheſs of York, and afterwards favourite miſtreſs to king James II. by whom ſhe had two ſons, James Fitz-James duke of Berwick, and Henry Fitz-James, commonly called the grand prior; and two daughters. She was afterwards married to colonel Godfrey, and by him had two daughters, Charlotta, wife of Hugh Boſcawen, viſcount Falmouth; and Elizabeth, wife of Edward Dunch, eſq.

1692, he was ſuddenly removed from all his employments, for reaſons which have been already related under that year, and continued out of favour till 1698, when he was appointed governor to the duke of Glocester. In 1701, the laſt of king William's reign, he was declared commander in chief of the Engliſh forces in Holland, and ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary for the negotiations at the Hague, in which employments he was continued by queen Anne ‡.

The earl of Marlborough, ſays a late hiſtorian in his Life of Queen Anne, was by nature deſigned for a FAVOURITE, by fortune and perſonal merit raiſed to be a GENERAL, and by his own obſervation and long experience of court-intrigues, made a STATESMAN. His perſon was lofty and well made; his features manly, yet beautiful; his looks gracious and open; his mien great; his parts quick; his memory faithful and exact; his penetration deep; his judgment ſolid; his courage undaunted.

Although Marlborough had not yet ſhone at the head of armies, yet he had ſo far diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſeveral actions in which he had been engaged, or had borne a ſhare in the command, that he was thought the moſt proper perſon to fill the place of king William. Trained up to arms in the military ſchool of the great Turenne, he had more than once received the approbation and thanks of that conſummate maſter in the art of war for his gallant behaviour; and his after-conduct ſhewed how well he had profited by his leſſons. Equally ſkilled in the intrigues of the cabinet and of the field, he poſſeſſed the happy art of gaining upon the minds of all thoſe he dealt with: endowed with an exquiſite diſcernment, he diſcovered a lucky moment the inſtant it preſented itſelf, and failed not to avail himſelf of it with ſucceſs, both in negotiating and fighting: as a ſoldier, he was a man of nice honour, punctual, vigilant, and indefatigable: as a ſtateſman, he managed variety of buſineſs, either ſingle or in concert with the prime miniſter, with great eaſe, dexterity, and ſufficiency. As he perfectly well underſtood the intereſts of the powers he ſerved, and ſeldom failed to penetrate into the deſigns of the enemy; and as he in a particular manner enjoyed the confidence of the troops he headed, he could always avert impending dangers by his prudence and foreſight, or combat and overcome them by preſence of mind and courage. Theſe eminent qualities procured him the eſteem and admiration of the allies, and even of the enemy, as well as of his own countrymen, till carried away by an unbounded ambition, and an inſatiable thirſt for riches, and intoxicated with the great reputation and credit he had acquired by his unparalleled ſucceſſes *, he endeavoured to perpetuate to himſelf the ſupreme command, by perpetuating the war, forgetting what he owed to his royal miſtreſs and benefactreſs; by which he loſt her friendſhip, and with it all the high offices he occupied. In a word, the duke of Marlborough was a compound of many vices and many virtues; but, as lord Bolingbroke obſerves, the latter were ſo great, that they made thoſe who knew him forget his failings.

Such was the perſon the allies caſt their eyes upon to command their armies, and check the conqueſts of the French arms, nor could they at that time have made a more happy choice. Marlborough was not one of thoſe generals who tamely receives from a firſt miniſter the plan of a campaign, and after having executed his orders, and put his troops into winter-quarters, returns back to ſollicit a renewal of his command. This general, on the contrary, governed his ſovereign, as well from the neceſſity ſhe had for his ſervices, as by the great influence his wife poſſeſſed over her affections †. He managed the parliament as he pleaſed, by his own great credit with the nation, and the intereſt of Godolphin the high-treaſurer, whoſe ſon had married one of his daughters. Thus, maſter of the court, the parliament, the army, and the treaſury, with more power in the kingdom than ever king William poſſeſſed, whom he equalled as a politician, and excelled as a general, he did greater things than the allies had preſumed to hope from him.

His firſt actions this campaign gained him univerſal admiration, and were a pleaſing earneſt of his future good fortune. Having regulated all things with the deputies of the States, he left the Hague on the thirtieth of June, and repaired to the army, which was now encamped under the command of the earl of Athlone, in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen, and which, after calling in the detached parties, he found to amount to about ſixty thouſand men. As with this force he was ſuperior to the French under the duke of Burgundy and marſhal Boufflers, the earl of Marlborough paſſed the Maeſe on the ſixteenth of July, and made ſeveral attempts to bring the enemy to an engagement; but rather than expoſe themſelves to the hazard of a battle, they choſe to abandon the Spaniſh Guelderland, and leave it entirely to the diſcretion of the allies. Thus the Dutch, who were ſo lately in the deepeſt conſternation upon the retreat of their army under the cannon of Nimeguen, before the earl of Marlborough's arrival, had now the pleaſure to ſee the French fly

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‡ Burnet. Boyer. Tindal. Collins's Peerage.

* It is ſaid of the duke of Marlborough, "That he never ſat down before a town which he did not take, nor ever fought a battle which he did not win."

† The beginning of this lady's favour with her royal miſtreſs had a much earlier date than her entrance into her ſervice: they had uſed to play together when children, and the princeſs Anne even then expreſſed a particular fondneſs for her: as they grew up this attachment became ſtill ſtronger; and ſo deſirous was ſhe of having her always near her, that upon her own marriage with the prince of Denmark, in 1683, lady Churchill (for ſhe was then married) was, at the princeſs's own requeſt, made one of the ladies of the bedchamber, and was at length diſtinguiſhed by ſo high a place in her favour, as perhaps no perſon arrived at a higher with queen or princeſs. She had an aſcendant over the mind of Anne in every thing, who ſeemed to think and act only in conformity to her confidant's ſentiments. Lady Churchill, afterwards ducheſs of Marlborough, was a woman of very contracted knowlege, but of a clear apprehenſion, and a true judgment; a warm and hearty friend; violent and ſudden in her reſolutions, and impetuous in her way of ſpeaking. She has been charged, and not without ſome appearance of reaſon, of growing proud and inſolent on her favour, and with keeping the queen in a kind of ſubjection to her will. Nevertheleſs, it does not appear that ſhe had ever recourſe to the common arts of a court to maintain her credit with her miſtreſs, for ſhe did not beſet or flatter her. The queen, on her acceſſion to the throne, appointed her groom of the ſtole, and keeper of the privy-purſe. Conduct of the Ducheſs of Marlborough. Burnet.

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in their turns; and thus were the United Provinces preſerved by the earl's prudence and vigilance, whilſt the duke of Burgundy, who came to the army to be taught how to fight, returned home, having learned nothing but how to avoid an engagement; and the French king was ſo diſſatisfied with the conduct of marſhal Boufflers, that he never after repoſed any confidence in him.

The earl of Marlborough not being able to bring the French to an engagement, the deputies of the States in the army repreſented to him, that it would be much to the advantage of Holland to diſpoſſeſs the enemy of the places they held in the Spaniſh Guelderland, whereby the navigation of the Maeſe would be opened; and accordingly preparations were made for the ſiege of Venlo, which was inveſted on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt. On the ſeventh of September the trenches were opened, and on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month the town ſurrendered. I ſhall not take upon me to give a diary of every ſiege during this long war; but there are ſome heroic actions which hiſtory ought not to paſs by unnoticed: ſuch was that performed by the lord Cutts before this place. On the eighteenth of September his lordſhip was commanded to attack Fort St. Michael, between the baſtion that is next the plain and the ravelin that lies on the north ſide of it, having under his command brigadier-general Hamilton, with the royal regiment of Ireland, and general Hukelem's regiment, one hundred and ſeventy-two grenadiers, and one hundred fuſileers, moſtly Engliſh, under a lieutenant-colonel; and alſo three hundred workmen, with a competent number of engineers under colonel Blood. His lordſhip's orders were to make a lodgment from the point of the ravelin to the baſtion, leaving him at liberty to proceed farther if he found it practicable: and at the ſame time the prince of Anhalt, with the ſame number of troops, was to make an attack between the baſtion and the ravelin on the north ſide, with the like diſcretionary orders. The ſignals for both attacks, which was to be the blowing up a ton of powder, and the diſcharge of all the batteries of the beſiegers, was accordingly made a little before ſix in the evening.

The attack was made with inexpreſſible vigour; the grenadiers cleared the covered-way of the enemy, and being ſuſtained by freſh numbers, attacked the ravelin ſword in hand, encouraging and aſſiſting one another upon the aſſurance of being ſeconded, which lord Cutts perceiving, he marched with all his forces, engaged the enemy, and was ſoon maſter of the ravelin. The French then made a great fire upon the Engliſh from the rampart of the fort; whereupon his lordſhip ſent orders to the officers that were at the head of the grenadiers to throw in their granadoes, and attack the fort ſword in hand, if it were poſſible to find a paſſage, which they did, by charging and following the enemy ſo cloſe, that they had not time to break the bridge, though it was hotly diſputed by fire and puſh of pike, and eſpecially by the enemy's grenadiers: but the bravery of the Engliſh grenadiers, encouraged by the example of their own and ſome other officers of diſtinction, was inexpreſſible: ſome of them attacked the bridge, and ſome clambered up the ramparts, after having thrown in their granadoes, and forced their way into the fort. The enemy, however, continued to defend themſelves, till the Engliſh poured in ſo faſt upon them, that they were no longer able to reſiſt, which as ſoon as lord Cutts perceived, he checked the fury of the ſoldiers, and put a ſtop to the ſlaughter. The Engliſh took above two hundred priſoners, whereof thirty were officers, with a brigadier-general, and the governor: but all the reſt that were in the fort, to the number of ſix hundred, were killed or drowned endeavouring to eſcape, except twelve who luckily paſſed the Maeſe in ſmall-boats. On the twenty-fifth the town of Venlo beat a parley, and the garriſon ſurrendering upon honourable terms, were conducted to Antwerp. While this ſiege was carrying on, the earl of Marlborough detached general Schultz, with a body of troops, to attack the town and caſtle of Wertz, which were both ſurrendered after a ſlight reſiſtance.

In the month of October the general inveſted Ruremonde, which he took after a very obſtinate defence, together with Stevenſwaert, both ſituated on the Maeſe. The army then marched towards Liege *, and upon its approach mareſchal Boufflers (to whom the duke of Burgundy had now left the command of the French army) thought fit to retreat from thence to Tongeren, on the river Jecker; after which he went towards Brabant, to defend ſuch places as at that time were not intended to be attacked.

When our army came before Liege, they found the city abandoned, whereupon the earl took poſſeſſion of it; but the citadel, and another ſtrong fort called the Chartreuſe of Liege, held out till the end of October. The citadel of Liege, in which were eight French battalions, was taken by ſtorm the twenty-third; of which the earl of Marlborough tranſmitted to our court the following account: all things being prepared, and the ſignal given,

† Liege is a populous wealthy city, in the biſhopric of the ſame name, in Germany, ſituated on the Maeſe, fourteen miles ſouth of Maeſtricht, and twenty-eight north-eaſt of Namur. It is about four miles in circuit; two branches of the Maeſe, with other rivulets or canals, run through many of the ſtreets, forming little iſlands. It exceeds all the cities of Germany or France for fine churches and convents; of the former are no leſs than a hundred of all ſorts, with a very numerous body of eccleſiaſtics belonging to the churches and monaſteries. The city is ſo pleaſantly ſituated, and has ſuch rich endowments, that it is ſtiled the Paradiſe of the Clergy. Among other religious foundations here is one of Engliſh nuns; and here is alſo a famous univerſity. The fortifications are not conſiderable, being overlooked and commanded by the contiguous hills; but the citadel is ſtrong, and capable of making a good defence. It was taken this year by the earl of Marlborough; and the French inveſting it in 1705, were by the ſame general obliged to raiſe the ſiege, upon his expeditious return from the Moſelle. The magiſtrates of Liege have ſometimes pretended that it is an imperial city; but they have been ſeverely handled for diſputing the authority of their biſhop, who is in effect abſolute ſovereign both of the city and biſhopric: he is choſen by the ſixty major canons, who are generally of noble extraction. The biſhop of Liege is one of the moſt conſiderable eccleſiaſtical princes of the Germanic body, there being within his dioceſe fifty-two baronies, eighteen walled towns, and four hundred villages, all well peopled, with a yearly revenue of three hundred thouſand ducats or nobles; and he can maintain a ſtanding body of eight thouſand troops, without oppreſſing his ſubjects, the bulk of whom are Roman catholics. Liege lies in latitude fifty degrees forty-ſix minutes north; longitude five degrees twenty eight minutes eaſt. Buſching.

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our troops were out of their trenches, and marched towards the enemy without firing a ſhot, and with an order and intrepidity hardly to be paralleled. They then attacked the counterſcarp with ſuch fury, that the enemy were conſtrained to abandon the poſt: but our men, inſtead of lodging therein, got into the covert-way, paſſed the mount, and aſcended the breach: whereupon the governor, who did not look for ſo vigorous an attack, beat a parley: our troops, however, being already in the place, would not hearken to it, and had cut the whole garriſon in pieces, if they had not thrown down their arms and called aloud for quarter, which was granted them. In this glorious action the hereditary prince of Caſſel ſignalized his courage: he went volunteer in the attack at the head of the grenadiers, and was the firſt man who mounted the breach, and with his own hands wreſted the colours from a French officer. Mr. Wentworth, brother to the lord Raby, alſo ſerved as a volunteer in this action, and had the glory of dying in the bed of honour. Monſieur Vivlane the governor and the duke of Charôt were made priſoners. Three hundred thouſand florins in gold and ſilver were found in the citadel, beſides notes for about one million two hundred thouſand florins more, drawn upon ſubſtantial merchants in Liege, who paid the money. The whole booty was ſo conſiderable, that an Engliſh grenadier is ſaid to have gotten one thouſand louis d'ors for his own ſhare. Thus ended the campaign, equally to the advantage of the allies, and the honour of the earl of Marlborough, who had now eſtabliſhed his military character beyond all controverſy, and entirely ſecured the affection and confidence of the States.

On the third of November the confederate army being ſeparated, the earl of Marlborough went to Maeſtricht, where he embarked that evening on the Maeſe for Holland, in company with Mynheer Gueldermanſel, one of the deputies of the States, and the baron d'Opdam, general of the Dutch horſe, taking with him twenty-five ſoldiers under the command of a lieutenant, by way of guard: next morning he was joined at Ruremonde by Mynheer Coehorn, a famous engineer in the ſervice of the States; and having dined with the prince of Holſtein-Beck, commander of that garriſon, continued his voyage, eſcorted by fifty troopers, who rode along-ſide of the river; but the boats being ſeparated in the night, a party of fifty-three men of the garriſon of Guelder (the only place the French now retained in that province) who lay ſkulking on the banks of the Maeſe, near three leagues on this ſide of Venlo, in wait of prey, obſerving the boat, ſeized the rope by which it was drawn * by ſurprize, and hauling it on ſhore, immediately made a diſcharge of their ſmall arms upon the boat wherein their Excellencies were, and then entering ſeized upon the boat; and having examined the ſeveral paſſports, without knowing my lord Marlborough, they afterwards ſearched the trunks and baggage, from whence they took what plate they could find, and made their Excellencies guard priſoners. About five in the morning they retired with their booty, leaving the earl and his companions to purſue their voyage.

The governor of Venlo hearing of this tranſaction, took it for granted that the earl of Marlborough was made priſoner, and carried into Guelder, whereupon he marched out with his whole garriſon to attack that place. The ſame account being carried to the Hague, filled all minds with the utmoſt conſternation: the ſtates forthwith aſſembling, reſolved that all their forces ſhould march inſtantly, and threaten the garriſon with the utmoſt extremity, unleſs they would immediately releaſe the general: but before theſe orders could be diſpatched the earl arrived at the Hague, to the no ſmall joy of the people, and was complimented on his happy eſcape by the penſionary Heinſius, in the name of the States †.

In the mean time the duke of Bavaria, who had hitherto profeſſed a neutrality, having declared for France, had ſurpriſed Ulm, an imperial city, and the capital of Suabia: whereupon the Imperial Diet aſſembled at Ratiſbon, and by a plurality of voices reſolved to declare war againſt the French king and the duke of Anjou (as they ſtiled the new king of Spain) and they deſired his imperial majeſty to act againſt the duke according to the conſtitution of the empire, and uſe his authority for recovering the city of Ulm, and to require the ſaid duke to abſtain from all attempts of the like nature for the future. Hereupon the duke (elector) of Bavaria publiſhed a manifeſto, giving the circles of Suabia and Franconia to underſtand, that he expected they ſhould obſerve a ſtrict neutrality in this war, which did not concern the empire in general, but only the houſe of Auſtria: but ſeveral diſpatches having been intercepted, by which it appeared that the Bavarians deſigned to penetrate into the territories of Briſgaw with ten thouſand men, and to have poſted themſelves upon the Rhine near Hunninguen, the princes of the empire were incenſed to ſuch a degree, that they forbade the miniſters of the elector of Bavaria and Cologne to appear any more in the general diet. The emperor uſed all means to reduce the elector of Bavaria to his duty; but neither promiſes nor threats had any effect: for having made himſelf maſter of Ulm, he marched towards the foreſt-towns, with a deſign to join the French army: but not ſucceeding in that attempt, the Switzers having ſecured the paſſes, he was obliged to return to his own country; and the declaration of war by the empire was publiſhed and notified to the cardinal Lamberg, the emperor's commiſſioner at the diet, on the thirtieth of September, by the direction of the elector of Mentz, in the name of the diet. The reaſons aſſigned were, "That France had attacked the empire by invading in his own and the duke of Anjou's name, ſeveral fiefs of the empire in Italy, the archbiſhopric of Cologne, and the biſhopric of Liege; as alſo by diſturbing the trade on the Rhine, and committing ſeveral other hoſtilities, which rendered this a neceſſary defenſive war on the part of the empire ‡.

In the mean time, prince Lewis of Baden being

* In moſt of the canals and rivers in the Low-Countries, boats are drawn by ropes fixed to horſes that are driven along-ſide of the river.

† Burnet.

‡ Broderick's Hiſtory of Europe, vol. vii.

weakened by ſeveral detachments he had made to prevent the junction of the French and Bavarians, had reduced his army to eight thouſand men; in which ſituation he was ſurprized and attacked by marſhal Villars on the 13th of October, near Friedlinguen *, where was fought a ſharp and doubtful battle, in which both ſides claimed the victory: Villars, becauſe he took Friedlinguen the next day; and the prince, becauſe he had gained his point in preventing the junction of the French and the Bavarians.

And now the empire having declared war againſt France, the diet came to a reſolution to maintain an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand men, but fell miſerably ſhort, as will be too evident in the enſuing hiſtory.

The elector of Bavaria's declaring for France had ſo embarraſſed the emperor, that he was unable to ſend thoſe reinforcements into Italy which he had promiſed prince Eugene; and his army, the beſt by far the emperor had, was ſuffered to moulder away for want of recruits. The prince thus neglected, had the mortification to behold the duke of Vendôme relieve Mantua, without being able to interrupt his operations; nay, he was himſelf obliged to relinquiſh ſome other places he had taken: nor was this all; for Philip V. the new king of Spain, being deſirous of finiſhing the Italian war in perſon, had ſet ſail for Naples; and after ſome ſtay there joined the duke of Vendôme in Lombardy. However, prince Eugene attacked their united forces, though forty thouſand ſtrong, on the fifteenth of Auguſt, and, according to the German account, obtained the victory, though the French gave out that their army gained the day, and ſung Te Deum for it as well as the Germans. It was certainly a very bloody battle, and both ſides had ſo much of it that they did not chuſe to renew the fight the next day. The French however made themſelves maſters of the town of Luzzara, and prince Eugene on his ſide maintained all the reſt of his poſts. There happened no farther action in Italy this campaign †.

The north of Germany was now united in the intereſt of the confederates; and the princes would have been in a condition to aſſiſt them effectually, had not the neighbourhood of the war in Poland determined them from parting from their forces. England and the States-general in vain endeavoured this year to mediate a peace between the kings of Sweden and of Poland. Charles XII. was now become enamoured of war, and his ambitious ſoul was continually meditating freſh conqueſts. He threatened to invade Saxony through the dominions of Pruſſia. Auguſtus retired to Cracow, while Charles penetrated to Warſaw, and even ordered the cardinal primate to ſummon a diet for chuſing a new king ‡. The elector of Saxony was too hard preſſed by Charles to ſpare his full proportion of troops to the allies, and the king of Pruſſia was overawed by the vicinity of the Swediſh conqueror; ſo that although this war did not ſo immediately concern the confederacy as thoſe already mentioned, it had an ill effect by the Swedes and Saxons not ſending their quota of troops for ſervice.

Another war broke out this year in the Cevennes mountains of Languedoc, chiefly inhabited by French proteſtants, who being grievouſly oppreſſed by the government on the ſcore of their religion, had recourſe to arms, and defended themſelves for ſeveral years. This inſurrection was ſo far advantageous to the allies, that it obliged the French king to keep ten or twelve thouſand men in that province to obſerve their motions. It remains to obſerve, that towards the latter end of October count Tallard and the marquis de Lomarie, with a body of eighteen thouſand men, reduced Triers ‖ and Traerbach §, while the prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, with a detachment from the allied army at Liege, retook from the French Zinch, Lintz, Briſac, and Andernach, towns on the Rhine.

While theſe things were tranſacting on the continent, the allies were not wanting in a proper attention to their naval preparations. The late king, a little before his death, had formed a deſign to reduce Cadiz; and this ſcheme was now propoſed to be reſumed, as the moſt likely means, if it ſucceeded, of putting an end to all the French deſigns, and obliging them to compromiſe matters to the ſatisfaction at leaſt of the maritime powers. The plan was certainly very well laid, and conducted with ſurpriſing ſecrecy; for though the preparing ſo great an armament could not be hid, yet the intent of it was ſo effectually concealed, that France, Spain, and Portugal too, then in alliance with France and Spain, had equal cauſe to be alarmed, which had conſequences very favourable to the grand alliance in thoſe countries, as will hereafter more fully appear.

After the queen's acceſſion, ſir George Rooke was declared admiral of the fleet, and the duke of Ormond general of the land-forces to be employed on this expedition; and the Dutch having joined our fleet with their ſquadron, which had alſo its quota of troops on board, the admiral hoiſted the Union flag on board the Royal Sovereign on the thirtieth of May; and on the firſt of June his royal highneſs the prince of Denmark dined on board the admiral, and took a view of the fleet and army, which was ſoon in a condition to ſail. It conſiſted of fifty ſhips of the line, thirty Engliſh, and twenty Dutch; the former commanded by ſir George Rooke, who had under him the admirals Fairborne, Hopſon, and Graydon; the latter, by the vice-admirals Allemond, Callemburgh, Vandergoes, Pieterſon, and Waſſenaer. The tranſports had on board about fourteen thouſand land-forces; the Engliſh headed by the generals Bellaſis, O'Hara, and lord Portmore, the colonels Seymour, Hamilton, and Matthews; and the Dutch commanded by baron Sparre and brigadier Pa-

* A town of Suabia in Germany, five miles eaſt of the Rhine, and ſix north of Baſil. Buſching.

† Voltaire. Broderick's Hiſt. of Europe.

‡ Voltaire's Life of Charles XII. vol. i.

‖ Triers, or rather Treves, is a city of the Lower Rhine in Germany, ſituated on the Moſelle, being the capital of the electorate of the ſame name. It is equal to moſt towns in Europe for antiquity, was once very conſiderable, but now neither large nor populous; has been often taken, being indeed a place of no great ſtrength, and lies ſixty miles ſouth of Cologne, and the ſame diſtance weſt of Mentz; latitude forty-nine degrees fifty-eight minutes north; longitude ſix degrees ten minutes eaſt. Buſching.

§ A ſtrong and important town of Spanheim, in the palatinate of the Rhine in Germany, ſituated on the Moſelle, twenty miles north-eaſt of Triers, ſubject to the elector-palatine; latitude fifty degrees ten minutes north; longitude ſix degrees forty-ſix minutes eaſt. Buſching.

Palandt *. The direction of the whole, as I have before obſerved, was committed to the duke of Ormond, who acted as commander in chief.

It was the firſt of July before the fleet ſet ſail: on that day they put to ſea, and ſtanding to the weſtward, were joined off Plymouth by five other men of war; ſo that the whole fleet, including the tranſports, amounted to two hundred ſail. On the ſeventh the fleet meeting with contrary winds, were forced to bear away for Torbay, where they loſt their chief engineer colonel Brown. On the tenth of July they ſet ſail again, and on the eighth of Auguſt they made the Rock of Liſbon; whereupon the admiral ſent the Kent and Pembroke into the harbour, and the prince of Heſſe d'Armſtadt, and Mr. Methuen the envoy's ſon, came into the fleet from Liſbon. They brought advice that there were in that harbour ſix French men of war and two gallies, and that the French commodore had deſired leave of the governor to ſearch her majeſty's ſhips the Adventure and Leoſtoff, that brought the prince of Heſſe and Mr. Methuen thither; but the governor anſwered, that the Engliſh were not their enemies, and they were obliged to protect them while they lay under their cannon. At the approach of the confederate fleet the Portugueſe fired their beacons to alarm the country, being under ſome apprehenſions. Their fears however were ſoon quieted; for on the eleventh of Auguſt a council of ſea and land officers was held on board the admiral, and the next day ſir George Rooke ſteered away for Cadiz, where the whole fleet arrived about five in the afternoon, and caſt anchor in the bay of Bulls, about two leagues diſtance from the city.

In order to furniſh the reader with a clearer idea of the operations of the fleet and army in this expedition, I ſhall here ſubjoin a deſcription of the city and port of Cadiz, with its environs.

Cadiz is a famous trading city and ſea-port of Andaluſia, in Spain, on the north-weſt extremity of a long neck of land in an iſland extending from ſouth-eaſt to north-weſt, the weſt part of which is Cadiz, and the ſouth-eaſt the iſland of Leon, oppoſite to Port St. Mary's, being joined to the main land, from which it is ſeparated by a narrow channel of the ſea, by the bridge Suaco; both extremities of which are defended by redoubts and other works. This iſland, from fort St. Catherine's to the iſle St. Pedro, is five miles long, and from the ſouth point near the latter, to the north near Suaco bridge, two miles broad. The neck of land extending from this quadrangular iſland is at firſt very ſmall, afterwards it becomes broader, has ſeveral windings and angles, and terminates in two capes, the principal of which, namely that to the weſt, is called St. Sebaſtian's. The iſland on which Cadiz ſtands and the oppoſite ſhore form a bay twelve miles long, and about ſix in breadth; but near the middle of the bay are two points of land, one on the continent and the other the iſland, five hundred fathoms aſunder, on which are the forts Puntal and Matagorda, commanding the paſſage; and within the points is a large and very good harbour, which no enemy can enter till theſe forts are taken. This city contains about five thouſand houſes and fifty thouſand inhabitants; it is the center of all the American trade, where the galleons take in their loadings, and return with the treaſures and rich merchandize of Peru and Mexico. Cadiz, which is of a pretty large circuit, is ſurrounded with walls and irregular baſtions, and moſtly inacceſſible, by reaſon of a ſteep coaſt, rocks, and ſand-banks.

An hour before day, on the thirteenth of Auguſt, the duke of Ormond ſent ſir Thomas Smith, quarter-maſter-general, with colonel Carls, chief engineer, and ſome other officers, to take a view of the back part of the iſland of Leon (on which Cadiz ſtands), next the ocean, and to ſound the ſhore, propoſing to have landed on that ſide. The admiral alſo ſent out to get intelligence, and having gained what information they could, a council of war, conſiſting of all the admirals and generals, was held the next day, being the fourteenth. In this council the duke of Ormond ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon landing on the iſland (where, according to report, there were very convenient bays to make a deſcent), in order to a ſudden and vigorous attack of the town, where the conſternation was ſo great, that, in all probability, the enterprize would have ſucceeded; but ſeveral of the council, eſpecially the ſea-officers, oppoſed the duke's motion, upon information they had received, that the enemy had about four thouſand well-diſciplined foot in the town, and a thouſand horſe (veteran troops), beſides the militia that was aſſembled for the guard of the coaſt; and as the fleet could give no aſſiſtance to the land-forces after they were on ſhore, nor even ſupply them with proviſions, if it ſhould prove blowing weather, the landing directly on the iſland of Leon was repreſented as an impracticable attempt: it was therefore reſolved by the majority of the council, that the army ſhould firſt take the fort of St. Catherine and the town and port of St. Mary's, on the oppoſite ſhore of the continent, which would facilitate a nearer approach to Cadiz. This reſolution being agreed to, the ſame evening a boat was ſent to Cadiz from the admiral, with a flag of truce and ſome declarations; and the next day the duke of Ormond ſent a trumpet with a letter to the duke of Brancaccio, governor of fort St. Catherine's, ſummoning him to ſurrender, declaring, that if he did not accept his terms, he ſhould be hanged, and none of his ſoldiers receive any quarter. To this the governor anſwered, with great ſpirit and juſtice, "That if he muſt be hanged, it was all one to him whether by the duke of Ormond or the governor of Cadiz, and therefore deſired leave to ſend to him for his orders," which was refuſed †. Theſe harſh meaſures, with the ſubſequent behaviour of the Engliſh troops, inſtead of drawing the Spaniards to declare for the houſe of Auſtria, rendered them averſe to it.

On the fifteenth of Auguſt, the duke of Ormond landed his forces in the Bay of Bulls, about a mile on the left of St. Catherine's fort, the cannon of which fired on his men, but with little execution. The firſt that landed were twelve hundred grenadiers, led by brigadier Palandt and the earl of Donnegal; but the wind was ſo high, and the ſea beat on the ſhore with ſuch violence, that ſeveral men were drowned, and the reſt were obliged to wade up to their neck, which the enemy's horſe obſerving, came down, and furiouſly attacked the Engliſh; but they were ſo warmly received, that

* Burchet's Naval Hiſtory. Lives of Admirals. Burnet. † Lamberti, tom. ii. p. 251.

they

they ſoon retired, leaving their general and ſeveral of their companions dead upon the place, and a Spaniſh captain and cornet, with ſome others, were made priſoners. Our foot were all happily landed that day, and marched within two miles of Rota, lying all night upon their arms in the field. Early the next morning the duke of Ormond continued his march towards Rota, and was met near the town by the alcaide, or chief magiſtrate, with the principal inhabitants, who offered to put it into his hands; whereupon the duke took up his quarters in the caſtle of Rota, while the army encamped before the town.

The duke now publiſhed a declaration, inviting the Spaniards to join the allies; and the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt alſo publiſhed one, in the emperor's name, to the ſame purport, which he cauſed to be diſtributed in the neighbouring towns. The duke's declaration ſet forth, That the queen of Great Britain having been pleaſed to confer on his grace the command of her forces (in conjunction with thoſe of the States-general), for aſſerting the rights of the houſe of Auſtria, in purſuance of their treaties of alliance with the emperor, his grace judged it neceſſary, before he made uſe of force, to declare that he did not come thither to poſſeſs himſelf of any place in Spain in the name of her majeſty and the States general, or to introduce the calamities of war by way of conqueſt, but rather to defend the good and loyal ſubjects of the ſaid monarchy, and free them from the inſupportable ſlavery of France, to whom they had been ſold by ſome diſaffected perſons; concluding with an invitation of the Spaniards to join him, and they ſhould thereupon be protected in their perſons, eſtates, privileges, and religion; but if, contrary to expectation, they did not concur with the good intention of her majeſty and the States, the hoſtilities committed by their forces muſt be aſcribed to the Spaniards themſelves, who having ſo fair an opportunity to ſhew their loyalty and purſue their own intereſts, refuſed to embrace it *."

While his grace continued at Rota, he ſummoned the governor of Port St. Mary's to ſurrender; to which the haughty Spaniard returned for anſwer, "Nos otros Eſpagnoles no mudamos de religion ni de rey.—We Spaniards neither change our religion nor our king." However, on the duke's advancing to Port St. Mary's on the twenty-firſt, the governor and his garriſon, with moſt of the inhabitants, thought fit to abandon the city: the governor of St. Catherine's fort alſo retired out of the place, leaving only an enſign and a ſmall party in it, which ſurrendered at diſcretion. Although the duke of Ormond, before the army reached Port St. Mary's had given ſtrict orders againſt plundering, yet it was not in the power of the officers to reſtrain their famiſhed and thirſty ſoldiers from forcing open the houſes where they expected to find refreſhments; nor was it long before they made their way to the cellars, which they found ſtored with rich and ſtrong wines, where they carouſed all the firſt night. The next day, their licentiouſneſs being heightened by the fumes of their liquor, they proceeded to rifle and pillage the houſes, and commit every other ſpecies of outrage; and even ſome of the officers, being intoxicated, joined with their men, and, calling in the ſailors to their aſſiſtance, carried the ſpoils of the place on board the fleet, which are ſaid to have amounted in value to above a million of money; for they even plundered the churches and altars of their plate and ornaments. Theſe hoſtilities ſo enraged the Spaniards, that many, who before deſigned to have joined the confederates and declared in favour of the houſe of Auſtria, now adhered firmly to Philip V. The duke of Ormond was ſo incenſed at theſe violences, committed in open defiance of his orders, that he commanded ſir Henry Bellaſis, and ſir Charles O'Hara, who had the command of thoſe troops that took poſſeſſion of the place, to be put under arreſt; and would have proceeded with greater ſeverity, if the criminals had been leſs numerous.

The garriſon of Cadiz having by this time recovered their conſternation, and ſunk three galleons at the entrance of the paſſage of Puntal, to prevent the confederate fleet from entering the harbour, and the marquis de las Fillidarias, governor of Andaluſia, having received great reinforcements, and drew down his army between Xeres and Port St. Mary; hereupon the duke of Ormond marched his forces out of the latter on the twenty-fifth, and encamped at Santa Victoria, where he cauſed his declaration to be ſolemnly read through the town, and at the head of every regiment, whereby he forbad plundering on pain of death. But as the late exceſſes had made the Spaniards ſo much our enemies, that it was evident nothing could be expected in Spain, but what could be obtained by pure force, baron Sparre, the Dutch general, was ordered to inveſt the fort of Matagorda, which defended the entrance into the harbour of Cadiz; but the ground was ſo looſe and ſwampy, that the batteries, which were raiſed without any madriers, or faſcines, to ſupport them, ſunk at every diſcharge, and the taking that fort was found impracticable. The Spaniſh army alſo being daily augmented, and that of the confederates diminiſhed by the flux, and proviſions growing ſcarce, and the admiral being of opinion that the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, that he could not remain longer in thoſe ſeas without great hazard to her majeſty's fleet, it was determined to reinbark the troops, which was performed with little or no loſs; and the fleet ſet ſail for England, full of vexation for the diſappointment they had met with *. Providence, however, put it in their power to do their country a more ſignal and effectual ſervice than even the taking of Cadiz would have been.

Captain Hardy, commander of the Pembroke, having been detached with ſome ſhips to Lagos (a harbour on the Portugueſe coaſt), to fetch water for the fleet, there heard that M. Chateau Renauld with a ſquadron of French men of war and the Spaniſh flota were put into Vigo, a ſea-port of Galicia, in Spain, ſituated in Bayonne Bay, at the mouth of a ſpacious harbour. Upon this news he ſailed back to the grand fleet, and having fallen in with it on the ſixth of October, gave the admiral an account of what he had learned. Sir George, delighted with the information, ſent notice of it to the Dutch admiral, and declared it his opinion

* Lamberti, vol. ii. Burnet. Boyer.
† Burnet's Life of the Duke of Ormond. Burchet. Hiſt. of Europe, vol. vii.

that they all ſhould ſteer directly for Vigo; to which purpoſe, the next day he called a council of flag and general-officers; when the admiral's propoſal being unanimouſly approved, orders were given for bending their courſe to the ſaid port with all the ſpeed that might be. But the wind proving very contrary, it was the eleventh of the month before they could gain the port; and though it was not to be entered without great difficulty, that work was performed without any conſiderable diſaſter. The weather proved ſo hazy, that the town of Vigo never diſcovered the fleet till they were juſt upon it; and though they fired very ſmartly upon our ſhips, we took very little notice of it, but bore up for the harbour, where the French fleet and the galleons lay,

The paſſage into the harbour, which was not above three quarters of a mile over, was defended by batteries, forts, and breaſt-works, on each ſide; by a ſtrong boom, conſiſting of iron chains, topmaſts, and cables, moored at each end to a ſeventy-gun ſhip; within this boom were moored five ſhips of the ſame force, with their broadſides to the entrance of the paſſage, ſo as to fire at any ſhip that ſhould attempt to approach the boom, forts, and platform *.

As ſoon as the fleet came to an anchor, the admiral called a council of war of the general ſea and land-officers, wherein it was concluded, that ſince the paſſage into the harbour was ſo narrow, that the whole fleet could not attempt the enemy's ſhips and galleons without running foul of each other, a detachment of fifteen Engliſh and ten Dutch men of war, with all the fire-ſhips, ſhould be ſent to take and deſtroy the enemy's fleet; that the frigates and bomb-veſſels ſhould follow the rear of this detachment; and that the great ſhips ſhould move after them, and go in if there was occaſion: it was reſolved alſo, that the land-forces ſhould be put on ſhore at the ſame time, and attack the forts that defended the entrance of the harbour; and to give the better countenance to the ſervice, it was farther reſolved, that all the flag-officers ſhould go in with the ſquadrons; but as the firſt and ſecond rates of the combined fleets were too large to enter, the admirals ſhifted their flags into ſmaller ſhips.

On the twelfth of October, the duke of Ormond, purſuant to the reſolution of the council of war, landed early in the morning, in a ſandy bay, about ſix miles from Vigo, with two thouſand five hundred men; and not meeting with any oppoſition, he ordered the grenadiers to march, under the command of lord Shannon, directly to the fort that guarded the entrance of the harbour, where the boom lay, which he performed with the moſt intrepid gallantry; and though there appeared at the ſame time about eight thouſand Spaniſh foot between the fort and the hills, they only made a ſhew, retiring, after ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes with the grenadiers, who alſo drove before them another party of the enemy, followed them to the fort, and made themſelves maſters of the lower battery; whereupon lieutenant-general Churchill's (brother to the earl of Marlborough) regiment advanced upon the left, and took their poſts. After the two batteries were taken, the enemy retired into an old caſtle, or ſtone tower, and fired from thence upon the Engliſh for ſome ſmall time; but opening the gate in order to make a ſally, the grenadiers forced their way into the place ſword in hand, and obliged the garriſon, conſiſting of French and Spaniards, in number about three hundred and fifty, to ſurrender priſoners of war. This was a conqueſt of great importance in reſpect to the fleet, ſince our ſhips would have been exceſſively galled by the fire from the platform and fort †.

As ſoon as the land-forces were on ſhore, the admiral made a ſignal to weigh, which was accordingly done, the line formed, and the ſquadron was briſkly bearing up to the boom; but when the van was got within cannon-ſhot of the batteries, it fell calm, ſo that they were under a neceſſity to caſt anchor; but a freſh gale ſpringing up ſoon after, they cut their cables, and ſtood directly for the boom. Vice-admiral Hopſon, in the Torbay, broke through at once; but the reſt of his diviſion, and vice-admiral Vandergoes with his detachment, who ſailed abreaſt to add a greater weight to the ſhock, all ſtuck, and were obliged to cut their way through. The paſſage being thus opened, the whole ſquadron entered the harbour through a terrible fire from the enemy's ſhips and batteries, which, however, in a little time they ſilenced, though vice-admiral Hopſon narrowly eſcaped from a fire-ſhip, by which he was boarded: ſeveral of his men, during the firſt conſternation, having thrown themſelves into the ſea, were drowned; and his ſhip was ſo much damaged, that he was obliged to ſhift his flag on board the Monmouth.

After a moſt deſperate engagement, the French, finding themſelves unable to contend againſt the ſuperior force and valour of the aſſailants, reſolved to ſet fire to their ſhips and galleons, to prevent their falling into the hands of the victors. They accordingly burnt eight ſhips and as many advice-boats; but ten French ſhips of war were taken, together with eleven galleons, though they had ſecured a conſiderable part of their plate and merchandize, on the appearance of the combined fleet. The value of fourteen millions of pieces of eight, in plate and rich commodities, was deſtroyed in ſix galleons that periſhed, but about half that value was brought off by the conquerors; ſo that this was a dreadful blow to the enemy, and a noble acquiſition to the allies. When the action was over, the duke of Ormond propoſed to have made himſelf maſter of Vigo, and to have wintered in Spain, if the admiral could have ſpared him a ſquadron of men of war and proviſions for his troops; but the admiral declaring he could not furniſh the troops with proviſions for more than two months, the land-forces were reimbarked, and, on the nineteenth of October, ſir George Rooke, with twenty ſail of men of war, ſet ſail for England, leaving ſir Cloudeſley Shovel, who joined the fleet two or three days before, to convoy home the prizes; whereupon ſir Cloudeſley, having burnt the ſhips that could not be got off, and taken one hundred and ten braſs cannon out of the enemy's ſhips and batteries, followed the grand fleet a few days after, which arrived ſafely in the Downs on the ſeventh of November; from whence the great ſhips were, about the middle of the month, ſent up to Chatham ‡.

* Hiſtoire Militaire, tom. iii. p. 717. Lives of Admirals. Lives of the Admirals. Burnet.

† Larrey. Memoires Hiſtoriques. Burnet. ‡ Burchet.

Among the ſucceſſes of this year muſt not be forgot thoſe we gained under that brave ſea-officer commodore Leake, who took, in the French harbours in Newfoundland, this ſummer, twenty-nine ſail of the enemy, and burnt twenty-two more, deſtroying all the ſtages and ſettlements of the French in and near Newfoundland. Admiral Bembow alſo protected the Engliſh trade in the Weſt Indies, harraſſed the Spaniſh ſettlements, and made ſeveral prizes; but, unhappily, the glory of our arms was tarniſhed by the behaviour of a few treacherous miſcreants, who owed their advancement to intereſt, without any perſonal merit.

The admiral underſtanding that monſieur du Caſſe, with a French ſquadron, was expected at Hiſpaniola, determined to go in queſt of him. On the nineteenth day of Auguſt he came up with the enemy, near St. Martha. The French ſquadron conſiſted of ten ſail, viz. four of ſeventy guns, one of forty, and the reſt ſmall frigates: admiral Bembow had with him ſeven ſail, viz. the Breda (his own ſhip) of ſeventy guns; the Defiance of ſixty-four; the Ruby, of fifty-four; the Pendennis, Greenwich, Windſor, and Falmouth, of fifty each. The admiral, in the Breda, with the Falmouth, captain Vincent, and Ruby, captain Walton, began the engagement; but the other four ſhips fell aſtern, and ſcarce fired a ſhot: however, admiral Bembow purſued the enemy, and continued a running fight for five days, when one of the enemy's men of war appeared quite diſabled. But the French by this time diſcovering that the admiral was not ſeconded by the reſt of his captains, fell furiouſly upon him, and he had the misfortune to have his leg ſhattered to pieces by a chain-ſhot; however, he ordered his cradle to be brought upon deck, and ſtill continued the fight, till the captains who had ſo baſely deſerted him, coming on board, and alleging the French were too ſtrong, and therefore deſiring him to deſiſt, the admiral, apprehenſive, from what he had ſeen of their conduct, that if he withſtood their importunities, they might deſert to the enemy, returned to Jamaica; where, enraged at the treachery of his captains, he iſſued a commiſſion to rear-admiral Whetſtone, and other officers, to hold a court-martial, and try them for cowardice. Hudſon, of the Pendennis, died before the trial; Kirby, of the Defiance, and Wade, of the Greenwich, were convicted, and ſentenced to be ſhot; Conſtable, of the Windſor, was caſhiered and impriſoned; Vincent, of the Falmouth, and Fogg, the admiral's own captain, were convicted of having ſigned a paper that they would not fight on the preſent occaſion; but as they had behaved gallantly in the action, the court inflicted on them no other puniſhment than that of a ſuſpenſion, nor was that to take place till the lord high-admiral's pleaſure ſhould be known. Wade and Kirby were ſent home in the Briſtol, and, upon their arrival at Plymouth, ſhot on board the ſhip, by order of a dead-warrant for their immediate execution, which had lain there for ſome time. Bembow himſelf was ſo deeply affected by this miſcarriage, that he became melancholy, and his grief co-operating with the fever occaſioned by his wound put a period to his life. The boiſterous manners of Bembow had produced this baſe confederacy, which deprived England of one of the braveſt ſea-officers that ever ſhe produced *. When Du Caſſe arrived at Carthagena, he wrote a letter to admiral Bembow to this effect:

"Sir,

"I had little hope on Monday laſt, but to have ſupped in your cabin, but it pleaſed God to order it otherwiſe: I am thankful for it. As for thoſe cowardly captains who deſerted you, hang them up, for by G---d they deſerve it.

Your's,

Du Casse."

The laſt ſea adventure I ſhall mention, is that in which admiral ſir John Munden was engaged; and indeed, in point of time, it ought to have been taken notice of ſooner. This gentleman, while the grand fleet lay at Spithead preparing for the Cadiz expedition, was detached, with a ſquadron of men of war, to intercept the ſame Du Caſſe whom Bembow afterwards ſo unfortunately engaged in the Weſt Indies. Sir John Munden came up with the French admiral off the Groyn, on the coaſt of Spain, but did not think fit to attack him, for which he was tried by a court-martial; and though he was acquitted by his brethren the officers of the fleet, there appeared ſuch marks of cowardice and treachery in his conduct, that the queen thought proper to caſhier him. But notwithſtanding, in ſome inſtances, we fell ſhort of ſucceſs in our ſea-enterprizes this year, yet the advantages we gained furniſhed ſufficient proofs how much it was the intereſt of this nation to make the ſea the principal theatre of our martial efforts, both in Europe and America. Our ſucceſſes in Flanders, however, were ſo dazzling, that we neglected the ſea-war too much, to maintain vaſt armies in the Netherlands, where we were rather loſers by the conqueſts we made for the Dutch and Germans on that ſide, our charges annually increaſing in proportion to the acquiſitions of our confederates.

Thus having ſurveyed the ſeveral ſcenes of war abroad, it is time now to return to England, where we find, that although the parliament ought regularly to have ſat for ſix months after the king's deceaſe, the queen diſſolved it by proclamation on the ſecond of July, and iſſued writs for calling another, which was to meet in the beginning of Auguſt. Her majeſty's attachment to the Tories was ſo well known, and theſe latter had, by their writings and ſpeeches, ſo prejudiced the nation againſt their adverſaries the Whigs, that they obtained a conſiderable majority in the new parliament, which was afterwards prorogued to the eighth of October, and at laſt to the twentieth of that month.

In the mean time the queen was employed in ſecuring the affections of her ſubjects: with this view ſhe made a progreſs to Oxford, Bath, and Briſtol, accompanied by her conſort, prince George of Denmark, and was received with uncommon marks of loyalty and affection by the people in every place through which ſhe paſſed. Her majeſty, before her ſetting out on this progreſs, gave a public audience † to the count de Platens, envoy extraordinary from the elector of Hanover; and about the ſame time ſhe made ſome promotions in

* Naval Hiſtory. Hiſtory of Europe.

† On the fixth of July.

the army, and diſpoſed of ſeveral places and preferments: and on the nineteenth of July her majeſty, in council, made an order againſt ſelling of offices and places in the houſhold and family.

On Wedneſday the twentieth of October the new parliament (the firſt of this reign) met, and the commons having choſen Mr. Robert Harley for their ſpeaker, the queen made a ſpeech to both houſes, wherein ſhe obſerved, that ſhe had called them together to aſſiſt her in carrying on the juſt and neceſſary war in which the nation was engaged; that ſhe was willing the commons ſhould examine the accounts of the public receipts and payments; that if any abuſes or miſmanagements had been committed they might be detected, and the offenders brought to condign puniſhment. She told them, that the funds aſſigned by the laſt parliament, had fallen ſhort of the ſums propoſed to be raiſed by them; although ſhe had already paid and applied to the public ſervice the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds, which ſhe had promiſed the laſt parliament; which, however, had not made up the deficiency. It was with great concern, ſhe ſaid, that ſhe took notice to them of the diſappointment of the expedition againſt Cadiz, as well as the abuſes committed at Port St. Mary's, which had obliged her to give directions for an enquiry into the particulars. She expreſſed her deſire that the parliament would find time to conſider of ſome better and more effectual method to prevent the exportation of wool, and improve that manufacture, which ſhe was determined to encourage. She declared herſelf fully convinced, that the affections of her ſubjects were the ſureſt pledge of their duty and obedience; that ſhe was reſolved to maintain the church as by law eſtabliſhed, and protect her ſubjects in the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges, conſidering their intereſt and her own as inſeparable; and that ſhe would always exert her utmoſt endeavours to make them a happy and flouriſhing people *.

The lords returned the uſual addreſs of thanks to this ſpeech, congratulating her majeſty on the ſucceſs of her arms under the earl of Marlborough. The commons were more particular, and in their addreſs made ſeveral invidious reflections on the late reign. Among other things, they remarked, "that the wonderful progreſs of her majeſty's arms, under the earl of Marlborough, had ſignally retrieved the ancient honour and glory of the Engliſh nation †." The word *retrieved* in this part of the commons addreſs, occaſioned ſevral warm debates in the houſe, it being ſaid to carry an evident reflection on the memory of the late king, as if the honour of the nation had been loſt, or had greatly ſuffered, in his reign; and the word *maintained* was propoſed to be inſerted in the room of it: but the Tories, who introduced and ſupported the firſt expreſſion, gained their point, and, upon a diviſion, *retrieved* was carried, one hundred and eighty againſt eighty.

This being the firſt year of her majeſty's reign, ſhe was pleaſed to honour the city of London with her preſence at dinner, on the Lord-mayor's day, where ſhe was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy and loyalty: and the next day, being the thirtieth of October, the lord Shannon arrived from the confederate fleet, with the news of its ſignal ſucceſs over the French and Spaniards at Vigo. The houſe of commons, very unanimouſly and with great diſpatch, agreed to all the demands of the court, and voted all the ſupplies that were neceſſary for carrying on the war: they decreed forty thouſand men to the ſea-ſervice; and that the proportion of forces for England, to act in conjunction with thoſe of the allies, ſhould be thirty-three thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand horſe and dragoons; and that three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds be granted for guards and garriſons for the year 1703: they alſo voted ſeventy thouſand nine hundred and thirty-three pounds for ordnance; eight-hundred thirty-three thouſand eight hundred and twenty-ſix pounds for the pay of the land-forces; and fifty-one thouſand eight hundred and forty-three pounds for ſubſidies to the allies: at the ſame time, however, the commons ſhewed ſo much regard to their own rights, that they reſolved, that juſtice had not been done them upon the impeachments of the earl of Orford, and other three lords, before the houſe of peers, in the thirteenth year of the late reign; but this reſolution was not followed by a revival of thoſe proſecutions. The next thing that came under their conſideration, was a complaint, exhibited by ſir John Packington, againſt the biſhop of Worceſter and Mr. Lloyd, his ſon, for certain undue practices to prevent his election for the county of Worceſter; and the houſe, having examined into that matter, reſolved, "that ſir John Packington had, by evidence, fully made out the charge he had brought againſt the lord biſhop of Worceſter." Whereupon the houſe addreſſed her majeſty to remove the ſaid biſhop from being almoner to her majeſty, and gave directions to Mr. Attorney-general to proſecute Mr. Lloyd, the biſhop's ſon, for his ſhare in that offence ‡.

The lords, alarmed at theſe proceedings of the commons, which they looked upon as an infringement of the privileges of their houſe, preſented a counter-addreſs to her majeſty, beſeeching her not to remove the biſhop of Worceſter from his place of lord-almoner, until he ſhould be found guilty of ſome crime by due courſe of law, it being the undoubted right of every lord of parliament, and of every ſubject of England, to have an opportunity of making his own defence, before he ſuffer any kind of puniſhment. This addreſs being preſented to the queen, ſhe returned for anſwer, "that ſhe had not as yet received any complaint againſt the biſhop of Worceſter, but that ſhe looked upon it as her undoubted right to continue or diſplace any ſervant attending upon her own perſon, when ſhe ſhould think proper." The lords, piqued at this reply, reſolved the ſame day unanimouſly, "That no lord of their houſe ought to ſuffer any kind of puniſhment by any proceedings of the houſe of commons, otherwiſe than according to the known and ancient rules and methods of parliament ‖." But ſir Edward Seymour attending her majeſty with the reſolution of the houſe of commons for removing the biſhop of Worceſter, the queen anſwered, "that ſhe was very ſorry there was occaſion for this addreſs againſt the biſhop; and ſhe would direct that he ſhould no longer continue to fill the office of almoner:" for which anſwer the commons

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, vol. iii. p. 204. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 209.
‖ Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, vol. ii. p. 45.

returned

returned her majeſty their moſt humble thanks. Thus did the Tories triumph over all oppoſition; but, like moſt parties when uppermoſt, they made a very partial and arbitrary uſe of their power, of which I ſhall preſent the reader with the following glaring inſtance: Mr. John Howe, knight of the ſhire for Glouceſter, had drawn up an addreſs for that county to the queen on her acceſſion, in which were the moſt bitter reflections on the memory of the late king. By this act, and his ſubſequent behaviour in the houſe of commons, he had incurred the cenſure and diſguſt of the more moderate and unprejudiced part of his conſtituents, inſomuch that when, on the election for this new parliament, he ſtood for the ſhire, he was thrown out by a great majority: yet ſuch was his credit in the houſe, that the return in favour of his competitor was adjudged illegal and inſufficient, and Mr. Howe was declared duly elected.

The twelfth of November being appointed for a public thankſgiving for the ſucceſſes of the campaign, the queen went to St. Paul's, attended by both houſes of parliament and the great officers of ſtate. The duke of Ormond, now returned from his expedition, happening to be one of the ſtaff-officers in waiting, rode in one of the queen's coaches with the duke of Somerſet, and was hailed with the loudeſt acclamations by the innumerable ſpectators aſſembled on this occaſion; and from that day may be dated the great popularity which he afterwards acquired, and which in the end proved fatal to him. His grace coming into the houſe of lords the next day, the lord-keeper (ſir Nathan Wright) in the name of the houſe, returned him thanks for his ſignal ſervices performed at Vigo. On the other hand, the commons drew up an addreſs to the queen, deſiring ſhe would cauſe the duke of Ormond and ſir George Rooke to lay before them an account of their proceedings, a requeſt with which her majeſty complied: but at the ſame time they gave thoſe two officers the thanks of their houſe for their gallant atchievements at Vigo. Sir George Rooke was afterwards, by the queen's order, ſworn of the privy-council.

On the twenty-firſt of November the queen ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons by Mr. ſecretary Hedges, importing, That her majeſty, conſidering that there was but a very ſlender proviſion made for the prince her huſband if he ſhould ſurvive her; and that ſhe was reſtrained from increaſing the ſame by the late act of parliament for ſettling the revenue, thought it neceſſary to recommend the making a further proviſion for the prince to their conſideration. The commons having taken the meſſage into conſideration, it was unanimouſly reſolved, That the yearly ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds be ſettled upon his royal highneſs, in caſe he ſhould ſurvive her majeſty. About this time Thomas Colepepper, eſq. one of the Kentiſh petitioners who had been ſo troubleſome to the houſe in the late reign, preſented a petition of another nature, acknowleging the juſt offence he had given to the houſe of commons, declaring his ſorrow for the ſame, and humbly praying that the houſe would be pleaſed to interpoſe with her majeſty in his behalf, to give orders to her attorney-general to ſurceaſe farther proceedings in the proſecution againſt him. Upon this petition and his publicly acknowleging his offence, and craving pardon for the ſame at the commons' bar, that houſe was pleaſed to addreſs the queen to ſtop the proſecution againſt him, which had been ſet on foot at their deſire; and thus this matter ended.

And now the earl of Marlborough being returned from Holland, he alſo received the thanks of both houſes for his ſignal ſervices this campaign: and on the ſecond of December her majeſty declared in the committee of council, that ſhe was ſo ſatisfied of the eminent ſervices of lord Marlborough to the public and herſelf, both in the command of the army, and the entire confidence he had ſettled between her majeſty and her allies the States-general, that ſhe intended to create him a duke; and on the tenth of the ſame month ſhe ſent the following meſſage to the houſe of commons:

ANNE R.

"The earl of Marlborough's ſervices to her majeſty and to the public have been ſo eminent, both in his command of the army and in his having eſtabliſhed an entire confidence and good correſpondence between her majeſty and the States-general, that ſhe has thought fit to grant the title of a duke of this kingdom to him and to the heirs-male of his body, and alſo a penſion of five thouſand pounds per annum upon the revenue of the Poſt-office, for the ſupport of his honour during her majeſty's life: if it had been in her majeſty's power, ſhe would have granted the ſame term in the penſion as in the honour; and ſhe hopes you will think it ſo reaſonable in this caſe as to find ſome proper methods of doing it."

This meſſage occaſioned great debates in the houſe; and one member in particular ſaid, that he would not derogate from the duke's eminent ſervices, but inſiſted that he was very well paid for them, and then took notice of the profitable employments enjoyed by him and his ducheſs. The reſult was an addreſs, ſhewing their inexpreſſible grief that her majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal commons ſaw any inſtances where they were unable to comply with what her majeſty propoſed to them; but they begged leave humbly to lay before her majeſty the apprehenſion they had of making a precedent for the future alienation of the revenue of the crown, which had been ſo much reduced by the exorbitant grants of the laſt reign, and which had been ſo lately ſettled and ſecured by her majeſty's unparalleled grace and goodneſs: they however declared themſelves infinitely pleaſed to obſerve, by her majeſty's late gracious acceptance of the duke of Marlborough's ſervices, that the only way to obtain her majeſty's favour was to deſerve well of the public; and begged leave to aſſure her majeſty, that whenever ſhe ſhould think fit to reward ſuch merit, it would be to the entire ſatisfaction of her people *. To this addreſs, which in many parts of it highly reflected on the late king's perſon and reign, the queen only anſwered, That ſhe ſhould always think herſelf much concerned to reward thoſe who had deſerved well of her, and that on this account ſhe had beſtowed ſome favours on the duke of Marlborough, and was glad to find they thought them well placed. As this proceeding of the queen demonſtrates the great influence

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 210.

the duke and dutcheſs of Marlborough had then over her, ſo it is thought the refuſal of the commons began to alienate the duke from the Tories. It is very remarkable, that neither biſhop Burnet nor the dutcheſs of Marlborough, in the vindication of her conduct, make the leaſt mention of this circumſtance.

I muſt here obſerve, that a clauſe having been added to the bill for ſettling the prince of Denmark's revenue, exempting that prince from that part of the act of ſucceſſion, by which ſtrangers, though naturalized, were rendered incapable of holding employments, it occaſioned very warm debates. The clauſe related only to thoſe who ſhould be naturalized in a future reign, and was calculated as a reſtriction on the houſe of Hanover. Many members argued againſt this clauſe of exemption, becauſe it ſeemed to imply that perſons already naturalized would be excluded from employments in the next reign, though already poſſeſſed of the right of natural-born ſubjects; a conſequence plainly contradictory to the meaning of the act. Others oppoſed it, becauſe the lords had already reſolved by a vote, that they would never paſs any money-bill ſent up from the commons, to which a clauſe foreign to the bill ſhould be tacked; and this clauſe they affirmed to be a tack, as an incapacity to hold employments was a circumſtance altogether different from a ſettlement in money. The queen expreſſed uncommon eagerneſs in behalf of this bill; and the court-influence was managed ſo ſucceſsfully, that it paſſed through both houſes, though not without an obſtinate oppoſition, and a formal proteſt entered by ſeven-and twenty peers *.

The commiſſioners for ſtating the public accounts having, by order of the houſe of commons, examined the accounts of the earl of Ranelagh, pay-maſter of the army, laid them before the houſe, with their own obſervations, in which they bore very hard upon that earl. The commons, after a full hearing of all parties, came to the following reſolutions, viz. 1. That it appeared to the houſe, that the commiſſioners appointed by act of parliament for taking, examining, and ſtating the public accounts of the kingdom, had very good grounds for making the obſervations in their narrative or repreſentation laid before the houſe. 2. That all monies iſſued to the pay-maſter-general of the army ought to be applied to the uſe of the army and forces only, and to no other purpoſe whatſoever. 3. That all privy-ſeals, orders of the Treaſury, or other warrants to the pay-maſter-general of the army, to apply the money in his hands to other than the uſe of the army and forces, are illegal and void. 4. That all privy-ſeals or warrants of the auditors of the impreſt to paſs accounts without proper vouchers, or to make any allowances other than according to the law and courſe of the Exchequer, are illegal and void. 5. That the ſaid commiſſioners had made good the allegations in their narrative: and, 6. That the pay-maſter-general of the army had miſapplied ſeveral ſums of the public money.

The earl of Ranelagh, to avoid any farther animadverſions on his management, thought fit to reſign his place, which was afterwards ſupplied by ſir Stephen Fox and Mr. Howe as joint pay-maſters: but it appears that the noble lord's reſignation was not ſufficient to appeaſe the commons; for they expelled him their houſe, of which he was a member, and even addreſſed her majeſty to order the attorney-general to proſecute him. Herein, however, her majeſty did not chuſe to oblige them. The commons alſo reſolved, that the borrowing of money and ſtriking of tallies, with intereſt, before the public occaſions required, had been one cauſe of the great debt which the nation had incurred, and that the applying of the public money to the uſe of the civil liſt, which was otherwiſe provided for, was another cauſe of that debt.

This enquiry into the public accounts produced moſt violent animoſities between the two houſes; for the commons having paſſed ſeveral ſevere reſolutions againſt Charles lord Halifax, auditor of the receipts of the Exchequer, as having been guilty of a breach of truſt, and thereupon addreſſed the queen to direct her attorney-general to proſecute him for the ſaid offence ‡; which her majeſty, as in the other inſtance, refuſed to comply with; the lords, exaſperated at the proceedings of the commons, which diſplayed ſo much party-rancour and malice, appointed a committee to examine all the obſervations which the commiſſioners of accounts had offered to both houſes. The reſult was, that their lordſhips reſolved, That Charles lord Halifax, auditor of the receipts of the Exchequer, had performed the duty of his office according to the antient cuſtom of the Exchequer and the late act of king William III. and that he had not been guilty of any breach of truſt: at the ſame time, they ordered their proceedings to be printed and publiſhed. This difference blew up a fierce flame of diſcord between the two houſes, which manifeſted their mutual animoſity in ſpeeches, votes, reſolutions, and conferences. The commons affirmed, That no cognizance the lords could take of the public accounts would enable them to ſupply any deficiency, or appropriate any ſurpluſage of the public money: that they could neither acquit nor condemn any perſon whatſoever upon any enquiry ariſing originally in their own houſe; and that their attempt to acquit lord Halifax was unparliamentary. The lords inſiſted on their right to take cognizance originally of all public accounts: they affirmed, that in their reſolutions with reſpect to lord Halifax, they had proceeded according to the rules of juſtice: they owned, however, that their reſolutions did not amount to any judgment or acquittal; but that, finding a vote of the houſe of commons reflected upon a member of their

* Burnet. Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 210. Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, ii. 46.

† The particulars of the reſolutions againſt this noble peer were as follow, viz, "That Charles lord Halifax, auditor of the receipts of the Exchequer, had neglected his duty, and was guilty of a breach of truſt in not tranſmitting the impreſt-rolls half-yearly to the king's remembrancer, according to the late ſtatute made in the reign of king William III. that the auditors of the impreſt had been guilty of great neglect in not certifying the king's remembrancer of the neglect of the ſeveral annual accountants, and that proceſs ought to go againſt them: that it appeared to the houſe that there had been a general miſmanagement of the public money, by not obliging the accountants to make up their accounts in due time, which was another cauſe of the national debt: that Charles lord Halifax had been guilty of a breach of truſt in not examining, every three months, the tellers vouchers for the payments upon the annuities which he allowed in his weekly certificates, according to the late act.

houſe, they thought fit to give their opinion in their legiſlative authority. The queen interpoſed by a meſſage to the lords, deſiring they would diſpatch the buſineſs in which they were engaged; but the diſputes between the two houſes ſtill continuing, with a warmth that left little hopes of an accommodation, the queen reſolved to check their farther progreſs by putting an end to the ſeſſion *.

Another thing had occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between the two houſes, and took up a great deal of time this ſeſſion: this was a bill for preventing Occaſional Conformity. The Tories affected to diſtinguiſh themſelves as the only true friends of the church and monarchy, and vehemently inveighed againſt the diſſenters, who conſtituted great part of the Whig faction, as encroaching ſchiſmatics, that diſgraced and endangered hierarchy; and in order effectually to humble them, on the fourth of November, Mr. Bromley, Mr. St. John, and Mr. Anneſley, were ordered by the houſe of commons to bring in the abovementioned bill †, in the preamble to which all proſecution for conſcience ſake was condemned. Nevertheleſs it was enacted, "That all thoſe who had taken the ſacrament and teſt for offices of truſt, or the magiſtracy of corporations, and afterwards frequented any meeting of diſſenters, ſhould be diſabled from holding their employments, pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and five pounds for every day in which they continued to act in their employments, after having been at any ſuch meeting." They were alſo rendered incapable of holding any other employment till after one whole year's conformity, and upon a relapſe the penalties and time of incapacity were doubled.

The promoters of this bill alleged in ſupport of it, that it was intended only to reſtrain a very ſcandalous practice, which is a reproach to religion, gives offence to all good chriſtians, and to the beſt amongſt the diſſenters themſelves: that this bill enacted nothing new, and was only intended to make the laws in being more effectual: that thoſe laws were thought ſufficient to ſecure our eſtabliſhment; but ſince the invention and iniquity of men had found out ways to elude them, it was proper to let thoſe men ſee the legiſlature would not be wanting on their parts to prevent thoſe miſchiefs which muſt prove deſtructive to the church and monarchy; both which the commons declared themſelves reſolved to maintain and ſupport. It was affirmed, That an eſtabliſhed religion and a national church are abſolutely neceſſary, when ſo many *ill* men pretend to inſpiration, and when there are ſo many *weak* men to follow them: that if a national church be neceſſary, the only effectual way to preſerve it is by keeping the civil power in the hands of thoſe whoſe practices and principles are conformable thereto: that when the corporation-act was made, the parliament had freſh in their minds the confuſion and calamities that had been brought upon the nation, by ſuch as pretended to be at the ſame time in the intereſt of religion and of their country: that the parliament by that act, and afterwards by the teſt-act, thought it had ſecured our eſtabliſhment both in church and ſtate, and that they had provided a ſufficient barrier to defeat and diſappoint any attempt againſt them, never imagining that a ſet of men would riſe up, "whoſe conſciences were too tender to obey the laws, but hardened enough to break them:" that as upon the Revolution the laſt reign had begun with an act in favour of the diſſenters, ſo the commons did deſire that in the beginning of her majeſty's auſpicious reign, an act might paſs in favour of the church of England; that the laws which had been evaded might now be effectually enforced; and that thoſe men might be kept out of offices, who have ſhewn they never wanted the will, when they had the power, to deſtroy the church; and that nothing had been more miſrepreſented than this bill, which did not in any reſpect encroach on the act of toleration, or take from the diſſenters any one privilege they have by law, or give any one privilege to the church of England which was not at leaſt intended her by the laws as they now ſtand. It was moreover ſaid, that a ſeparation from the church, to which a man's conſcience will allow him *occaſionally* to conform, is a mere ſchiſm, which in itſelf was ſinful, without the ſuperaddition of a temporal law to make it an offence, and that conforming and nonconforming were contradictions; for nothing but a firm perſuaſion that the terms of communion required are ſinful can juſtify the one, and this plainly condemns the other.

The members who oppoſed the bill argued, That the diſſenters were generally well-affected to the preſent conſtitution: that in the laſt and greateſt danger to which the church was expoſed, they zealouſly aſſerted her againſt the papiſts, their common enemies, and have ever ſince continued to ſhew every mark of affection and ſubmiſſion to the government in church and ſtate: that to bring any real hardſhip upon them, or give riſe to jealouſies and fears at ſuch a juncture, might be attended with dangerous conſequences: that the toleration had greatly contributed to the ſafety and reputation of the church, and plainly proved that liberty of conſcience and gentle meaſures were the moſt effectual means for encreaſing the votaries of the church, and diminiſhing the number of diſſenters: that the diſſenters could not properly be termed ſchiſmatics without bringing a heavy charge upon the church of England, which had not only tolerated ſuch ſchiſm, but even allowed communion with the reformed churches abroad: that the penalties of this bill were even more ſevere than thoſe impoſed by law upon the papiſts for aſſiſting at the moſt ſolemn act of their religion: in a word, that toleration and tenderneſs had been always productive of peace and union, whereas perſecution had never failed to excite diſcord and extend ſuperſtition.

The bill paſſed the lower houſe by a conſiderable majority, but met with a very warm oppoſition from the peers, many of whom were in the Whig

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 247, 260.

† The bill began thus: "As nothing is more contrary to the perſuaſion of the Chriſtian religion, and particularly to the doctrine of the church of England, than perſecution for conſcience only, and in due conſideration of it, an act paſſed in the firſt year of king William and queen Mary, for the exempting their majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects diſſenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws; which act ought inviolably to be obſerved, and eaſe given to conſciences truly ſcrupulous.

intereſt.

intereſt. Apprehenſive that the commons would tack it to ſome money-bill, they voted, That the annexing any clauſe to a money-bill was contrary to the conſtitution of the Engliſh government and the uſage of parliament. Their lordſhips, upon peruſal of the bill, made ſeveral amendments, as, That Jacobite meetings ſhould be included: that one hundred pounds penalty ſhould be reduced to twenty pounds; and that the whole incapacitating clauſes ſhould be omitted. They alſo ſhortened the terms for information and proſecution, exempted diſſenters from holding offices for which they could not be qualified without taking the ſacrament, provided that the act ſhould not extend to the univerſity-churches, or to the French and Ducth-churches, or to the governors of hoſpitals, or the aſſiſtants of corporations or work-houſes for relieving or employing the poor. The commons taking their lordſhips amendments into conſideration, agreed to ſome of them, but diſagreed to others, which occaſioned ſeveral conferences between the two houſes, the managers on the part of the commons being Mr. Bromley, Mr. St. John, Mr. Finch, Mr. Sollicitor-general, and ſir Thomas Powis. On the part of the lords, the duke of Devonſhire, the earl of Peterborough, the biſhop of Saliſbury, the lords Somers and Halifax. After long debates the lords adhered to their amendments: the commons perſiſted in rejecting them; ſo that conferences broke up, both parties publiſhing their proceedings as a vindication of their conduct. The court put their whole ſtrength to carry this bill; even prince George came and voted for it, though he was himſelf an occaſional conformiſt, for he had received the ſacrament as lord high-admiral, and yet kept his chapel in the Lutheran way; but when it came to the final vote, the biſhops made in the laſt reign, to the ſurprize of every one, fell with their whole weight into the ſcale of the Whigs, and the bill was loſt by one voice only *.

A bill was now brought into the lower houſe, granting another year's conſideration to thoſe who had taken the oath abjuring the pretended prince of Wales. This being ſent up to the lords, they added three clauſes, importing, 1. That thoſe perſons who ſhould take the oath within the limited time might return to their benefices and employments, provided they were not already filled. 2. That any perſon endeavouring to defeat the ſucceſſion to the crown, as now limited by law, ſhould be deemed guilty of high-treaſon. 3. That the oath of abjuration ſhould be impoſed upon the ſubjects of Ireland. Theſe amendments occaſioned ſome warm debates in the houſe of commons, where it was carried only by one voice to agree with the lords, and the bill paſſed both houſes, by which a new ſecurity was provided both in England and Ireland for a proteſtant ſucceſſor.

I muſt not forget that the duke of Ormond having, at his return from the Cadiz expedition, thrown out ſome reflections upon ſir George Rooke's conduct, and hinting a deſign to ſubject him to a public accuſation, the houſe of lords ordered the admiral's inſtructions and journals to be laid before a committee apointed for that purpoſe; and the majority of the houſe afterwards voted, That ſir George Rooke had done his duty, purſuant to the councils of war, like a brave officer, to the honour of the Britiſh nation. On the other hand, ſir Henry Bellaſis was tried by a court-martial of general officers, broke, and diſmiſſed the ſervice: but major-general O'Hara was acquitted by the ſame court, and his ſuſpenſion thereupon taken off by her majeſty.

About this time the earl of Rocheſter, finding himſelf out-weighed in the council by the intereſt of the duke of Marlborough and lord Godolphin, had become ſullen and untractable; upon which the queen thought fit to order him to his government of Ireland, which he had never viſited ſince his having been appointed lord-lieutenant. The earl, however, choſe rather to reſign than comply with this injunction, and that office was beſtowed upon the duke of Ormond, who had now acquired great popularity, and was indeed a very accompliſhed nobleman.

In the beginning of January the queen gave the houſe of commons to underſtand, that the States-general had preſſed her to augment her forces, as the only means to render ineffectual the great and early preparations of the enemy. The commons immediately reſolved that ten thouſand men ſhould be hired as an augmentation of the forces to act in conjunction with the allies: but at the ſame time, in an addreſs, they intreated her majeſty would make it a point with the States-general that they ſhould put an immediate ſtop to all commerce and correſpondence with France and Spain, which the commons ſaid was ſo abſolutely neceſſary for carrying on the war, to the interrupting the enemy's trade, and reducing them to the greateſt ſtraits, that they deſired England might not be charged with the pay of ſuch additional troops, but from the day that ſuch ſtep ſhould be made by the States. The lords alſo addreſſed her majeſty to the ſame effect, who readily acknowleged the juſtneſs of their precautions, and promiſed to comply with their requeſts. She was as good as her word, and the States-general, ſore againſt their will, were obliged to publiſh a prohibition of all commerce with the ſubjects of France and Spain.

The public buſineſs being now diſpatched, her majeſty came to the houſe of peers the twenty-ſeventh of February, and gave the royal aſſent to the land-tax (four ſhillings in the pound); to the act for enabling her majeſty to ſettle a revenue (one hundred thouſand pounds per annum) on the prince of Denmark, in caſe he ſurvived her; to the malt-tax; to an act for continuing the duties upon coals; to an act for granting an aid to her majeſty by the ſale of annuities (by this act every contributor was to have fourteen pounds per annum, for ninety-nine years, for every two hundred and ten pounds paid in); to an act for preventing eſcapes out of the King's-Bench and Fleet priſons; to an act for finiſhing and adorning the cathedral of St. Paul's; to an act for the puniſhment of acceſſories to felonies, and the receivers of ſtolen goods; to an act for enlarging the time for taking the abjuration-oath, and for the future ſecuring the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line, and extinguiſhing

* Burnet. Coke. Life of Queen Anne,

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the hopes of the pretender; to an act for ſtating and examining the public accounts; and to an act for advancing the ſale of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, with ſome others. After which her majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, thanking them for the diſpatch they had given to the public affairs, for the large ſupplies that had been granted, and the proviſion that had been made for the prince. She ſaid, ſhe hoped the diſſenters would reſt ſatisfied with the act of toleration, which ſhe was reſolved to maintain; and that thoſe of the church would conſider ſhe had her education in it, and had run great hazards for it; and that therefore they ought to be ſure ſhe would make it her peculiar care to encourage and maintain the church, and tranſmit it ſecurely ſettled to poſterity. She thought ſome farther laws were neceſſary for reſtraining the licence of the preſs, and hoped they would endeavour to ſuppreſs pernicious libels; but above all ſhe recommended union among themſelves; and concluded with acquainting them, that ſhe would apply her ſhare of the prizes taken during the war to the public ſervice.

Then the lord-keeper, by her majeſty's command, prorogued the parliament.

To the tranſactions of this ſeſſion it may not be improper to ſubjoin an account of the proceedings of the convocation, which ſat at the ſame time as the parliament, and which was diſtracted by the ſame feuds and animoſities that prevailed in that aſſembly.

It had been cuſtomary for a convocation to be ſummoned with every new parliament; but after the firſt convocation in 1689, had, as I have already related, diſcovered their averſion to the ſcheme of comprehenſion ſet on foot by king William; the king had ordered the convocation to be regularly prorogued, and never ſuffered them to ſit till February 1701, when they were, after a vacation of ten years, allowed to meet and act. Then the conteſts about the right of adjourning were revived between the higher and lower houſes, and ſo continued till William's death. When the convocation determined in conſequence of that event, the advocates for the new claims ſet up by the lower houſe affected to call themſelves a parliamentary body, and therefore inſiſted they had a right to ſit as long as the parliament; but the archbiſhop and biſhop affirmed, that the convocation being aſſembled by the biſhop's mandate, in obedience to the king's writ, could no longer ſubſiſt than while the royal writ remained in force, and ſo the convocation broke up.

On the queen's acceſſion, and the calling a new parliament, the convocation was again ſummoned, and Dr. Aldrich, dean of Chriſt-church, was choſen prolocutor; when the lower houſe, in imitation of the commons, propoſed an addreſs, reflecting on the memory of the late king, and even glancing obliquely at the conduct of the biſhops; but the upper houſe refuſing to concur, the lower receded, and both at length agreed in a joint addreſs to her majeſty, in which they congratulated her acceſſion to the throne, thanked her for the aſſurances ſhe had given of her fixed reſolution to ſupport the church of England as by law eſtabliſhed, and to maintain the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line; and expreſſed their hopes, that whatever was wanting to reſtore the church to its juſt rights and privileges would be ſupplied by her majeſty, and would be tranſmitted ſafe to the lateſt poſterity. The queen in her anſwer told them, that ſhe was highly pleaſed with this dutiful addreſs, and conſidered their concurrence in this particular as a good preſage of their union in every thing that ſhould come before them.

Her majeſty however found herſelf diſappointed in her expectations; their former conteſts were immediately revived. The biſhops offered to grant the lower houſe any thing that could poſſibly be granted without giving up their character and authority: they propoſed, that in the intervals of ſeſſion, the lower houſe might appoint committees to prepare matters; and when buſineſs ſhould be regularly brought before them, the archbiſhop would regulate the prorogation in ſuch a manner, that they might have ſufficient time to ſit and deliberate upon the ſubject. The lower houſe were not ſatisfied with this anſwer: they had many friends among the miniſtry, and therefore they reſolved upon an addreſs to the queen, which was preſented on the twenty-third of December, 1702, begging ſhe would call the queſtion into her royal audience, and award ſuch a ſentence as to her ſhould ſeem proper. Orders were hereupon given to the queen's counſel to examine how the matter ſtood in point of law between the two houſes, which was thus ſtated to them, and from whence the reader will be beſt informed of the true nature of the diſpute between the two houſes of convocation. The conſtant practice, as far as there were books or records, was, That the archbiſhop prorogued the convocation by a ſchedule: of this the form was ſo fixed, that it could not be altered but by act of parliament. There was a clauſe in the ſchedule that continued all matters before the convocation in the ſtate they were, to the day to which he prorogued them. Hence it was evident that there could be no intermediate ſeſſion; for a ſeſſion in the lower houſe could, by paſſing a vote in any matter, alter the ſtate that matter was in.

The lower houſe on their part did not pretend to queſtion the archbiſhop's power to prorogue the *whole* convocation, that is, to appoint a further day, on which the whole body ſhould attend; but they conceived that ſuch power was no ways inconſiſtent with the right claimed by the lower houſe, viz. the right of holding their aſſemblies, and continuing to act as an houſe, in the intervals of his grace's ordinary prorogations; which right, in their opinion, was ſo indiſputably neceſſary to the being of the lower houſe, that they could not anſwer the truſt repoſed in them, unleſs they continued to inſiſt on the claim of it. What the report made by the judges was, is not known; but it ſhould ſeem, however, that it was unfavourable to the lower houſe, for the queen made no anſwer to their addreſs. The diſpute ſtill ſubſiſted, when the ſeſſion was finiſhed by the prorogation of the parliament *.

Thoſe conteſts, however, gave riſe to diviſions through the whole body of the clergy, who ranged themſelves into different parties, diſtinguiſhed by the names of HIGH CHURCH and LOW CHURCH,

* Burnet. Tindal. Salmon.

who branded each other with the moſt invidious epithets: the former branded the latter with the appellation of Preſbyterians and Republicans; and thoſe in return ſtigmatized their adverſaries as enemies to the Revolution, Jacobites, and Schiſmatics. Upon the whole, I cannot more aptly diſtinguiſh them than by giving to the former the term of Eccleſiaſtical Tories, and to the latter that of Eccleſiaſtical Whigs.

The latter end of February ſeveral promotions were made in the army; and on the ſeventh of March ſir John Leviſon Gower, baronet, was created baron Gower of Sittenham, in the county of York; John Granville, eſquire, baron Granville of Potheridge, in the county of Devon; Heneage Finch, eſquire, baron of Guernſey, in the county of Hants; Francis Seymour Conway, eſq. younger ſon of ſir Edward Seymour by a ſecond venter, baron Conway of Ragley, in the county of Warwick; and John Harvey, eſquire, was created baron Harvey of Ickworth, in the county of Suffolk. At the ſame time, Sheffield marquis of Normanby was created duke of that name, and afterwards honoured with the additional title of duke of Buckinghamſhire.

I ſhall cloſe the tranſactions of this year with an account of ſome occurrences relating to our trade, which could not ſo conveniently be introduced in the courſe of the former pages.

In this year an attempt was made by the Engliſh from Carolina, under colonel Moore, governor of that ſettlement, againſt St. Auguſtine, the capital of Spaniſh Florida; but although we took and held the town for a whole month, we were not able to reduce the caſtle for want of mortars (which certainly ſhould have been duly conſidered before) and were therefore obliged to withdraw, on the arrival of two Spaniſh men of war, and abandon the ſhips, ammunition, &c. to the enemy *.

In this year alſo the land-proprietors of the two provinces of Eaſt and Weſt New-Jerſey, in Engliſh America, who had purchaſed of the firſt proprietors, not readily finding purchaſers of under ſhares thereof, and being likewiſe at variance amongſt themſelves, agreed to ſurrender into the queen's hands both the charters for thoſe two ſeparate governments, reſerving their particular rights and properties of the lands and ſettlements therein: whereupon her majeſty conſolidated the ſaid two provinces into one, and appointed the lord Cornbury to be the firſt regal governor. This colony of New-Jerſey has ſince proſpered very well, and has been extremely uſeful in ſupplying our ſugar-colonies with proviſions, lumber, &c. Its two beſt towns are Burlington and Elizabeth town; but that of Perth-Amboy is reckoned to have the beſt harbour, and moſt commodious in point of ſituation †.

General Codrington, governor of the Leeward-Iſlands, having received advice that war was declared by England againſt France, attacked the French iſland of Guadaloupe, where, after ſome loſs, he made himſelf maſter of the great town called Baſſe-terre, and forced the enemy to retire into the caſtle and fort, which they defended for ſome time, and then blowing them up, retired to the mountains; after which the Engliſh burnt the town to the ground, razed the fortifications, took the beſt of the guns on board, and made their retreat without the loſs of a man; then embarking, they returned to St. Chriſtopher's ‡.

We have ſeen, under the preceding reign, the indiſpenſible neceſſity there was for uniting the old and new Engliſh Eaſt India companies, even if it had been for no other reaſon but the ſake of public tranquility. This coalition was finally effected this year under an act of arbitration, wherein lord Godolphin and Mr. Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, were for the old company, and Charles Montagu lord Halifax for the new; and on the twenty-ſecond of July, an indenture tripartite was entered into by the queen and the ſaid two companies, in ſubſtance as follows, viz. That the old company's ſtock in the funds ſhould be transferred to the new, and that the old company ſhould purchaſe of the new as much of their ſtock as, with that which was transferred by the old, ſhould make up a moiety of the whole capital of the united companies. The old company was likewiſe to give an equivalent for the new company's dead ſtock. During ſeven years, each company was to have an equal power in the adminiſtration of the fund and trade, and to that end twelve perſons were to be yearly appointed by the general court of each company reſpectively, who were to be ſtiled Managers of the United Trade to India; and after thoſe ſeven years were expired, the old company were to ſurrender their charter, and the new company was henceforward to change its ſtile, and to be called "The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies," whoſe affairs were afterwards to be conducted by their own ſole directors, agreeable to the charter of the tenth of king William. Thus a prudent ſtop was put to much contention on account of thoſe two bodies of traders; and this agreement was the foundation of that company which has ſubſiſted, with ſo great credit to themſelves and benefit to the nation, ever ſince §.

The order of time leads me now to take a view of what paſſed in Scotland and Ireland, at the beginning of the ſecond year of queen Ann's reign.

A change had been made in the miniſtry of Scotland, which ſeemed favourable to the epiſcopalians and antirevolutioniſts of that kingdom. The earls of Marchmont, Melvil, Selkirk, Leven, and Hindford, were laid aſide: the earl of Seafield was appointed chancellor, and the duke of Queenſberry and the lord viſcount Tarbat were declared ſecretaries of ſtate; the marquis of Annandale was made preſident of the council, and the earl of Tullibardin lord privy-ſeal. The epiſcopal clergy, encouraged by theſe proceedings, which appeared ſo favourable to them, drew up an addreſs to the queen, imploring her protection, and humbly beſeeching her to allow thoſe pariſhes in which there was a majority of epiſcopal freeholders, to beſtow the benefices on miniſters of their principles. This petition was preſented to the queen on the thirteenth of March, 1703, by Dr. Skeen and Dr. Scot, introduced by the duke of Queenſberry and lord Tarbat: her

* Hiſtory of Europe, vol. vii.
† Britiſh Empire in America, vol. ii.
‡ Ibid.
§ Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

majeſty, in her anſwer, aſſured them of her protection and endeavours to ſupply their neceſſities as far as conveniently ſhe could, and recommended to them to live in peace and chriſtian love with the clergy who were by law inveſted with the church-government in her ancient kingdom of Scotland*.

The convention of eſtates that had met in Scotland at the Revolution, had been continued as a legal parliament all the reign of king William, the preſbyterians not daring to hazard the eſtabliſhment of their kirk by a new election. The continuance of this convention was complained of as a great grievance, as unprecedented in that nation, and an invaſion of their old conſtitution, by which a parliament was annually to be choſen: her majeſty was pleaſed, therefore, this year, 1703, to gratify the people of Scotland by calling a new parliament; but, previous to relating its tranſactions, it will be neceſſary to preſent the reader with a ſhort ſketch of the ſtate of parties in Scotland at this time.

A proclamation of indemnity having been lately publiſhed, a great number of Jacobites returned from France and other countries, pretending to have changed their ſentiments, and took the oaths, that they might be qualified to ſit in parliament: theſe joined with the more rigid epiſcopalians and the antirevolutioniſts, who by this acceſſion of ſtrength, hoped to ſecure ſuch a majority as might be able to vote down preſbytery, and to reſtore patronages, or at leaſt to carry a toleration ſo as their own clergy might be called to benefices as well as the preſbyterians. This, however, proved to be an union without harmony, and conſequently poſſeſſed of very little real ſtrength. The preſbyterians and revolutioniſts were headed by the duke of Argyle; the earl of Hume declared himſelf the chief of the antirevolutioniſts; the country-party of malecontents, which took its riſe from the diſappointments of the Darien ſettlement, acted under the management of the duke of Hamilton and the marquis of Tweddale. The majority of the country-party were friends to the Revolution, and endeavoured only a redreſs of the grievances which the nation had ſuſtained during the late reign. The antirevolutioniſts, though declared enemies to the name or memory of king William, yet thought all parties were ſafe under the ſhelter of the queen's indemnity. The Jacobites, even thoſe who had taken the oaths, made no ſcruple openly to confeſs, that they had ſworn to her only as tutrix or regent during the minority of the prince of Wales her brother. By this it will appear, that the whole kingdom of Scotland was in a ferment at the ſitting down of the parliament †.

In this diſpoſition of affairs the new parliament met at Edinburgh on the ſixth of May, 1703, and the duke of Queenſberry, who had been appointed her majeſty's high-commiſſioner, having taking his ſeat on the throne, the queen's letter was read, in which ſhe demanded a ſupply for the maintenance of the forces; adviſed them to encourage trade, and exhorted them to proceed with wiſdom, prudence, and unanimity. After the queen's letter was read, the high-commiſſioner and the earl of Seafield, lord-chancellor, each of them made a ſpeech of the ſame purport with the letter. Then the duke of Hamilton offered the draught of an act for recognizing her majeſty's authority, and her undoubted right and title to the imperial crown of Scotland, according to the declaration of the eſtates of the kingdom, containing the claim of right. This was immediately received; and at the ſecond reading, the queen's advocate offered an additional clauſe, denouncing the penalties of treaſon againſt any perſon who ſhould quarrel (diſpute) her majeſty's right and title to the crown, or the exerciſe of her government from her actual entry on the ſame. This clauſe duke Hamilton and his party warmly oppoſed, alleging, that the miniſtry only propoſed it as being conſcious they had, contrary to law, been inſtrumental in adviſing her majeſty to exerciſe ſome acts of adminiſtration, ſuch as calling together the parliament which had continued all the late reign, and promoting in it ſome commiſſions, laws, and powers, which determined the being of the parliament, and circumſcribed its powers. After a long and warm debate, however, it was carried to add the advocate's clauſe, by the concurrence of the antirevolutioniſts.

The earl of Hume, after this, offered the draught of a bill for the ſupply; and immediately after it was read, the marquis of Tweddale moved, that, previous to entering upon any other buſineſs, the parliament would eſtabliſh ſuch conditions and regulations reſpecting the conſtitution of the kingdom, to take place after the deceaſe of her majeſty and the heirs of her body, as ſhould be thought moſt likely to tend to the ſecurity and preſervation of their liberty and religion. This overture and the bill were ordered to lie upon the table. In the mean time, however, the high-commiſſioner found himſelf greatly perplexed how to proceed. He had been told by the duke of Argyle and the other chiefs of the preſbyterian party, that they were determined to obtain an act for ratifying the Revolution, and confirming the kirk-government, before they would enter upon the buſineſs of a ſupply, intimating at the ſame time, that they were certain of a majority in their favour. This was a confounding explanation to the commiſſioner, who now plainly ſaw he muſt either give up the ſupplies, which were at this time particularly needful, or abandon the antirevolutioniſts, with whom he had hitherto been connected: he clearly perceived, that on this occaſion the Whigs would throw all their weight into the ſcale of duke Hamilton and the country-party, which would then outweigh that of the antirevolutioniſts. He had nothing then left, but to endeavour to cajole both parties, in which, however, he found himſelf unſucceſsful. He deſired in parliament, that the act for the ſupply might be read, promiſing that he would allow the houſe ſufficient time afterwards to diſcuſs all other ſubjects. The marquis of Tweddale inſiſted on his overture or motion; and, after ſome warm debates, it was carried in favour of the overture. The marquis of Athol preſented the heads of a bill for the ſecurity of the kingdom, in caſe of her majeſty's deceaſe; but before they were read, Argyle offered his draught of a bill for ratifying the Revolution, and all the acts conſequent thereupon. Mr. Fletcher, of Saltoun, alſo produced an act for limiting the ſucceſſion after the death of her majeſty,

* Hiſt of Europe, vol. vii. Lockhart's Memoirs.

† Burnet. Tindal.

and the heirs of her body; as did the earl of Rothes another, importing, that no perſon coming to the crown of Scotland after her majeſty's death, and the failure of iſſue, and being at the ſame time king or queen of England, ſhould, as king or queen of Scotland, have power to make peace or war without the conſent of the Scottiſh parliament. The earl of Marchmont moved for an act to ſecure the true proteſtant religion and preſbyterian government, the heads of which he recited: and ſir Patrick Johnſton propoſed another for admitting the importation of wines and other foreign liquors. All theſe bills were ordered to lie upon the table.

After this the earl of Strathmore propoſed an act for the toleration of all proteſtants in the exerciſe of religious worſhip; whereupon a moſt violent remonſtrance was offered againſt it, in the name, and at the appointment of the general aſſembly of the kirk, wherein they inſiſt there could be no juſt ground to grant a toleration to the epiſcopal perſuaſion, ſince there was no *ſinful communion* required of them; and difference in opinion about church-government was not a ſufficient reaſon for ſeparation in worſhip: they likewiſe inſiſted, that in the preſent caſe and circumſtances of that nation, to enact a toleration in favour of the epiſcopalians, would be to eſtabliſh *iniquity by law*. And here it might be demanded of theſe tenacious gentlemen, whether the Engliſh might not, with equal juſtice, be ſaid to have *eſtabliſhed iniquity by a law*, in tolerating the diſſenters among them at the Revolution? I ſhall leave it to others to determine how far this indulgence on our parts was wicked or laudable; but ſurely, to an unprejudiced mind, it will appear equally juſt and innocent to have tolerated epiſcopacy in Scotland, as it was to tolerate preſbytery in England. But to proceed: the kirk ſo managed matters, that the act of toleration was dropped. Some time after the parliament paſſed the act for preſerving the true reformed religion, and confirming preſbyterian church government; as alſo the duke of Argyle's act for ratifying and perpetuating the firſt act of king William's parliament, for declaring it high-treaſon to diſown the authority of the then parliament, or to alter or innovate the claim of right, or any article thereof. The queen's high-commiſſioner, the duke of Queenſberry, giving the royal aſſent to thoſe acts, ſo far embroiled him with the cavaliers, or antirevolutioniſts, that they renounced his intereſt, reſolving to ſeparate from the court, and jointly purſue ſuch meaſures as might be for the intereſt of their party, which was now ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of the marquis of Athol and the viſcount Tarbat, who had proteſted againſt the foregoing acts.

But of all the bills that were produced in the courſe of this remarkable ſeſſion, no one raiſed ſuch a violent diſpute as the act of ſecurity, propoſed by the duke of Argyle and his party, in which it was provided, in order to ſecure the ancient independency of the Scots, that in default of iſſue of her majeſty, the ſame perſon ſhould in no event be capable to be king or queen both of England and Scotland, unleſs a free communion of trade, the freedom of navigation, and the liberty of plantations, &c. were fully agreed to by the parliament of England; and ſeveral other proviſions were likewiſe made therein, all calculated to abridge the prerogative of the crown, to limit the ſucceſſor, and throw a vaſt additional power into the hands of the parliament. It would be equally tireſome and ungrateful to the reader, was I to go about to recite the many inflammatory ſpeeches and bitter ſarcaſms that were bandied between party and party on this occaſion; let it then ſuffice to ſay, that notwithſtanding the moſt obſtinate oppoſition from the miniſtry and the antirevolutioniſts, the bill was paſſed on the thirteenth of Auguſt, by a majority of fifty-nine voices, and the commiſſioner was warmly importuned to give it the royal aſſent; but he declined from time to time to give any anſwer: at length, on the tenth of September, he made a ſpeech to the houſe, in which he gave them to underſtand, that he had received her majeſty's orders, impowering him to give the royal aſſent to all the acts voted in this ſeſſion, except the act of ſecurity, which they might eaſily believe required her majeſty's farther conſideration; at the ſame time her majeſty expected they would mind their own ſafety, in making the neceſſary proviſions for the troops, and that they would put the trade and cuſtoms upon that foot, that the civil liſt might be ſupported; and he intreated them to finiſh theſe matters as ſoon as poſſible. The earl of Marchmont afterwards propoſed the ſettling the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover; but his motion was rejected, not ſo much it ſhould ſeem from any averſion the majority in parliament entertained to the ſaid ſucceſſion, as that they were reſolved to avoid a nomination, until ſuch conditions of government ſhould be previouſly ſtipulated, as might ſecure them againſt the influence of an Engliſh miniſtry. Some members of the houſe, among whom Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun, a man of profeſſed republican principles, was the chief, began to queſtion, whether the crown had a negative or not: they ſaid till of late a negative had never been interpoſed, and that but in very few caſes; and in the end the majority peremptorily refuſed to go upon the ſupply till the act of ſecurity had received the royal aſſent: in ſhort, the ferment grew ſo high, that the commiſſioner, apprehenſive of the moſt fatal conſequences, called for ſuch acts as he was impowered to paſs, and then, on the ſixteenth of September, adjourned the parliament to the twelfth of October following.

Although the queen refuſed to paſs the act of ſecurity, the royal aſſent was granted to an act of limitation on the ſucceſſor, in which it was declared, that no king or queen of Scotland ſhould have power to make peace or war without conſent of parliament. Another law was enacted, to allow French wines and other liquors to be imported in neutral bottoms; it being alleged, that without this expedient the revenue would have been inſufficient to maintain the government. An act paſſed in favour of the company trading to Africa and the Indies; another for a commiſſion concerning the public accounts; another for puniſhing ſlanderous ſpeeches and writings: the commiſſion for treating of an union with England was vacated, with a prohibition to grant any other commiſſion for that purpoſe without conſent of parliament. As no ſupplies had been provided for before the adjournment, the pay of the army, with the charge of the government, was left to run upon credit; and ſuch was the national humour among the Scots at this period, to render themſelves a free and independent people, that they ſeemed capable of the moſt extravagant things that could be ſuggeſted to them.

Thus

Thus ended this famous ſeſſion of parliament, in which the greateſt part of the miniſtry had abandoned the duke of Queenſberry, and particularly the earl of Seafield, lord-chancellor, the marquis of Athol, lord privy-ſeal, and the viſcount of Tarbat, ſecretary of ſtate, with all their followers. Nevertheleſs, the queen thought proper to confer honours upon ſeveral who appeared to have influence in the nation, and who, though in oppoſition to her miniſtry, were thought to have an attachment to her perſon and government: the marquis of Athol was made a duke, and the lord Tarbat earl of Cromarty; the marquis of Douglas, though a minor, was alſo created a duke; the viſcounts of Stair and Roſeberry were created earls of the ſame name; the lord Boyle, earl of Glaſgow; James Stewart, of Bute, earl of Bute; Charles Hope of Hoptoun, earl of Hoptoun; John Crawford, of Kilbruce, viſcount of Garnock; and ſir James Primroſe of Carrington, viſcount of Primroſe. Soon after, her majeſty revived the order of the Thiſtle, which had been dropped by the late king; it was to be carried in a green ribbond, as the George is in a blue; the glory was in the form of a St. Andrew's croſs. The dukes of Argyle and Athol, the marquis of Annandale, the earls of Orkney and Seafield, were the firſt who had it, the number being limited to twelve *.

Whilſt things were in this ſituation in Scotland, there were alſo high diſcontents in Ireland, where an animoſity now came to be raiſed, as well as in England, between Whig and Tory. The duke of Ormond having been conſtituted lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, as has been obſerved already, held a parliament there the latter end of the year, when it appeared that this nation looked upon themſelves to be under very great hardſhips; for the commons having choſen Alan Broderick, eſq. ſolicitor-general, to be their ſpeaker, one of the firſt things they did, was to reſolve, "That all the proteſtant freeholders of that kingdom had been falſely and maliciouſly traduced, miſrepreſented, and abuſed, in a repreſentation made of them in a book entitled, "The Report of the Commiſſioners appointed to enquire into the Iriſh Forfeitures," in which it is aſſerted, that the ſaid freeholders, through length of time, and by contracting new friendſhips with the Iriſh, or by inter-purchaſing with one another, but chiefly through a diſlike of the diſpoſitions of the forfeitures, are ſcarce willing to find any perſon guilty of the late rebellion, even upon the fulleſt evidence." And it appearing to the houſe, that Francis Anneſley, a member of the houſe, John Trenchard, Henry Langford, and James Hamilton, were authors of that book, they farther reſolved, that Anneſley ſhould be expelled the houſe: Hamilton was dead, and Trenchard had returned to England. It ſeems they had finiſhed the enquiry about the forfeitures before the meeting of this parliament, and had ſold the beſt of the eſtates to the Sword-blade company of London, at an under-value; and that company had petitioned for a bill to enable them to take poſſeſſion, make conveyances in conſequence thereof, &c. but the parliament refuſed to confirm the bargain, and expelled John Aſgill, one of their members, who, as agent to the ſaid company, had offered to lend the Iriſh government money, on condition an act was procured to confirm the company's purchaſe of the forfeited eſtates.

The commons purſued the truſtees of the forfeited eſtates ſtill farther, for they reſolved to offer a repreſentation of the ſtate and grievances of the nation to the queen, in which they gave her majeſty to underſtand, "that the conſtitution of the kingdom of Ireland had been of late greatly ſhaken, and the lives, liberties, and eſtates, of the ſubjects called in queſtion, and tried in a manner unknown to their anceſtors: that the charge they had been put to by the truſtees for forfeited eſtates, in defending their juſt rights (which, after many and expenſive delays, had been allowed by the ſaid truſtees) exceeded the value of the current caſh of that kingdom: that they could not, without the greateſt grief of heart, reflect on the loſs of their trade, and of being deprived of the means of earning their livelihood, and maintaining their own manufactures, whereby their poor were become very numerous, eſpecially the poor induſtrious proteſtants: that very many proteſtant families had been forced to leave the kingdom, and remove into foreign countries: that their foreign trade was under ſuch reſtrictions and diſcouragements, that it became in a manner unprofitable: that the want of frequent parliaments had given encouragement to evil men, who minded nothing but their own gain, though tending to the ruin and oppreſſion of her majeſty's ſubjects: that the rapacious covetouſneſs of ſome civil officers was inſupportable, who amaſſed together vaſt eſtates in a ſhort time, in that poor country: that others reſided for the moſt part out of the kingdom, and neglected their duties, to the great detriment of her majeſty's ſubjects, and failure of juſtice: and that it was from her majeſty's gracious interpoſition alone in their favour, that they hoped for relief from theſe their manifold griefs and oppreſſions."

The commons afterwards voted the neceſſary ſupplies, and granted one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds to make good the deficiencies of the neceſſary branches of the eſtabliſhment. They alſo voted a proviſion for the half-pay officers, and aboliſhed penſions to the amount of ſeventeen thouſand pounds a year, as unneceſſary branches of the eſtabliſhment. They paſſed an act for ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown after the pattern ſent them from England. A very ſevere bill was alſo paſſed againſt the papiſts, by which it was enacted, that all eſtates of papiſts ſhould be equally divided among their children, notwithſtanding any ſettlement to the contrary, unleſs the perſons to whom they might be ſettled, ſhould qualify themſelves by taking the oaths, and communicating with the church of England. They were proceeding with great zeal againſt popery and the pretender, when they were ſuddenly adjourned by the command of the lord lieutenant, and broke up greatly irritated againſt that nobleman, whom they ſeverely reflected upon as the adviſer of this meaſure; though in truth his excellency, on the bill "to prevent the growth of popery" being offered to him by the houſe, had tranſmitted it to the Engliſh miniſtry, warmly recommended by himſelf; but the latter, being in expectation of very conſiderable preſents from the papiſts, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the ſending back the bill with the

* Burnet. Lockhart's Memoirs. Tindal.

royal aſſent, on pretence that as the queen was then earneſtly interceding with the emperor for favour to the proteſtants in his dominions, it ſeemed not ſeaſonable, and was ſcarce decent, to paſs ſo ſevere a law againſt thoſe of his religion *. It is now time to return to the military operations of this year.

The emperor had agreed with the allies, that his ſon, the archduke Charles, ſhould aſſume the title of king of Spain, by the name of Charles III. demand the infanta of Portugal in marriage, and undertake ſome enterprize of importance in conjunction with the maritime powers. Leopold had likewiſe promiſed to ſend ſuch an army into the field, as would in a little time be able to expel the elector of Bavaria from his dominions; but he was ſo dilatory in his preparations, that the French king broke all his meaſures by ſending powerful reinforcements to the elector; accordingly marſhal Villars, who lay with an army of thirty thouſand men at Straſburgh, had orders to join the elector. The marſhal paſſed the Rhine, and inveſted Kehl, an important fort, over-againſt Straſburgh, which was ſurrendered to him after a ſhort reſiſtance. The emperor, alarmed at this event, ordered count Schlick to enter Bavaria on the ſide of Saltzburgh, with an army; and count Stirum, on the ſide of Newmark, with another. The Imperial generals committed great ravages in the electorate, but were frequently met with and defeated by the elector's troops, who, encouraged by theſe ſucceſſes, advanced to Ratiſbon †, where the diet of the empire was aſſembled, and demanded that he ſhould be immediately put in poſſeſſion of the bridge, and one of the gates of the city. The burghers, overawed by ſo powerful a force in their neighbourhood, thought proper to comply, and on the eighth of April his electoral highneſs entered the town; however, he ſigned an inſtrument, by which he engaged to withdraw his forces as ſoon as the emperor ſhould ratify the reſolution of the diet for the neutrality of Ratiſbon.

In the mean time marſhal Villars having received orders to join the elector at all events, and being reinforced by a body of troops under count Tallard, determined to break through the lines which prince Lewis of Baden had formed at Stolhoffen, which he at laſt effected, after having been repulſed ſeveral times, and penetrating through the vale of Kintzig, he joined the elector in the beginning of May; and it was reſolved between them, that the marſhal ſhould watch the motions of the prince of Baden, whilſt the elector invaded the county of Tyrol, in order to open a communication with the French in Italy. Bavaria's motions were ſo ſwift, and ſuch his ſucceſs, that it alarmed the court of Vienna; for in ſix days time he made himſelf maſter of the whole Tyroleſe, and took as many ſtrong places as might have ſtopped a numerous army for as many months, had they been in ſuch a condition as they ought: at length the elector made a triumphant entry into Inſpruck, the capital of that country, from which he demanded homage, and a monthly contribution of one hundred and twenty thouſand florins. But the elector marching afterwards to the mountain Brenner, in order to join the duke of Vendoſme in Italy, upon which junction the ruin of the houſe of Auſtria would have probably followed; the boors in Tyrol roſe, and retook ſeveral of the places he had reduced, and cut in pieces the garriſons he had left to guard them; and though the elector afterwards revenged himſelf upon the peaſants, yet underſtanding that ſome of the Imperial generals were marching againſt him, and that his country had ſuffered very much during his abſence, he was obliged to abandon Tyrol, and his deſign of joining Vendoſme, and return to Munich. Being afterwards rejoined by marſhal Villars, they both together fell upon Stirum, who, with a conſiderable body of the Imperialiſts, was marching to join prince Lewis of Baden, and defeated him near Hochſtet. In the mean time count Tallard beſieged and took Old Briſac ‡; and on the ſeventh of October inveſted Landau. The defence made by the governor of Briſac was ſo ſlender, that he was condemned in a council of war to be beheaded, and all the officers who ſigned the capitulation were puniſhed.

The confederates, ſenſible of what importance the preſervation of Landau was, after they had diſpoſed the reſt of the army into winter-quarters, ordered the hereditary prince of Heſſe Caſſel to attempt the raiſing of the ſiege; to which purpoſe he ſet forward from the Netherlands with twelve battalions and twenty-nine ſquadrons; and having reached Altzey, in the Palatinate, by means of very long marches, was there met by the prince of Naſſau Weilburg, general of the Palatinate forces, in order to concert proper meaſures for the relieving of Landau. The French having notice of this march immediately detached M. Pracontal, with a body of ten thouſand men, to follow the prince cloſely, or rather, if poſſible, to get before him. Pracontal uſed ſuch diligence that he joined count Tallard before the confederates had any notice of his march. The prince of Heſſe being arrived at Spires, within four leagues of Landau, the French generals ſurprized him on the 15th of November, and obtained a complete victory, after a very bloody and obſtinate engagement, in which the prince of Heſſe behaved with exemplary courage and conduct; he had three horſes killed under him, and ſlew a French officer with his own hand: but after

* This parliament, beſides the bills already mentioned, paſſed an act for an additional exciſe on beer, ale, and other liquors; another encouraging the importation of iron and ſtaves; a third for preventing Popiſh prieſts from coming into the kingdom; a fourth for ſecuring the liberty of the ſubject, and for preventing impriſonment beyond ſeas; and a fifth for naturalizing all proteſtant ſtrangers. Burnet. Hiſt. of Europe, vol. vii. Oldmixon. Tindal.

† Ratiſbon is a very large and ſtrong city of Germany, in the circle and dukedom of Bavaria, and a biſhopric, under the archbiſhop of Saltzburg. It is free and imperial; famous for the general diets of the empire. Although it was ſeized by the elector of Bavaria this campaign, he loſt it (as well as his own dominions), in 1704, ſoon after the action of Schellenberg, near Donawert. It has a fair ſtone bridge over the Danube, one thouſand and ninety-one feet long, and thirty-two feet broad, ſupported by pillars, and adorned with three towers; here is alſo a magnificent old cathedral, and a ſtately caſtle, where the imperial diets are commonly held.

‡ Briſac is a very conſiderable city and caſtle of Germany, and eſteemed one of the ſtrongeſt places in Europe, whether its ſituation upon a high hill be conſidered, or what art has contributed to render it regular. The fortifications are a French league in compaſs; the baſtions are filled with earth, faced with brick, and ſecured with a large broad ditch full of water, and it will require (in time of war) eight or ten thouſand men to defend it. It ſtands on the river Rhine, twenty-ſix miles north of Baſil, and thirty ſouth of Straſburg.

incredible efforts, he was obliged to retreat, with the loss of some thousand men. The French, however, gained not a bloodless victory; Pracontal, and several other officers of distinction, being slain in the action; nevertheless they resumed the siege of Landau, which the count de Frize, its governor, despairing of relief, surrendered on the nineteenth, upon honourable terms. Count Marsin being sent, about the same time, to command the French army in conjunction with the elector of Bavaria, in the room of marshal Villars, whose haughty and assuming behaviour the elector could not bear, they invested the city of Augsburg *, with their united forces, on the sixth of December, which was surrendered on the fourteenth.

To add to the distractions of the empire, this winter the Hungarians broke out into open rebellion, under prince Ragotski, who published a declaration, setting forth, that, provided they might enjoy their religion, liberties, and estates, and the government of Hungary might be put into the hands of a native, they would return to their allegiance. The emperor hereupon sent prince Eugene to Presburgh, to give the necessary orders for the security of the frontiers, and to endeavour to bring the malecontents to some accommodation †. Having thus given some account of the state of the war in Germany, let us now turn to the Netherlands where the arms of the allies were attended with better success.

The duke of Marlborough's departure from England had been delayed for some time by the death of his only son, the marquis of Blandford, who died of the small-pox in the beginning of the year: so equally are good and evil intermixed. The duke no sooner saw himself happy in his sovereign's favour, and confessed by all the power in Europe one of the greatest generals of his age, than he found himself deprived of the only heir of his wealth and grandeur, by whom he hoped to transmit his great name down to posterity. His grace, however, having somewhat recovered this heavy stroke of fate, crossed the sea about the middle of April, 1703, and, assembling the allied army, opened the campaign in Flanders with the siege of Bonne, which was invested on the third of May, N. S. This town is situated on the Lower Rhine ‡, about fourteen miles south of Cologne, the usual residence of that elector, and the only place of strength he had left, so fatal was his alliance with France. This place was attacked in three different quarters; in one by the prince of Hesse Cassel, in another by general Coehorn, the celebrated Dutch engineer, and in the third by lieutenant-general Fagel. The garrison made a stout and vigorous defence, and continued to hold out for a week, when the fort having been taken by assault, and the breaches being practicable, the marquis d'Alegre, the governor, ordered a parley to be beat; hostages were immediately exchanged, and two days after, the garrison marched out, and were sent to Luxemburgh.

While the greatest part of the confederate army was employed before Bonne, the French king, imagining that city would make a longer resistance, sent orders to the marshals Boufflers and Villeroy to lay siege to the city of Liege; which they were preparing to do, when they received advice from the marquis d'Alegre, that he could no longer defend Bonne. Hereupon the two marshals advanced suddenly into the neighbourhood of Tongeren ||, with an army of forty thousand men, which they surprized, and made the garrison prisoners. Bonne being surrendered, the duke of Marlborough marched towards the French army, with a design to have given them battle; but, upon his approach, marshal Villeroy thought proper to retire within the lines, having first blown up the works about Tongeren. Hereupon it was resolved to attack the French lines; which service was effectually performed by general Coehorn and baron Spaar, though not without considerable loss in the attack.

The joy for this success was not a little abated by the arrival of an express from general Opdam, with an account that the French, under marshal Boufflers, had come out of their lines, near Antwerp, and being joined by a considerable detachment from the grand army, had surrounded the confederate forces under his command, and entirely routed them, and that he had escaped to Breda, with only thirty horse: but while the States were under some consternation at this misfortune, another express arrived from mynheer Hop, treasurer-general of the States, and their deputy in that army, giving an account, that the army was indeed surrounded by a superior force, but had repulsed the enemy, and effected an honourable retreat to Lillo. The truth was, that general Opdam had the misfortune to be cut off from the rest of his army at the beginning of the engagement, and looking upon all as lost, fled with precipitation to Breda: the rest of the Dutch generals, however, behaved themselves with such bravery and conduct, that the French were repulsed. General Schlangenburg, who commanded in the absence of Opdam, gained immortal honour in this action, and received the thanks of his masters for saving their army, when it had been given over for lost. On the other hand, general Opdam, though he had served his country above thirty years without any imputation on his courage, and his being cut off from his army was purely accidental, yet could he never afterwards recover any tolerable reputation in the field. This battle, which was extremely bloody, was called the Battle of Eckeren, from the name of the place where it was fought.

The duke of Marlborough finding it impossible to bring the French to an engagement, sat down before Huy §, of which he made himself master in about ten days time, the garrison capitulating to be

* Augsburg is a large and one of the most considerable cities of Germany, adorned with magnificent churches, palaces, magazines admirably well provided, and several excellent hospitals. It is famous for several Imperial diets that are usually held in it. It stands on the river Leck, on the borders of Bavaria.

† Burnet. Oldmixon. Hist. of Europe. Lamberti. Fenquieres.

‡ The Lower Rhine and Upper Rhine are two circles of Germany: the former consists of the electorate and palatinate of the Rhine, with the three ecclesiastical electorates of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne, all which lie on the river Rhine. The latter comprehends the landgraviates of Alsace and Hesse, including the Wetteraw; but at present only that of Hesse can be reckoned a part of Germany, Alsace being united with France.

|| A town of Liege, in the Austrian Netherlands, situated on the little river Jeckar, ten miles north-west of Liege.

§ Huy is a considerable town in the Low Countries, with four churches and a castle. It was garrisoned by the French in 1702,

be exchanged for that which was ſurprized at Tongeren. The tenth of September, the confederates inveſted Limburgh †, and on the twenty-eighth of the ſame month the garriſon ſurrendered, and were made priſoners of war. Thus ended the campaign in Flanders. The town of Gueldres ſurrendered on the ſeventeenth of December following, having been blocked up for ſome months by a detachment of the Pruſſian troops, by the ſurrender whereof the Dutch became maſters of all the Spaniſh Guelderland, as they were before of Limburgh, another of the provinces of the Spaniſh Netherlands; ſo that their frontiers were now ſufficiently enlarged, and the enemy removed to a convenient diſtance ‡.

The naval operations of this year were not attended with all the ſucceſs that might have been wiſhed. The making prince George lord high-admiral proved, in many inſtances, very unhappy to the nation: men of bad deſigns impoſed upon him; he underſtood ſea-affairs very little; and they ſheltered themſelves under his name, to which great ſubmiſſion was paid: but the complaints roſe the higher for that our main fleet was ready to go to ſea in May, but the Dutch fleet was not yet come over to join us; and therefore ſir George Rooke was ordered on a cruize upon the French coaſt, in order to keep the enemy in an alarm. The admiral, however, being taken ill, George Churchill, eſq. admiral of the blue, was ſent to take upon him the command of the fleet; but he not arriving in time, and ſir George Rooke finding himſelf better, put to ſea, and continued out for ſomething more than a month. Sir George had propoſed a ſcheme for diſtreſſing the enemy, by ſailing very early into the bay of Biſcay, where he thought, if they had any men of war without Port Louis and Rochefort, they might be ſurprized and taken; but by the unavoidable delays in our fleet putting to ſea, the French had got notice of the deſign, and moſt of their ſquadron had ſailed. Sir George therefore perceiving that he could do the nation no ſervice by remaining longer on the French coaſt, returned home about the middle of June, but not till he had firſt taken and ſent in a French Eaſt India ſhip, worth one hundred thouſand pounds, one of their men of war of thirty-ſix guns, and a Weſt India merchant-ſhip worth forty thouſand pounds, with ſeveral other prizes of inferior value. Biſhop Burnet, indeed, is pleaſed to aſſert, that ſir George's illneſs was only a pretence to avoid going to ſea; and that when he did, he at laſt returned without attempting any thing. As the above facts are related from the beſt authorities §, I ſhall leave the reader to comment upon the candour and veracity of this right reverend hiſtorian, who has been too implicitly followed by ſeveral of our late writers.

In the ſpring of this year vice-admiral Graydon was ſent to the Weſt Indies with a pretty ſtrong ſquadron to attack the iſland of Placentia, and expel the French from the Newfoundland fiſhery. In his paſſage he fell in with monſieur Du Caſſe, as he was returning from Carthagena, with four ſhips only, and thoſe very foul, having on board a large treaſure. The Montagu, one of Graydon's ſquadron, engaged the ſternmoſt of thoſe ſhips; but he was called off by the admiral, who ſaid he had orders not to loſe any time by chaſing or ſpeaking with any ſhip whatſoever. This affair drew very heavy reproaches on the admiral: the admiralty, however, took the whole blame upon themſelves, and inſerted a paragraph in the Gazette to juſtify this officer's conduct, by declaring his orders to have been what he ſaid they were, aſſigning for a reaſon, that the contrary winds having kept him in port much longer than was intended, and the ſervice upon which he was bound very much requiring his preſence, with the regiment that was with him, it was thought proper to lay him under ſtrict reſtrictions from loſing any time in his paſſage, by chaſing or engaging any veſſels he might meet at ſea. After this rencounter admiral Graydon proceeded with all imaginable diligence on his voyage; but when he came off the coaſt of Newfoundland, about the beginning of Auguſt, he received certain advice that the enemy at Placentia were not only ſuperior in number, and conſequently able to make a good reſiſtance, but that the avenues to the place were extremely difficult, the grounds marſhy, and that there were no planks or other materials for mounting the guns on the batteries. Theſe circumſtances being duly weighed, together with the aſſiſtance the enemy might receive from their privateers and other ſhipping then at Placentia, a council of war, which was held on board the admiral, were unanimouſly of opinion, that it would be in vain to make any attempt on the place with the ſhips and forces at ſuch an advanced ſeaſon of the year: and that inſtead of ſucceſs, they ſhould only ſubject her majeſty's arms to diſgrace and defeat; upon which it was reſolved to return to England *.

Sir George Rooke, on his return home, was again attacked by his diſorder, which rendered him ſo weak and infirm, that he aſked and obtained leave to go to Bath, and the command of the grand fleet this year was beſtowed upon ſir Cloudeſley Shovel. It conſiſted of 35 ſhips of the line, and the admiral had under him ſir Stafford Fairborne, vice-admiral of the red; ſir George Byng, rear-admiral of the red; and ſir John Leake, vice-admiral of the blue. One principal deſign of ſending out this fleet was, to encourage the king of Portugal (who, as we ſhall ſee, had by this time joined the grand alliance) to remain firm to the confederates, and to protect his coaſts againſt the French. Another was, to make a deſcent in Spain, and try the affections of the Spaniards for the emperor's family;

1702, and taken by the confederate army, under the duke of Marlborough this campaign: It was retaken by the French in 1705, and again repoſſeſſed by the confederates that ſame year, in whoſe hands it now continues. It ſtands on the river Maeſe, fourteen miles almoſt ſouth of Liege, and ſeventeen almoſt north-eaſt of Namur.

† Limburgh is a ſtrong but no very large city of the Low Countries, the capital of the dukedom of the territory of Limburgh. It is ſituated upon a rock, among ſhady woods, on the river Weſdret, ſixteen miles ſouth-weſt of Aix la Chapelle, nineteen almoſt eaſt of Liege, forty-three almoſt ſouth-weſt of Cologne, fifty-four north of Luxemburg, and ſeventeen almoſt eaſt of Bruſſels.

‡ Lamberti, vol. viii. Hiſt. of Europe. Tindal. Life of the duke of Marlborough.

§ Burchet. Lives of the Admirals. Gazettes of May 23, and June 15, and 22, 1703.

* This account is taken from Campbell, who ſays, that he had it from a MS. defence of admiral Graydon's, in which are particular certificates as to the truth of the facts; and as the admiral was never proſecuted, though his conduct was afterwards enquired into by the houſe of lords, it is to be preſumed it was found ſatisfactory.

but the ſcheme was ſo ill laid, that nothing could be expected from it. The fleet was not ready to ſail till the beginning of July, and the admiral had orders to leave the Streights by the end of September; a ſtrange inconſiſtency! Sir Cloudeſley repreſented the impoſſibility of performing any eſſential ſervice in ſo ſhort a time; but the admiralty-board enforcing their orders, he had nothing left but to comply.

He waited till the middle of June for the Dutch, and then was joined only by twelve ſhips of the line, under Allemonde, and two other flags. On the firſt day of July he ſailed from St. Helen's with the combined ſquadrons, amounting to fifty-ſeven ſhips, having alſo a fleet of upwards of two hundred and thirty merchantmen under his convoy. On the twenty-fourth he arrived off the Rock of Liſbon, where he held a council of war, in which the rendezvous was appointed to be held in Altea-bay, on the coaſt of Valencia. There the whole fleet arrived on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt; and having made a deſcent with two thouſand five hundred marines, they ſent a meſſage to the governor, that they did not come as enemies, but friends. The general anſwered, he had a great eſteem for the Engliſh, but he was ſorry he was not in a condition to oppoſe their landing. Sir Cloudeſley and the Dutch admiral then publiſhed a ſhort manifeſto, importing, that, purſuant to the orders of her majeſty the queen of Great Britain, and the States-general, they were come to protect ſuch of the good ſubjects of Spain as were willing to return to the obedience of their lawful ſovereign the archduke Charles, and endeavour to ſhake off the yoke of France. This manifeſto ſeemed to have no other effect but that the Spaniards, ſeeing no injury was offered them, brought in plenty of all refreſhments and proviſions, for which they were paid in ready money. The fleet having taken in water and freſh proviſions, the marines were reimbarked, and the admiral ſailed again the third of September for Leghorn, where count Lamberg, the imperial ambaſſador at Rome, came on board ſir Cloudeſley's ſhip, and acquainted him that the archduke was proclaimed king of Spain at Vienna the twelfth of September, by the name of Charles III. † Hereupon fifteen guns were fired by every ſhip in the fleet, and his Catholic majeſty's health drank.

The admiral, on his leaving England, had received orders to ſend ſome aſſiſtance to the Cevennois, or inhabitants of the Cevennes, a mountainous country in the ſouth part of Languedoc in France; and who having, in the courſe of the preceding year, been perſecuted into a revolt on account of religion, had implored the protection of England and the States-general. Agreeable to his inſtructions, therefore, ſir Cloudeſley, before he left Altea-bay, had ſent the Pembroke and Tartar into the Gulph of Narbonne, with arms and ammunition for thoſe malecontents; but the court of Verſailles had been ſo fully apprized of the expedition, that they had taken effectual methods to render it abortive: whereupon the two ſhips left the French coaſt, and ſailed for Leghorn, where they arrived the twenty-third of September, and joined the grand fleet that had put in there three or four days before. Such of our readers who are deſirous of ſeeing a more particular account of the inſurrections of the Cevennois, and our attempt in their favour, may conſult M. de Voltaire's Eſſay on General Hiſtory, and his Age of Lewis XIV. as alſo Mr. Oldmixon's Hiſtory of England, it being foreign to our purpoſe: I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that the time being now expired to which the admiral was limited, he ſailed from Leghorn on the twenty-ſecond of October; and having ordered a ſquadron of ſhips to Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers, to renew the peace with thoſe piratical ſtates, he came again into Altea-bay, where ſeveral of the natives declared for king Charles, and entered as volunteers to ſerve on board our fleet; after which the admiral, having victualled and watered, ſet ſail for England, and arrived in the Downs on the ſeventeenth of November following, not having had an opportunity of engaging the French fleet, which kept cloſe in Toulon while the confederates were in the Mediterranean. This expedition did not reflect much honour upon the nation, and therefore created ſome murmurs; but theſe fell, very undeſervedly, upon the admiral, who certainly did all that was in his power, and not on thoſe who gave him his orders, and were thought to have rather more power than parts ‡.

But while the grand fleet was at ſea, Thomas Dilkes, eſq. rear-admiral of the white, did the nation a very acceptable ſervice in diſtreſſing the French trade. Intelligence was brought to the lord high-admiral's council, that a conſiderable fleet of French merchant ſhips, with their convoy, were in Cancalle bay, on the coaſt of Normandy; upon which the rear-admiral, who was then at Spithead with a ſmall ſquadron, had orders to ſail immediately in purſuit of them, which he did on the twenty-ſecond of July, and executed his commiſſion with ſuch ſucceſs, that he took, burnt, and ſunk, upwards of forty ſail, three of which were equipped as men of war. This ſervice was thought of ſuch importance, that the queen ordered a gold medal to be ſtruck on the occaſion, and delivered to the rear-admiral and all his officers, who certainly diſ-

† The ceremony of proclaiming the archduke was performed in the following manner: the privy-council, to the number of thirty-five, and all the foreign miniſters, having met in the council chamber, by an invitation from the emperor, his imperial majeſty made a long ſpeech to the aſſembly, in which he declared, that, after the example of his predeceſſor, the emperor Charles V. he made a formal reſignation of all his claims and pretenſions to the crown of Spain, in favour of his eldeſt ſon, Joſeph, king of the Romans. And at the ſame inſtant the king of the Romans, on his part, made the like reſignation in favour of his brother the archduke, who thereupon made his acknowlegements to the emperor and the king of the Romans for the ſame. The uſual oaths were then adminiſtered to him on the Goſpel, by cardinal Collonitſch, before a crucifix placed on a large table, in the midſt of four wax tapers; and the new king received the compliments of the whole court. After this he entertained the emperor his father and all the imperial family at dinner; and in the evening he himſelf was entertained at ſupper by his brother the king of the Romans. Never had there been a more magnificent feſtival ſeen at Vienna. All the Neapolitan nobility, who were in the Auſtrian intereſt, kept open houſe; at night there were public balls, fireworks, and illuminations. The new king made an offering at the ſhrine of the Holy Virgin, in the church of Marienzel, of a large croſs richly adorned with jewels. On this occaſion the ſtates of Lower Auſtria made his Spaniſh majeſty a preſent of fifty thouſand ducats. Chavanette's Nouvelle Hiſt. d'Angleterre, 1765, tome iv. p 259, 260.

‡ Burnet. Burchet. Hiſt. of Europe.

tinguiſhed themſelves greatly by their courage and conduct in this expedition §.

In the midſt of theſe battles, and the ſieges of ſo many towns and cities, and whilſt the confederate fleets lorded it on the Ocean, Lewis XIV. ſtraining every nerve of government, ſtill appeared in a capacity to make head againſt the united efforts of the grand alliance: it was therefore reſolved to weaken him, by detaching from his intereſt two of his principal allies, the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal, in hopes, by means of the latter, to cut out ſufficient work for him and his grandſon in Italy, and by the aſſiſtance of the other to open an eaſy entry into Spain, whither the archduke Charles had now in view to tranſport himſelf in perſon. The project ſucceeded to admiration; and in the ſummer of this year Lewis, to his infinite ſurprize, learnt for certain that the duke of Savoy was on the point of quitting the Bourbon intereſt, and was actually in treaty with the emperor. The duke had been treated with great inſolence by the generals of France: this, joined to the advantageous offer made him by the emperor, and that verſatility which was ſo truly the characteriſtic of his family, determined him to abandon the intereſt of his ſon-in-law Philip V. and to eſpouſe the cauſe of the allies. The event proved that he was not at all wanting to the rules of policy in the treaty he made, but he was wanting in another very eſſential point of politics; I mean the leaving his troops at the mercy of the French while he was treating with the emperor; for though he uſed the utmoſt circumſpection to conceal his intentions till the end of the campaign; yet the court of Verſailles having, as obſerved, got intelligence of the duke's proceedings, immediately ſent orders to the duke of Vendoſme to ſeize and diſarm the troops of Savoy that were in his ſervice, to the number of twenty-two thouſand men. The duke, by way of reprisal, commanded ſeveral French officers that were in Turin, and the French ambaſſador himſelf, to be put under arreſt. This proceeding produced another order from the French king to the duke of Vendoſme, to invade Savoy immediately, and to tranſmit the following letter, in his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty's name, to his royal highneſs:

"SIR,

"Since neither religion, honour, intereſt, alliance, or even your own hand-writing, are of any force between us, I ſend my couſin the duke of Vendoſme at the head of my armies, to make known to you my intentions. He will allow you but twenty-four hours to reſolve what you have to do.

LEWIS."

The duke in return publiſhed a manifeſto, ſetting forth the neceſſity and juſtice of his proceeding, and ſent expreſſes to the confederated powers to ſollicit their aſſiſtance againſt the impending ſtorm. Queen Anne, knowing his importance, as well as his ſelfiſh diſpoſition, aſſured him of her protection; and both ſhe and the States ſent ambaſſadors to the court of Turin. In the mean time, the duke concluded a treaty with the court of Vienna, who promiſed him all that France and Spain had refuſed him, viz. Montferrat, Mantua, Alexandria, Valencia, and the countries between the Po* and the Tanaro†, with more money than he received from France in ſubſidies. The money was to be furniſhed by England, for the emperor had hardly ſufficient to pay his troops. England, the richeſt of all the allies, contributed more than any of them towards the common cauſe: ſhe ever has done ſo. The duke of Savoy in return acknowleged the archduke Charles as king of Spain, and prepared for the worſt. Leopold, however, ſenſible in what a delicate ſituation this new ally was placed, ordered count Staremberg to march from the Secchia‡ with a body of fifteen thouſand men to join the duke. This march is ſaid to have been the beſt concerted and the beſt executed of any that was performed during the whole war. He advanced from the Modeneſe in the worſt ſeaſon of the year, through an enemy's country, and ways that were deemed impaſſable, having the French both in front and rear. He ſurmounted, however, all theſe difficulties, and at length joined the duke at Canelli, ſo as to ſuccour the country of Piedmont ¶.

No ſooner had the houſe of Bourbon loſt this ally than ſhe heard that Portugal had likewiſe declared againſt her. Mr. Methuen, our ambaſſador at that court, had ſpared no pains to detach his Moſt Faithful majeſty from his unnatural connections with the Grand Monarch. He repreſented to him, with no leſs ſpirit than truth, that ſhould the crowns of France and Spain ever devolve upon the ſame perſon, he muſt not expect to remain long a king. He alarmed his apprehenſions for his preſent ſafety, by painting to him in the moſt ſtriking colours, the acknowleged ſuperiority of the confederates by ſea, the weight of whoſe power he muſt expect certainly to feel, ſhould he at any time, in conſequence of an alliance with France, refuſe them the free uſe of his ports; and that his compliance with ſuch a demand would, on the other hand, render his friendſhip to France of little account. Theſe arguments had their due weight with his Portugueſe majeſty, who was moreover allured by the proſpect of a match between the Infanta his daughter and the archduke Charles, to whom the emperor and the king of the Romans ſhould transfer all their pretenſions to the crown of Spain: in fine, a treaty was ſet on foot and ſoon concluded at Liſbon, between the emperor, the queen of Great Britain, the king of Portugal, and the States-general. In this treaty

§ See Lond. Gaz. No. 3937, 3938. Burchet. Campbel.

* A conſiderable river of Italy, riſing in mount Viſo, one of the Alps, from whence it runs, in ſeveral meanders, to Turin, where it receives the Doria; and continuing a north courſe to Chiazzo, turns eaſt; and paſſing through Piedmont, Milan, Montferrat, Parma, Mantua, Ferrara, and Venice, empties itſelf, by ſeveral channels, into the Adriatic. In its courſe, beſides the two Dorias, it receives the Leſſer Tanaro, the Oglio, the Adige, and the Mincio, and waters the towns of Verue, Caſal, Valenza, Placentia, and Cremona.

† A river of Italy, riſing between the Appennines and Ligurian Alps, in the ſouth of Piedmont, from whence it runs north-eaſt through that principality, and, paſſing by Alba, Aſti, and Aleſſandria, falls into the Po at Baſſignano, below Volza.

‡ A river of Italy, which, after running through the Modeneſe, and part of the Mantuan, falls into the Po below St. Benedito.

¶ Hiſt. of Europe. Voltaire. Burnet.

it was ſtipulated, that king Charles (for ſo I ſhall henceforward ſtile the archduke) ſhould be conveyed to Portugal by a powerful fleet, having on board twelve thouſand ſoldiers, with a great ſupply of arms and ammunition, and that twenty-eight thouſand Portugueſe ſhould be ready to join him immediately at Liſbon §.

In conſequence of theſe arrangements, the archduke Charles having been proclaimed king of Spain at Vienna, the emperor his father made preparations for ſending him to Portugal by way of Holland and England, and at the ſame time diſpatched letters to his Portugueſe majeſty and the queen of Great Britain, recommending him to their protection. About the middle of September king Charles ſet out from Vienna for Holland; and paſſing through the territories of the elector of Hanover, was met by that prince, and complimented on his acceſſion. At Duſſeldop * he was viſited by the elector-palatine and the duke of Marlborough, the latter of whom made him compliments of congratulation in the name of our queen. Charles received the duke with the moſt obliging courteſy. In the courſe of their converſation, taking off his ſword from his ſide (which was very rich, and provided for that purpoſe) he preſented it to the duke, telling him, in French, he was but a poor prince; adding, "Je n'ai que le cape et l' epée; I have nothing but my cloak and my ſword: the latter may be of uſe to your grace, and I hope you will not think it the worſe for my having wore it one day." "On the contrary, replied the duke, it will always put me in mind of your majeſty's juſt right and title, and of the obligations I lie under to hazard my life in making you the greateſt prince in Chriſtendom." His majeſty arrived at the Hague the ſecond of November, where he repreſented to the States, that the province of Lemburgh appertained to him as king of Spain, and deſired he might have the civil government thereof; which the States complying with, his majeſty appointed count Zinzendorf to take poſſeſſion of the town and province of Lemburgh in his name †.

To return to England.

The duke of Marlborough, at the end of the campaign in Flanders, returned to England the thirtieth of October: the queen and prince George of Denmark having been at the Bath ſeven weeks, came back to Windſor the ſame month, and on the ninth of November the parliament met: but before we enter upon a detail of its proceedings, I muſt take notice of the moſt violent ſtorm, both by ſea and land, that had ever been known in the memory of man; I mean the dreadful tempeſt which aroſe on the twenty-ſixth of November, 1703, about eleven o'clock at night, attended with ſuch flaſhes of lightning and peals of thunder as filled every mind with the utmoſt terror and conſternation throughout the kingdom. The houſes in London ſhook from their foundations, and ſeveral of them falling, overwhelmed the inhabitants in their ruins. The Thames overflowed ſeveral ſtreets, and roſe to a conſiderable height in Weſtminſter-Hall. London-bridge was almoſt choaked up by the wreck of veſſels that were beat in pieces in the river. The loſs ſuſtained by the capital alone was computed at near two millions, and the city of Briſtol ſuffered to the amount of two hundred thouſand pounds: but the greateſt loſs fell upon our navy, of which there periſhed no leſs than thirteen ſhips: upwards of fifteen hundred ſeamen were drowned, among whom was Beaumont, rear-admiral of the blue, who had been employed all this year in obſerving the Dunkirk ſquadron. Theſe loſſes, however, greatly as they might affect us at home, ſerved in ſome meaſure to raiſe our reputation abroad; for orders were immediately iſſued for building a greater number of ſhips than were deſtroyed; and the queen, by ſeveral gracious bounties, gave ſuch ſpeedy relief to thoſe ſeamen who eſcaped with their lives, and to the diſtreſſed widows of ſuch as were drowned, as gained her full poſſeſſion of the hearts and affections of her ſubjects. The reader will ſee in the notes the particulars of this great loſs, as taken from the beſt accounts ‡.

And

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§ Beſides this treaty, which was ratified on the fourteenth of July, O. S. 1703, Mr. Methuen concluded, on the part of our court, a treaty of commerce with his Portugueſe majeſty, much to the benefit of both nations, viz.

"Article I. The king of Portugal, on his part, ſtipulates, both in his own name and that of his ſucceſſors, to admit for ever hereafter into Portugal the woollen cloths, and the *reſt of the woollen manufactures of the Britons* [theſe are the very words of the treaty, as found in the fourth volume of Treaties of Peace and Commerce, printed in the year 1732] as they were accuſtomed, till they were prohibited by the laws. Nevertheleſs, upon this condition,

"That her royal majeſty of Great Britain, in her own name and that of her ſucceſſors, be obliged, for ever hereafter, to admit the wines of the growth of Portugal into Britain and France; ſo that at no time, whether there ſhall be peace or war between the kingdoms of France and Britain, any thing more ſhall be demanded for thoſe wines, by the name of cuſtoms or duty, or by whatſoever other title, directly or indirectly, whether they ſhall be imported into Great Britain in pipes or hogſheads, or other caſks, than what ſhall be demanded for the like quantity or meaſure of French wines, deducting or abating one third part of the cuſtoms or duty. But if at any time this deduction or abatement of cuſtoms, which is to be made as aforeſaid, ſhall in any manner be attempted and prejudiced, it ſhall be juſt and lawful for his ſacred majeſty of Portugal, again to prohibit the woollen cloths, and the reſt of the Britiſh manufactures." Dated at Liſbon, December 27, 1703.

This moſt juſt and beneficial convention has remained inviolable to this day, which has preſerved an uninterrupted friendſhip and alliance between the two nations. After England had declared war againſt France and Spain, it was by no means her intereſt to uſe the wines of thoſe two countries, which doubtleſs could have been imported by neutral ſhips; and as the red wines of Portugal were therefore in ſome ſort the only kind we could then conveniently and reaſonably come at, this treaty was and is ſtill beneficial to both countries, eſpecially as Portugal has, in return for our taking ſuch vaſt quantities of their wine, conſtantly taken off a greater quantity of our manufactures, ſo as to occaſion a conſiderable yearly balance in our favour; and our palates being long ſo well reconciled to Portugal wines, the Portugueſe for our ſupply have turned great quantities of their lands into vineyards.

* The capital city of the duchy of Berg, in Weſtphalia, in Germany, ſituated on the eaſt bank of the Rhine, twenty-four miles north of Cologne, now ſubject to the Palatinate, and the place where the prince reſides.

† Burnet. Hiſtory of Europe. Life of the duke of Marlborough.

‡ I. The Reſerve, a fourth rate, captain John Anderſon commander, loſt at Yarmouth. The captain, the ſurgeon, the clerk, and forty-four men, ſaved; the reſt of the crew drowned, being one hundred and ſeventy-five.

II. The Vanguard, a ſecond rate, ſunk in Chatham harbour, with neither men nor guns in her.

III. The Northumberland, a third-rate, captain Greenaway, loſt

And now for parliamentary affairs. The ſeſſion, as I ſaid before, beginning the ninth of November, the queen opened it with a ſpeech, in which ſhe took notice of the declaration by the duke of Savoy, and the treaty with Portugal, as circumſtances very advantageous to the allies: ſhe told them, that though no proviſion was made for the expedition to Liſbon, and the augmentation of the land-forces, the funds had anſwered ſo well, and the prizes had turned out ſo valuable, that the public had not incurred any debt by thoſe additional ſervices. She obſerved, that ſhe had contributed out of her own revenue to ſupport the circle of Suabia, whoſe firm adherence to the allies deſerved her ſeaſonable aſſiſtance. She aſſured them that ſhe would not engage in any unneceſſary expence of her own, that ſhe might have the more to ſpare towards the eaſe of her ſubjects. She recommended union amongſt themſelves, and diſpatch in the buſineſs before them; and above all preſſed them to avoid all heats or bickerings that might give encouragement to the common enemies of the church and ſtate.

It was thought by many that the admonition with which her majeſty cloſed her ſpeech, was intended to prevent the reſuming the occaſional conformity bill. It appears, however, by a letter of her's to the ducheſs of Marlborough, that ſhe was no enemy to that bill *. However this might be, the commons would not loſe ſight of their favourite ſcheme, and the bill was revived early in the ſeſſion, though the penalties indeed were ſomewhat lowered. In the mean time, however, the commons attended her majeſty with an addreſs of thanks for her ſpeech, and for engaging the king of Portugal and the duke of Savoy in the alliance; for contributing part of her own revenue to the public ſervice; and for her aſſiſtance to the circle of Suabia; and they aſſured her that they would ſupport her majeſty in her alliances, and enable her to carry on the war with vigour †. The lords alſo preſented an addreſs on their parts, much to the ſame effect.

About a fortnight after the meeting of the parliament, a new draught of an occaſional conformity-bill was offered to the lower houſe. In this the preamble againſt "perſecution for conſcience only" was now left out; and in the enacting part, whereas the former bill allowed but four, beſides the family, where a conventicle was held, this allowed nine, and inflicted no puniſhment, unleſs there were ten or more beſides the family. It was hoped by theſe ſoftenings to make the bill more readily go down. It occaſioned, however, very warm debates; but after a violent oppoſition from the few Whig members that were in the houſe, it was put to the vote, and was carried by a great majority. The bill being finiſhed on the ſeventh of December, it was the ſame day ordered up to the lords for their concurrence, who on the eighth expected it in a full houſe; but the ſame not having been ſent up, neither on that day nor on the ninth in the morning, lord Hartington, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Devonſhire, who ſat in the houſe of commons, moved to know the reaſon why the bill was not carried up according to order, which occaſioned a very hot debate in the houſe about the matter. At length the queſtion being put, whether the houſe ſhould adjourn till Tueſday the fourteenth, and it being carried in the affirmative, the bill was then ſent to the houſe of lords, who read it the firſt time; and great debates ariſing thereupon, there were many learned ſpeeches made for and againſt the bill; but at laſt the houſe divided, whether it ſhould be read a ſecond time, and carried it in the negative, ſeventy-one to fifty-nine. It is not eaſy to account for ſo great a majority this year againſt the bill, in compariſon of laſt year, when there was not above one or two odds: one would have ſuppoſed that the new-made Tory lords might have added ſuch a weight to the balance on the other ſide as to have carried the point; but the event proved the contrary, and ſo there we will leave it.

This diſappointment, however, did not prevent the commons from making proviſion for the proſecution of the war. The treaty with Portugal having been laid before them, and being duly conſidered, they voted forty thouſand men, including five thouſand marines, for the ſea-ſervice of the en-

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loſt on the Goodwin Sands. All her company was loſt, being two hundred and twenty men, including twenty-four marines.

IV. The Stirling-Caſtle, a third-rate, captain Johnſon, on the Goodwin Sands, ſeventy men of which, and four marine officers, were ſaved; the reſt were drowned, being two hundred and ſix.

V. The Mary, a fourth-rate, rear-admiral Beaumont, captain Edward Hopſon, on the Goodwin Sands; the captain and purſer aſhore. One man, whoſe name was Thomas Atkinſon, was ſaved, though the reſt, to the number of two hundred and ſixty-nine, were drowned. The eſcape of this Atkins is very remarkable: he ſaw the rear-admiral, when the ſhip was breaking, get upon a piece of her quarter-deck, from which he was ſoon waſhed off; and about the ſame time Atkins was toſſed by a wave into the Stirling-Caſtle, which ſinking ſoon after, he was thrown the third time into her boat by a wave that waſhed him from the wreck.

VI. The York, a fourth-rate, captain Smith, loſt at Harwich; all her men ſaved except four.

VII. The Mortar Bomb, a fifth-rate, captain Raymond, on the Goodwin Sands. All her crew loſt, being ſixty-five.

VIII. The Eagle advice-boat, a ſixth-rate, captain Boſtock, loſt on the coaſt of Suſſex. All her crew, being forty-five, ſaved.

IX. The Reſolution, a third-rate, captain Liſle, on the coaſt of Suſſex. All her company, being two hundred and twenty-one, ſaved.

X. The Litchfield Prize, a fifth-rate, captain Chamberlain, on the coaſt of Suſſex. All her company, being one hundred and eight, ſaved.

XI. The Newcaſtle, a fourth-rate, captain Carter, loſt at Spithead. The carpenter and thirty-nine men were ſaved. The reſt, being one hundred and ninety-three, drowned.

XII. The Veſuvius fire-ſhip, a fifth-rate, captain Paddon, at Spithead. All her company, being forty-eight, ſaved.

XIII. The Reſtoration, a third-rate, captain Emms, three hundred and eighty-ſeven men, on the Goodwin Sands. Not one ſaved.

Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, who was juſt returned from the Mediterranean, was then at anchor in the Gunfleet with ſeveral great ſhips, which were all in the utmoſt danger. He cut his main-maſt by the board, which ſaved the ſhip from running on the Galloper, of the beach of which ſhe was then in view. Sir Stafford Fairborne had his flag, as vice-admiral of the red, flying in the Aſſociation, in which he was driven to Gottenburgh, and then to Copenhagen, from whence he did not get home till next year. The Revenge was forced from her anchors, and with much ado, after driving ſome time on the coaſt of Holland, got into the river Medway. The Ruſſel, captain Townſhend, was forced over to Holland; and the Dorſet, captain Edward Whitaker, after ſtriking thrice on the Galloper, drove a fortnight at ſea, and then got ſafe to the Nore. Burnet. Campbell. London Gazettes.

* Conduct of the Ducheſs of Marlborough, p. 154.

† Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 278.

ſuing year; the like number of land-forces to act in conjunction with the allies, beſides the additional ten thouſand; and they reſolved that the proportion to be employed in Portugal ſhould amount to eight thouſand. For the maintenance of theſe armaments, as well as for the diſcharge of the ſubſidies payable to her majeſty's allies, they granted the ſum of three millions eight hundred eighty-one thouſand ſix pounds fifteen ſhillings. They likewiſe preſented an addreſs to the queen, in which they aſſured her that they would provide for the ſupport of ſuch alliances as ſhe had made or ſhould make with the duke of Savoy.

At this period the nation was alarmed by the detection of a conſpiracy, ſaid to be ſet on foot in Scotland. It appears that both the French and the pretender entertained great hopes of his reſtoration to the crown of that kingdom at leaſt, when they ſaw the Scots would neither ſettle the ſucceſſion in the Hanover line, nor grant the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſupport of the war; and thereupon Simon Frazer, lord Lovat, with two other perſons, were ſent over from St. Germain's to Scotland, with inſtructions to learn the ſtrength and ſentiments of the clans, and endeavour to perſuade ſome of the nobility and leading men to engage in the deſign. Frazer had on his part undertaken to raiſe a body of twelve thouſand Highlanders to act in favour of the pretender, if the court of France would aſſiſt them with a body of troops: this Lewis had promiſed to do. As ſoon as Frazer landed in Scotland, he waited privately upon the duke of Queenſberry, and acquainted him with the whole tranſaction, at the ſame time putting into his hands a letter from the late king James's queen, directed to the marquis of Athol. This letter was couched in general terms that might have been addreſſed to any of the nobility, and the direction was written in a different hand; ſo that it was generally believed Frazer, who was a man of a moſt infamous character, had forged it, in order to wreak his vengeance upon the marquis, who had proſecuted him for having violated the chaſtity of his ſiſter. Queenſberry, in conſequence of this ſervice, and of the informer's promiſing to make him acquainted with the whole correſpondence between the pretender and his friends in Scotland, provided him with a paſs, under favour of which he made a progreſs through the Highlands, to ſound the inclinations of the chieftains. He afterwards propoſed a ſecond journey to France, pretending that he ſhould then be able to make more material diſcoveries; and the duke procured a paſs for him to go to Holland from the earl of Nottingham, ſecretary of ſtate, though under a borrowed name. The duke had already imparted the diſcovery to the queen, but had concealed the name of the informer, at his own earneſt requeſt. Her majeſty was the more readily induced to credit the particulars, on account of the evidence given by ſir John Maclean, who had lately come over from France to England, and had been apprehended at Folkſtone in Kent, and afterwards brought up in cuſtody of the queen's meſſengers to London. One Keith, whoſe uncle had accompanied Frazer over to England, was alſo taken up at the ſame time; as was Mr. Lindſey, who had been under-ſecretary to king James and the pretender. One James Boucher alſo, who had been aid-de-camp to the duke of Berwick, was taken on the coaſt of Suſſex coming over from France. The flocking over of ſuch a number o rebels and out-laws tended ſtill farther to confirm the truth of a conſpiracy being in agitation, though they all aſſerted that their only deſign was to live peaceably at home under her majeſty's government for the future. Sir John Maclean being examined at the earl of Nottingham's office, who was then ſecretary of ſtate, ſaid, that he was going to Scotland to take the benefit of the queen's pardon; but afterwards both he and Keith, being more cloſely interrogated, did acknowlege that they had heard of ſome conſultations at St. Germain's, concerning the ſending a body of troops to join the malcontents in Scotland, but declared there was no other deſign on foot at this time, but to pave the way for the pretender's aſcending the throne after the queen's deceaſe. On the other hand, one Ferguſon, who had been much famed for having a hand in every Jacobite plot, came in voluntarily, and declared that Frazer had been employed by the duke of Queenſberry, her majeſty's high-commiſſioner in Scotland, to draw ſome perſons whom he hated into a plot, but that there was in reality no ſuch thing in agitation.

Little credit however was given to theſe aſſurances; and the houſe of lords taking theſe matters into conſideration, reſolved, that a committee ſhould be appointed to examine into the particulars; and ordered that ſir John Maclean, and the other emiſſaries, ſhould be taken into the cuſtody of the black-rod, and no perſon admitted to ſpeak to them. The queen being diſpleaſed with this ſtep, as thinking it too officious an interpoſition to take them out of the hands of her meſſengers, gave the lords to underſtand by meſſage, that ſhe thought it would be inconvenient to change the method of examination already begun, and that ſhe would in a ſhort time inform the houſe of the whole affair. On the ſeventeenth day of December the queen went to the houſe to paſs the bill for the land-tax, when ſhe made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which ſhe declared that ſhe had unqueſtionable information of the practices and deſigns carried on by the emiſſaries of France in Scotland, "which might have proved extremely dangerous to the peace of theſe kingdoms, as they would ſee by the particulars, which would be laid before them as ſoon as the examinations could be fully perfected and made public without prejudice; and that in the mean time, ſhe doubted not but by this ſeaſonable diſcovery ſhe ſhould be able to give ſuch directions for their ſecurity as would effectually prevent any ill conſequences from theſe pernicious deſigns."

The lords, however, perſiſting in their reſolution to bring the enquiry into their own houſe, proceeded to name their committee by ballot, and the choice fell upon the dukes of Somerſet and Devon, the earls of Sunderland and Scarborough, and the lords Somers, Townſhend, and Wharton; and on the twentieth of December they preſented the following addreſs to her majeſty:

"We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled, return our moſt humble acknowlegements to your majeſty for your gracious condeſcenſion in promiſing to communicate to us thoſe informations you have received of the ill practices of your majeſty's and our enemies in Scotland.

"And we doubt not but the zeal this houſe hath ſhewed for having the perſons ſecured, and their de-

ſigns brought to light, has been very acceptable to your majeſty.

"We rely upon your majeſty that you will give ſuch directions as may effectually prevent all pernicious deſigns; and we truſt in God Almighty's goodneſs, that that watchful providence which has diſcovered the wicked plot ſo ſeaſonably, will likewiſe proſper all your majeſty's councils and good intentions.

"We reckon all our concerns, but chiefly the greateſt of all, the proteſtant religion, to be very ſafe under your majeſty's tender care and wiſe adminiſtration; and we will, by our utmoſt zeal, maintain the rights of the crown and the church of England, all ſuch ways as may beſt anſwer your majeſty's pious deſigns, and may moſt promote the good and happineſs of all your ſubjects. We deſire not to let our thoughts go beyond your majeſty's perſon to a future ſecurity, but as it is neceſſary for your majeſty's preſervation, as well as for ſettling the minds of all your good ſubjects, who look on the proteſtant ſucceſſion as your majeſty's beſt ſecurity, as well as their own."

The commons alſo addreſſed the queen, and thanked her for her ſpeech and communicating the plot to them, whereby they had an opportunity to repeat their unanimous reſolution to ſtand by and ſupport her majeſty and the proteſtant ſucceſſion againſt all pretenders, and all her majeſty's enemies whatſoever. They ſaid, they could never have the leaſt diſtruſt of her majeſty's vigilance and care for the preſervation of the proteſtant intereſt in general, and of the monarchy and church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed; and they aſſured her majeſty that they would never be diſcouraged, but would continue inceſſant in their endeavours by all proper methods to tranſmit them ſecurely to poſterity. In anſwer to which the queen aſſured them they might depend upon her willingneſs to join her endeavours with them in ſecuring the proteſtant ſucceſſion and the church of England.

Things had begun now to veer about at court: the earl of Nottingham found himſelf tottering, the lord-treaſurer and the Marlborough family having obtained the aſcendency. Thoſe things, together with the rejection of the occaſional conformity bill by the lords, created a miſunderſtanding between them and the commons, and the latter were glad to find an opportunity to vent their diſguſt: they took it for granted that the queen was diſpleaſed with the proceedings of the upper houſe, in taking the ſuſpected perſons out of the hands of her meſſengers (though upon the queen's meſſage to them, already related, they had returned them back to their former cuſtody) they therefore preſented another addreſs on the twenty-third of December, in which they expreſſed the juſt concern they were under to ſee her royal prerogative violated. They ſaid, they were ſurprized to find, that when ſeveral perſons, ſuſpected of treaſonable practices, were taken into cuſtody by her majeſty's meſſengers in order to be examined, the lords, in *violation of the known laws of the land*, had wreſted them out of her majeſty's hands, and without her leave or knowlege, in a moſt extraordinary manner, taken the examination of them ſolely to themſelves, whereby a due enquiry into the evil practices and deſigns againſt her majeſty's perſon and government might in great meaſure be obſtructed. They deſire her majeſty that ſhe will ſuffer no diminution of her prerogative, in the exerciſe whereof they were reſolved to ſupport her, as well as in the carrying on the war. The queen thanked them for their concern and aſſurances, and did not ſeem ill pleaſed at the nature of the addreſs; though the charge againſt the peers of *violating the known laws of the realm* was certainly over-ſtretched, ſince there did not want precedents of their houſe having aſſumed ſuch a right of enquiry: and the attack of the commons ſeems to have been rather unparliamentary: for the uſual method eſtabliſhed was, that when the one houſe was affected with any thing done in the other, conferences were demanded, in which the objected matters were freely debated: but indeed this behaviour in the commons was the pure reſult of party-pique and artifice. The Tories, or High-Church men, as they were called, who carried all before them in that houſe, thought no conjuncture ſo favourable as the preſent for ingratiating themſelves with the queen, by appearing zealous aſſertors of the royal prerogative.

The lords, however, burning with indignation at the charge brought againſt them, which they thought moſt cruel and malicious, reſolved to vindicate their honour, and aſſert their privileges. Accordingly, they came to the following reſolution, That by the known laws and cuſtoms of parliament they had an undoubted right, whenever they conceive it to be for the ſafety of the crown and the kingdom, to take examination of perſons charged with criminal matters, whether they be in cuſtody or not; and to order that perſons to be examined be taken into cuſtody by the ſworn officers of the crown attending that houſe; and that the ſaid addreſs of the commons was unparliamentary, groundleſs, without precedent, &c. This reſolve they backed by a remonſtrance to her majeſty, which for beauty, decency, and energy of ſtile, was eſteemed one of the moſt capital pieces of the kind that were in all the records of parliament; for which reaſon, as well as for its containing a preciſe account of the nature of the diſpute between the two houſes, we ſhall give it to our readers verbatim, together with the reply of the commons thereto, though ſomewhat long *.

"May it pleaſe your moſt excellent majeſty,

"We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, find ourſelves under an unhappy neceſſity of making this our humble application to the throne, upon occaſion of an addreſs preſented to your majeſty by the houſe of commons the twenty-third day of December laſt, and ſince that time publiſhed to the whole nation in print; by which the houſe of lords is charged with the violation of your royal prerogative, and of the known laws of the land; with wreſting perſons ſuſpected of treaſonable practices, and taken into cuſtody by meſſengers, out of your majeſty's hands, without your leave or knowlege, in a moſt extraordinary man-

* It was drawn up by the lord Somers, one of the ableſt lawyers, uncorrupt judge, and accompliſhed ſtateſman, that England ever produced.

ner; taking the examination of them ſolely to themſelves, whereby a due enquiry into the real practices and deſigns againſt your majeſty's perſon and government might in great meaſure be obſtructed; and they conclude their addreſs by moſt earneſtly deſiring your majeſty to ſuffer no diminution of your prerogative, and promiſe to ſupport you in the aſſerting it againſt all invaſions whatſoever. It is not poſſible for us to remain ſilent under this heavy charge, ſo unjuſtly, and without the leaſt ground or colour, endeavoured to be fixed upon the whole body of peers, which, tending directly to create an ill opinion of us to your majeſty, puts us under an inevitable neceſſity of vindicating both the legality and dutiful manner of our proceeding.

"The expreſſions in the addreſs of the houſe of commons are ſo very harſh and indecent, that we may truly affirm the like were never uſed of the houſe of peers, in any age, not even by that aſſembly which, under the name of the houſe of commons, took upon them not only to aboliſh the houſe of lords, but to deſtroy the monarchy. We ſhall carefully avoid making returns of that kind: we conſider too much what we owe to ourſelves, and we know too well the profound reſpect due to your royal perſon, to let any provocation tranſport us ſo as to uſe words unfit to be offered by us to our ſovereign.

"The matter of this addreſs is no leſs injurious to us, than the terms. There was not the leaſt occaſion for a juſt objection to any part of our conduct in the buſineſs to which the addreſs relates. The proceeding was ſtrictly juſtifiable by the known laws and cuſtoms of parliament: it was carried on with the utmoſt reſpect to your majeſty, and with true zeal for the ſafety of your perſon and government. All that was done, was agreed to by the concurrent opinion of the houſe, without the leaſt objection from any of our members, who have the honour of ſerving your majeſty in your great offices and employments.

"We humbly repreſent to your majeſty, that by the known laws and cuſtoms of parliament, the houſe of peers has an undoubted right, in caſes where they conceive it to be for the good and ſafety of your majeſty and the kingdom, to take examinations of perſons charged with criminal matters, whether ſuch perſons be then in cuſtody or not: and alſo to order the perſons ſo to be examined to be taken into cuſtody of your majeſty's ſworn officers, attending the houſe, during ſuch examinations; or to commit them to any other ſafe cuſtody, that they ſhall think proper; and to reſtrain others, if they ſee cauſe, from having acceſs to, or communication with them. The houſe of lords have exerciſed this right from time to time, as occaſions have required, without objection: our records are filled with precedents which warrant our claim, in every part of it; and we preſume to affirm to your majeſty, that the drawing this right into queſtion, at any time, cannot but be of dangerous conſequence to the liberties and ſafety of the people, and to the conſtitution of the government, as tending to avoid or render in a great meaſure ineffectual, the enquiries of parliaments; which are ſo abſolutely neceſſary, eſpecially where many and great perſons are engaged in dangerous deſigns againſt the government, or where ill miniſters abuſe their favour, towards the oppreſſing and enſlaving of the people. Your majeſty's wiſdom and goodneſs makes us ſecure at preſent againſt all influences of that kind; and we unanimouſly and heartily pray we may long enjoy the bleſſing of your reign; but if it happens in future times, that ill men ſhould gain too great a degree of favour with our princes, how eaſily will it be for them to ſtifle or defeat all parliamentary enquiries into their crimes: for if being in priſon, or in the hands of a meſſenger, will protect men from being examined in the houſe of lords, or from being put into the cuſtody of proper officers of the houſe, during the examination, and debarred from converſing with others, it will certainly be always in the power of favourites, to cauſe thoſe who can be witneſſes againſt them, as well as accomplices of their deſigns, to be taken into cuſtody; and if perſons in cuſtody are out of the reach of the houſe of lords, who are the hereditary counſellors of the crown, and in whom a judicial power is lodged by the conſtitution, it is not to be imagined that the commons can pretend to a greater power of examining, committing, or reſtraining them.

"No houſe of commons, till now, has given countenance to this dangerous opinion, which does ſo directly tend to the rendering ill miniſters ſafe from the examination of parliament; and we are perſuaded no houſe of commons hereafter will aſſert ſuch a notion; becauſe they are not wont eaſily to part with a power they have aſſumed; and it is certain that they have ſeveral times taken upon them to exerciſe an authority like that which they have ſo ſeverely reflected on in their addreſs. This conſideration gave us the greater aſtoniſhment, to find our proceeding repreſented in the ſtrange terms of wreſting priſoners out of your majeſty's hands, and taking the examination of them ſolely to ourſelves. We believe the ordering perſons to be examined in that high court, where your majeſty is always preſent in conſideration of law, and in the great council where you may be preſent in your royal perſon as often as you pleaſe, will never be thought an excluſion of your majeſty from the examinations, if that was intended to be inſinuated, by ſaying we had taken the examinations ſolely to ourſelves. Having thus laid before your majeſty what it is we claim, and muſt inſiſt on as the indiſputable right of the houſe of peers, which was never thought, in the time of your royal anceſtors, to be prejudicial to the juſt prerogative of the crown, and which is manifeſtly neceſſary for the ſecuring the liberties of the people, whereof we are aſſured your majeſty will have an equal care; we humbly beg leave to lay before you a ſhort ſtate of the particular matter of fact relating to theſe priſoners, not doubting but when the whole proceeding is known to your majeſty, it will be approved, not only as lawful, but every way reſpectful to your majeſty.

"On Tueſday the fourteenth of December, the houſe of lords was informed, that ſeveral perſons had been ſeized by the cuſtom-houſe officers on the coaſt of Suſſex, as they came from France; and that among them there was one Boucher, who was capable of making conſiderable diſcoveries, having been in arms in the French ſervice for many years, and gentleman of the houſe and aid du camp to the late duke of Berwick, who ſtands attainted of high-treaſon, and who had been ſecretly in England ſeveral times before. That it was probable, if he

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was ſtrictly examined, he might be brought to confeſs, ſince he ſaw his life was in apparent danger; but that he was a bold man, and likely to attempt an eſcape, on that very account, if he was not carefully looked after. And the houſe was alſo told, that there was a general remiſſneſs, both in the taking, ſearching, and looking to ſuch priſoners; which did afterwards appear very evidently in the examinations that were taken. Upon this information, the earl of Nottingham, your majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate, acquainted the houſe, that he had not heard of Boucher's name particularly; but had ſent meſſengers to bring one Ogilby, and the other priſoners, who had been apprehended by the cuſtom-houſe officers, to town; and that he believed that the meſſengers would do their duty; but he would not be anſwerable for them.

"After this account of the priſoners, and what had been done in order to ſecure them, the houſe thought themſelves obliged, in duty to your majeſty and the public ſafety, at a time when the kingdom is engaged in a war with France, and that there are too juſt grounds to apprehend the dangerous practices of French emiſſaries, to make a humble addreſs to your majeſty, that particular care might be taken for ſecuring the perſons of Boucher, and of thoſe who were taken with him; and that none might be ſuffered to ſpeak with them till they were examined.

"The next day your majeſty's gracious anſwer to this addreſs was repreſented to the houſe, that care had been taken to ſecure the priſoners, and that your majeſty would give orders, that nobody ſhould ſpeak with them till they were examined. Thereupon the lords entered into a farther conſideration of the importance of this matter; and conceiving nothing to be more likely to bring priſoners, who had forfeited their lives, to a full diſcovery of the truth, than to find themſelves under the enquiry of a parliament, they thought it would be a public ſervice for them to make examinations of theſe perſons; and accordingly an order was made, that no perſons ſhould ſpeak with the priſoners till they had appeared at the bar of the houſe.

"On the ſixteenth day, the earl of Nottingham informing the houſe of lords, that the priſoners were brought to town, the uſher of the black-rod was ordered to take them into cuſtody, in order to their examination, and to keep them ſeparate and in cloſe cuſtody (as your majeſty had before directed); and it being thought moſt proper, for the nature of the thing, that the examination ſhould be by a committee of lords rather than by the whole houſe, it was reſolved accordingly.

"We beg leave to mention to your majeſty a matter of fact, which ſatisfied the lords that their reſolution to examine Boucher and the perſons apprehended with him, was neither unknown nor diſagreeable to your majeſty. On the ſame day when that was ordered, being the fifteenth of December, the lords reſolved to examine ſir John Maclean, a very dangerous perſon, as was repreſented to the houſe, who then ſtood committed in the hands of a meſſenger; and for that purpoſe ordered him to be brought to the houſe the next day, having, as they then thought, very good grounds to believe it might prove of great ſervice to your majeſty. Sir John Maclean was brought to the houſe, according to the order; but your majeſty being pleaſed ſo far to take notice of this order, as to ſignify to the houſe, by the lord-ſteward, that ſir John Maclean had been in part examined already, and that your majeſty thought it not proper to have that buſineſs taken out of the way of examination it was then in, but that your majeſty would, in a ſhort time, communicate it to the houſe; the lords immediately acquieſced in your majeſty's opinion, and ſent back ſir John Maclean to the place from whence he was brought. It was with this diſpoſition of mind the lords acted in this whole matter; and if your majeſty, who no doubt had the ſame notice of both orders, had thought any other method of examination of Boucher, and the perſons taken with him, more proper than that of the lords, they had reaſon to conclude your majeſty would have intimated it at the ſame time; and moſt certainly the houſe would have paid a like deference for your royal judgment in that inſtance alſo.

"The lords committees appointed to examine the priſoners, proceeded with all poſſible diſpatch, and made their report to the houſe on the twenty-firſt of December. Upon conſideration of the report, the houſe found it requiſite to commit Boucher to the priſon of Newgate, for high-treaſon; and the lords committees having ſubmitted to the judgment of the houſe, whether ſeveral parts of the examinations referred to in their report, ſhould be laid open to the houſe, or put into any other way of being farther enquired into, or proſecuted; the houſe, out of a full aſſurance they had, that when the matter of fact ſhould be laid before your majeſty, you would certainly give ſuch orders thereupon as were every way ſuitable to your royal prudence and tender care of the public ſafety; did unanimouſly reſolve, without ſo much as ſuffering thoſe parts of the report to be laid open to the houſe, that an humble addreſs ſhould be made from the houſe to your majeſty, by the lord-ſteward and the duke of Somerſet (two of the lords committees to whom the examination had been referred), laying before your majeſty the whole report, with all the matters relating thereto; and humbly deſiring your majeſty to give orders, that Boucher ſhould be proſecuted by Mr. Attorney-general for high-treaſon: and that as for the commitment, proſecution, or diſcharge of the other priſoners, mentioned in the report, you would be pleaſed to give ſuch directions as ſhould ſeem moſt proper to your royal wiſdom. Thus, as the whole affair was entered upon out of zeal for your majeſty's preſervation, and the ſafety of the kingdom, and was carried on and concluded with all poſſible reſpect to you, ſo we had the comfort to reſt aſſured, that our behaviour was no leſs graciouſly accepted by your majeſty, from the anſwer you were pleaſed to make, the ſame day, to our laſt addreſs on that ſubject, and which was reported to us, on the twenty-ſecond of December, by the duke of Somerſet, whereby your majeſty was pleaſed to ſignify to the houſe, with your accuſtomed goodneſs, that you would give order for every thing as the lords had deſired it.

"Madam,

"This is a true and juſt account of our proceedings, which have been ſo ſtrangely miſrepreſented, and to which no exception can poſſibly be taken by any perſons, rightfully informed: for as we had your royal approbation of all that was done,

ſo the houſe of commons would have had no pretence of objection, if they had taken the uſual parliamentary methods of deſiring to be informed of what we had done, and of the grounds of our proceedings, before they had approached your majeſty with ſuch a repreſentation of them.

"Their carrying this unprecedented addreſs to your majeſty in ſo haſty a manner, gives us almoſt as great trouble as the hard uſage we find in it. The ancient known, and only effectual method of preſerving a good correſpondence between the two houſes of parliament, has been by conferences: if, at any time, either houſe conceived they had a reaſonable ground to object againſt the proceedings of the other, conferences have been deſired, and the matter in debate with them fairly diſcuſſed; and thereby miſtakes have been cleared, for the moſt part, a good underſtanding cultivated, and a mutual reſpect preſerved, which is always highly requiſite in the nature of our conſtitution, but more eſpecially neceſſary in the time of war and danger.

"Had the houſe of commons thought fit to have purſued this method, upon this occaſion, we ſhould have been able to have given them entire ſatisfaction, not only of the lawfulneſs of all we have done, but of the juſt and weighty grounds upon which we took the examination of theſe perſons into our hands; or, at leaſt, if they could have convinced us of any miſtake, we ſhould have given them any reaſonable ſatisfaction.

"But without taking any ſuch previous ſtep, the houſe of commons have made an appeal directly to the throne againſt the houſe of lords, and charged them moſt unjuſtly with attempts of the higheſt nature. Nothing like this was ever done before; and, out of hearty concern for the preſervation of our happy conſtitution, we hope the ſame will never be done again. We know your royal heart is unmoveably fixed for the preſervation of the liberties of your people, and tranſmitting them entire to poſterity; but if in after-time the houſe of parliament ſhould be appealing againſt one another to the crown (for if ſuch a courſe be juſtifiable in the houſe of commons, the ſame methods may be taken by the lords), as your majeſty is now ſenſible how great difficulties it neceſſarily brings upon a good prince, ſo it is eaſy to foreſee (and we cannot think upon it without terror) how fatal the conſequences may be in the reign of an ill-deſigning prince, and what advantages may be taken from it, for utterly ſubverting the beſt ordered form of government in the world. There are examples abroad, where proceedings of this kind have ended in the overthrow of the liberties of the people, which makes us the more apprehend the beginning of them among ourſelves. Your majeſty's great judgment cannot but readily diſcern, whether it does naturally tend for one houſe of parliament to be exciting and earneſtly deſiring the ſovereign to exert a real, or ſuppoſed, prerogative againſt the other houſe. It is not eaſy to imagine what the commons could expect from your majeſty, from ſuch an application. The lords have never entertained a thought of uſing this dangerous method, whatever occaſions may have been given within the compaſs of late years; and we promiſe your majeſty, we will alway endeavour to preſerve a good underſtanding with the houſe of commons; and ſhall never think it too dear to procure that union at any rate, unleſs that of delivering up thoſe rights and powers which are lodged in us by law, and without which the conſtitution cannot ſubſiſt.

"We ſhall never be guilty of the preſumption of preſcribing to your majeſty when, and againſt whom, you ſhould exert your prerogative; but we will be always ready to aſſiſt you in the ſupport of all the juſt rights of the crown, as well as in the maintaining the liberties of the ſubjects, which we know are no leſs dear to your majeſty.

"It may, with modeſty and truth, be affirmed, that the lords have, in all times, been the ſureſt and moſt natural bulwark of the prerogatives of the crown; they being (as your grand-father, of ever bleſſed memory, was pleaſed to expreſs it) an excellent ſkreen and bank between the princes and people, to aſſiſt each other againſt any encroachment of the other.

"We will never contribute, by any act of ours, to the diminution of the rights of the crown; nor, as far as we are able, will ſuffer it in others: we cannot act otherwiſe, without hurting ourſelves in the higheſt degree, being thoroughly convinced, that the preſervation of the legal prerogative is not only the ſureſt way to ſecure our own privileges, but of abſolute neceſſity for the happy and rightful adminiſtration of the government; and we hope the houſe of commons will, in all times to come, ſpeak and act with that regard to the prerogative which they ſeem to have taken up lately.

"There remains one particular more, which we only name to your majeſty, becauſe we reſt ſatisfied it cannot have weight any where; that is, the inſinuation in the addreſs, as if the examination of theſe priſoners by the lords, was in order to obſtruct the enquiry into the deſigns againſt your majeſty's perſon and government; or, at leaſt, that it was likely to produce ſuch an effect. Our dutiful zeal for your majeſty's government, and our warm concern to diſcover all deſigns, and oppoſe all practices, againſt it, are too well known to the world, that any ſuggeſtions of that ſort ſhould make the leaſt impreſſion to our diſadvantage; and we are very ſure it was no ſuſpicion of that nature, which gave the true riſe to this very ſharp addreſs. It is eaſy to determine, whether a hearty and forward undertaking to ſearch into the deſigns of your enemies, or the ſeeking occaſions to object to, and to interrupt, ſuch endeavours, be moſt likely to obſtruct the diſcovery of the pernicious practices of traitors.

"Moſt gracious ſovereign,

"We moſt humbly aſk pardon for preſuming to give your majeſty the trouble of this long repreſentation, which has proceeded from the paſſionate concern we have to ſtand, not only acquitted, but entirely approved, in the judgment of ſo excellent a queen, and ſo juſtly beloved of all her ſubjects.

"We depend upon your juſtice, as well as your goodneſs, that nothing can do us prejudice (from whatſoever hands it comes) in your royal opinion, while we continue to act, in that ſtation where we are placed by the form of the Engliſh government, according to the laws and cuſtoms of parliament, with all imaginable reſpect and duty to yourſelf, and all poſſible zeal for the ſafety and happineſs of your kingdom

"Give us leave to conclude this our humble addreſs with this firm promiſe, that no dangers,

no reproaches, nor any artifices whatever, ſhall deter or divert us from uſing our utmoſt endeavours, from time to time, in diſcovering and oppoſing all contrivances and attempts againſt your royal perſon and government, and the proteſtant religion as by law eſtabliſhed."

To this remonſtrance her majeſty was pleaſed to return for anſwer, "that ſhe was ſorry for any miſunderſtandings that happen between the two houſes of parliament, which was ſo inconvenient for the public ſervice, and ſo uneaſy to her, that ſhe could not but take notice, with ſatisfaction, of the aſſurances their lordſhips gave her, that they would carefully avoid all occaſions of them. She thanked them for the concern they expreſſed for the rights of the crown and her prerogative, which ſhe ſhould never exert ſo willingly as for the good of her ſubjects and the protection of their liberties."

The remonſtrance of the lords occaſioned another from the commons in anſwer thereto, and in vindication of their own conduct: but this was the language of irritated faction, by which, indeed, both ſides were too much actuated. The commons therein ſaid, "their lordſhips had thought fit to take offence at the manner and words of their addreſs; but that they had made uſe of no terms but what were ſuitable to the occaſion, and ſuch as had been frequently and reciprocally uſed by both houſes to each other; and whatever expreſſions their zeal for her majeſty and the public might have inſpired, they could never have offered their ſovereign ſo ungrateful a remembrance as the deſtruction of the monarchy, by a deteſtable aſſembly compoſed of members of both houſes, who, being alike partakers of the guilt, ought equally to ſhare the reproach.

"That they might, with more reaſon, obſerve that their lordſhips, not contented with preferring their own examinations to her majeſty's, and not content with excluding her and the commons (to whom parliamentary enquiries properly belong) had appropriated to their houſe only the name of a Parliament; an inſtance, they obſerved, not to be paralleled, unleſs by that very aſſembly that ſubverted the monarchy.

"The queſtion, they ſaid, was not, Whether their lordſhips had a right to take into cuſtody perſons under examination for matters cognizable in parliament? but, Whether the peers had a right to take the priſoners of the crown, and the examination of them ſolely into their hands, without her majeſty's conſent, and in ſuch a manner as muſt neceſſarily prove an excluſion of her majeſty and the commons? This is a propoſition which the commons deny, and for which their lordſhips have produced no precedent.

"They obſerved, that when her majeſty communicated to the lords the Scottiſh conſpiracy, with an exception only of ſome matters not yet proper to be made public, and with which her majeſty aſſured them they ſhould be acquainted, as ſoon as it could be done without prejudice, their lordſhips immediately addreſſed her majeſty to lay before them the whole matter. This could not but ſenſibly affect her faithful commons, who earneſtly deſired that both houſes of parliament, and the nation in general, would agree to pay the juſt deference due to her majeſty's wiſdom, to confide in her care, and maintain her honour and dignity.

"That the lords, not ſatisfied with aſſuming this unprecedented power, had endeavoured to perſuade her majeſty of the neceſſity of it, to prevent the ill deſigns of bad princes and their favourites. But the commons thought it unreaſonable to begin to practiſe upon a good prince thoſe methods which were calculated only to guard againſt a bad one; and it was their opinion, that the danger might be much greater by admitting this precedent, ſhould the lords at any time combine to defend one another from enquiries or proſecutions.

"Had the lords, ſay they, conſulted their own Journals, they would not have affirmed, that a direct application to the throne, without any previous conference, was an unprecedented practice; nor could they ſoon forget their addreſs preſented to her majeſty laſt ſeſſion, on behalf of the biſhop of Worceſter, and their addreſs to the late king, on behalf of the four lords impeached by the commons of high crimes and miſdemeanors.

"The commons declared for themſelves, that they ſhould be careful, as far as was conſiſtent with their own neceſſary juſtification, of reviving animoſities; and how great ſoever the provocation had been, her majeſty having declared her uneaſineſs at theſe miſunderſtandings, they ſhould make no difficulty of laying aſide their reſentment; but hoped they ſhould ſtand acquitted to the world, and her majeſty, ſince the zeal they had ſhewn, and the reproaches they had borne, had been owing to no other cauſe but the defence of our excellent queen, in whoſe hands God had placed the executive authority over theſe nations *."

The queen returned an anſwer to this, much in the ſame terms as ſhe had done to the lords remonſtrance.

The commons alſo addreſſed her majeſty again, that ſhe would reaſſume the juſt exerciſe of her prerogative, and take to herſelf the examination of the ſaid conſpiracy, declaring, that the eſtabliſhing a committee of ſeven lords, for the ſole examination of the conſpiracy, was of dangerous conſequence, and might tend to the ſubverſion of the government.

The lords, however, proceeded with their examinations of the Scottiſh plot, and on the twenty-ninth of January, 1704, the earl of Nottingham acquainted the lords, that the queen had commanded him to lay before them the papers, containing all the particulars hitherto diſcovered, in relation to that affair; but that there was one circumſtance which could not be properly communicated, without running the riſque of preventing a diſcovery of greater importance. It ſeems that Keith had tampered with his uncle to diſcloſe the whole ſecret of the correſpondence between the court of St. Germain's and the Scottiſh Jacobites; and this was the circumſtance the queen declined imparting to the lords, until ſhe ſhould know the ſucceſs of her endeavours, which happened at laſt to prove ineffectual. The lords, however, not ſatisfied with this reſerve, or perhaps ſuſpecting Nottingham's integrity, preſented an addreſs, deſiring that all the papers, without diſtinction, might be ſubmitted to their inſpection, that they might be better enabled to go to the bottom of this conſpiracy before the end of the ſeſſion. This application the queen took as an affront, indeed not with-

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. Martis die Februarii 20°, 1704.

out reaſon; and returned for anſwer, that ſhe did not expect to be preſſed in this manner immediately after the declaration ſhe had made; but ſhe hoped, that before the end of the ſeſſion ſhe ſhould be able to inform them of thoſe particulars, which could not at preſent be publiſhed without manifeſt inconvenience. Nevertheleſs, Nottingham in a few days delivered the papers, ſealed, to the houſe, and all the lords were ſummoned to attend on the eighth of February, that they might be opened and peruſed.

Accordingly, on the day appointed the lords began with the moſt material of them, which was drawn up by the earl of Nottingham, entitled, An Account of the Conſpiracy in Scotland. It was an abſtract of all the examinations the council had taken. Some of the Whigs took great exception at it, as drawn with a deſign to make the affair appear more inconſiderable than they believed it to be. They then proceeded to examine ſir John Maclean, who mentioned ſeveral circumſtances that were not to be found in Nottingham's paper. He named the perſons who ſat in council at St. Germain's: he ſaid the command of the troops to be ſent over to Scotland from France was offered to the duke of Berwick, who thought proper to refuſe it till trial ſhould be made whether the duke of Hamilton, whom he judged the more proper perſon, would accept it. He likewiſe explained the particular directions which had been ſent to Scotland, in order to prevent the eſtabliſhing the ſucceſſion in that kingdom. Theſe, with ſome other very intereſting facts, which were entirely omitted in Nottingham's papers, together with his having diſcharged an officer belonging to the late king James, who had been ſeized by the governor of Berwick, and who, had he been detained, might have been of great uſe in detecting the conſpiracy, brought ſeveral ſevere reflections from the houſe of lords upon that nobleman. It was even moved to paſs a cenſure on the account he had given; but the queſtion being put, it was carried in the negative by eleven voices. The lords were highly offended with Ferguſon's report already mentioned, and paſſed a ſevere vote againſt thoſe who had received ſuch ſcandalous papers, and had not ordered him to be proſecuted, which they now directed the attorney-general to do: but Ferguſon never received the leaſt puniſhment. During the debates one thing very extraordinary happened: the earl of Nottingham affirmed, that upon three or four occaſions ſome things had been ordered in the cabinet-council which the dukes of Somerſet and Devonſhire, who were likewiſe of that council, did not agree with him in.

The lords having finiſhed the examinations, and glowing with all the flame of faction, voted, That there had been dangerous plots between ſome perſons in Scotland and the courts of France and St. Germains; and that the encouragement for this plotting aroſe from the not ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown of Scotland in the houſe of Hanover. Theſe votes were ſignified to the queen in an addreſs; and they promiſed that when the ſucceſſion ſhould be thus ſettled, they would endeavour to promote the union of the two kingdoms upon juſt and honourable terms. Then they compoſed another repreſentation in anſwer to the ſecond addreſs of the commons, which was filled with reflections and inſinuations againſt the commons, and contained ſome farther juſtifications of their own conduct. Among other things, they take notice that the commons ſtopped the iſſuing of writs for filling up the vacancies in their houſe, whereby, they ſaid, they made themſelves an imperfect repreſentation, which was a wound to the conſtitution; that there were very few things leſs excuſable in that unhappy houſe of commons who began the rebellion, than their refuſing to fill up their body, and compleat the repreſentation; and that an ill prince might take advantage of theſe precedents, and think himſelf juſtified in withholding his writs from ſome places, by as good law as the commons could ſhew for pretending to ſtop them from iſſuing to others; and concluded with expreſſing a juſt ſenſe of her majeſty's moderation in not ſuffering herſelf to be prevailed upon to do any thing to the prejudice of the conſtitution, from whatever hands the invitation came.

The queen anſwered, ſhe hoped none of her ſubjects deſired to leſſen her prerogative, ſince ſhe ſhould uſe it only for their protection and advantage: that any miſunderſtanding between the two houſes muſt be to the prejudice of the public; therefore ſhe ſhould not omit any thing in her power to prevent the occaſions of them.

In the mean while a complaint having been made in the houſe of commons againſt the earl of Nottingham, as having endeavoured to ſtifle the conſpiracy, a warm debate enſued, which at length, through the prevailing intereſt of the Tory party, ended in a reſolve, "That the ſaid earl, one of her majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, for his great ability and diligence in the execution of his office, for his unqueſtionable fidelity to the queen and her government, and for his ſteady adhering to the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed, highly merited the truſt her majeſty repoſed in him." They ordered the ſpeaker to preſent this reſolution to the queen, who ſaid in reply, that ſhe was pleaſed to find the commons ſo well ſatisfied with the earl of Nottingham, who was truſted by her in ſo conſiderable an office. They then peruſed the examination of the witneſſes which was laid before them, but through the whole of their proceedings gave plain teſtimony of their diſbelief of the reality of a plot: however, they thanked her majeſty for having communicated thoſe particulars, as well as for her wiſdom and care of the nation *.

The lords and commons, actuated by ſuch different principles, eagerly ſought every occaſion of arraigning each other's conduct. Unhappily they found but too many: I ſhall inſtance one in particular, as being of the moſt importance to the conſtitution. The caſe was as follows †:

An action was brought by one Matthew Aſhby againſt William White, and three other conſtables of the borough of Ayleſbury in Buckinghamſhire ‡, for refuſing his vote at the laſt election of burgeſ-

* Burnet. Coke. Salmon. Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, ii. 71, &c. Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 279, 280, &c.

† Burnet. Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, ii. 79. Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 308.

‡ In Ayleſbury the return was made by four conſtables of that borough.

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ſes to ſerve in parliament for that borough. The cauſe was tried at the aſſizes, and the conſtables were caſt, with damages; but the defendants moved the court of Queen's-Bench in arreſt of judgment. Three of the judges, Powel, Gould, and Powis, were of opinion the action could not lie, for that the judging of elections belonged ſolely to the houſe of commons; adding, that this was the firſt action of the kind that had been brought, and if theſe ſuits were encouraged, it would make the returning officers liable to an infinite number of vexatious proſecutions. Lord chief-juſtice Holt, however, was of a very different opinion: he ſaid, this was a matter of the utmoſt importance, as well to the whole nation in general, as to every individual in particular: that there was a great difference between an election for a member and a right to vote in that election: that the houſe of commons were undoubtedly the only judges of the former; but that the right of voting at an election was an original right, founded on certain ſpecified legal titles, and as ſuch were cognizable only in a court of law. His opinion, however, could not prevail againſt that of the three other judges, and an order of the court was accordingly iſſued to quaſh all the proceedings in conſequence of the decree at the aſſizes. Aſhby, diſappointed in this quarter, moved the cauſe by writ of error into the houſe of lords, where the matter was argued with great warmth, and all the judges were ordered to deliver their opinions: whereupon ſir Thomas Trevor, lord chief-juſtice of the Common-pleas, and ſeveral others of his brethren, declared it was their opinion, That the houſe of commons only had a right to judge of elections, and conſequently of the qualifications of the electors; and obſerved, that petitions to that houſe were frequently founded on allegations: that ſome of the voters had no right, and that others were refuſed that had a right; nor had it ever been diſputed that the commons were the only proper judges of this matter, alleging, that if two independent juriſdictions ſhould be allowed in the ſame caſe, this might frequently occaſion contrary judgments, and create great confuſion in the execution of ſuch judgments. To this it was anſwered, that a voter had no other remedy but in a court of law; for ſuppoſing the perſon was returned he would have voted for, he had no pretence to complain to the houſe of commons; and if they could admit of ſuch a complaint, they could give him no damages to make him ſatisfaction for the officers denying his vote; and ſince this was a right inherent in every voter, it was reaſonable an action ſhould be brought for it in the courts of law where all other rights were tried. It was farther urged, that if this determination of the court of Queen's-Bench was confirmed, it would amount to an indemnity for the returning officers, how partial or unjuſt ſoever they ſhould prove, and exceedingly multiply thoſe diſorders. Many other arguments were employed on both ſides the queſtion; but their lordſhips adhering to the latter opinion, confirmed the verdict given for Aſhby the plaintiff at the aſſizes, and ordered the determination of the court of Queen's Bench to be ſet aſide.

The commons were grievouſly offended at this deciſion of the lords, which they looked upon as an encroachment on their privileges, and in the firſt tranſports of their reſentment paſſed the following five reſolutions, 1. That according to the known laws and uſage of parliament, it was the ſole right of the commons (except in caſes otherwiſe provided for by act of parliament) to examine and determine all matters relating to the right of election of their own members. 2. That neither the qualification of any elector, or the right of any perſon, is cognizable or determinable elſewhere than before the commons, except as aforeſaid. 3. That the examining and determining the right of qualification, or right of any elector, or any perſon elected in any court of law, or elſewhere than before the commons, except as aforeſaid, will expoſe all mayors and other returning officers to multiplicity of actions and vexatious ſuits, and ſubject them to different and independant juriſdictions, and inconſiſtent determinations. 4. That Matthew Aſhby having brought his action againſt White, &c. for not receiving his vote, was guilty of a breach of privilege. 5. That whoever ſhall commence or proſecute any action, indictment, or information, which ſhall bring the right of electors or elected to the determination of any other juriſdiction than the houſe of commons, except as aforeſaid, ſuch perſons, and all attornies, ſollicitors, counſellors, and ſerjeants at law, ſolliciting, pleading, or proſecuting in any ſuch caſe, are guilty of a high breach of the privilege of this houſe. Theſe reſolutions, ſigned by the clerk, were ordered to be fixed upon Weſtminſter-hall gate.

The lords were not a little alarmed at theſe vigorous proceedings of the lower houſe, and thought it behoved them to ſupport their decrees with the utmoſt firmneſs. To this end they appointed a committee to draw up the ſtate of the caſe; and the committee having made their report, their lordſhips came to the following reſolutions; 1. That by the known laws of this kingdom, every freeholder, or other perſon having a right to vote at the election of members to ſerve in parliament, and being wilfully denied or hindered ſo to do by the officers who ought to receive the ſame, may maintain his action againſt ſuch officer, and recover damages for the injury. 2. That the aſſerting that a perſon having a right to give his vote at an election, and being hindered ſo to do by the officer who ought to take the ſame, is without remedy for ſuch wrong by the ordinary courſe of law, is deſtructive of the property of the ſubject, againſt the freedom of elections, and manifeſtly tends to encourage corruption and partiality in officers who are to make returns to parliament, and to ſubject freeholders and other electors to their arbitrary will and pleaſure. 3. That the declaring Matthew Aſhby guilty of a breach of privilege of the houſe of commons for proſecuting his action againſt the conſtables of Ayleſbury, &c. after he had obtained a judgment in parliament for recovery of his damages, is an unprecedented attempt upon the judicature in parliament, and is in effect to ſubject the law of England to the votes of the houſe of commons. 4. That the deterring electors from proſecuting actions in the ordinary courſe of law, where they are deprived of their right of voting; and the terrifying attornies, ſollicitors, counſellors, and ſerjeants at law, from ſolliciting, proſecuting, and pleading in ſuch caſes, by voting their ſo doing to be a breach of privilege of the houſe of commons, is a manifeſt aſſuming a power to controul the law,

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to hinder the courſe of juſtice, and ſubject the property of Engliſhmen to the arbitrary votes of the houſe of commons.

Printed copies of the caſe and of theſe reſolutions were ſent by the lord-keeper (by the command of the houſe) to the ſheriffs of all the counties of England, to be circulated by them through the different boroughs of their reſpective counties; and this being the firſt queſtion of the kind that had ever been agitated, the nation was divided in its ſentiments between the two parties.

During theſe differences between the two houſes, her majeſty performed an act of generoſity which greatly endeared her to her ſubjects, and was a ſtrong proof of the regard ſhe had to God and religion, by conferring on the poor clergy a more extenſive and magnificent bounty than any of her predeceſſors had done, and which at this day amounts to upwards of twenty thouſand pounds per annum, and is ſtill increaſing. On the ſeventh day of February, 1704, her majeſty ſent a meſſage to the commons, importing, that having taken into her ſerious conſideration the mean and inſufficient maintenance belonging to the clergy in divers parts of this kingdom, ſhe had remitted the arrears of the tenths to the ſaid poor clergy; that ſhe would grant her whole revenue ariſing out of the firſt-fruits and tenths, as far as it ſhould become free from incumbrances, towards an augmentation of their maintenance; and that if the houſe of commons could find any methods by which her good intentions to the poor clergy could be rendered more effectual, it would be a great advantage to the public, and very acceptable to her majeſty.

The commons, upon receiving this meſſage, addreſſed her majeſty, expreſſing their thanks for her gracious meſſage, and her pious concern for increaſing the maintenance of the poor clergy out of her own revenue; and aſſured her majeſty they would do their utmoſt to make her majeſty's charitable intentions more effectual; and accordingly a bill was brought in "for the making more effectual her majeſty's gracious intentions for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy, by enabling her majeſty to grant in perpetuity the revenue of the firſt-fruits and tenths *." To this they added a repeal of the ſtatute of mortmain, ſo far as that it might be free to all men, either by deed or by their laſt wills, to give what they thought fit towards the augmentation of benefices. This addition was oppoſed with great warmth by ſome of the lords, who alleged it would be opening a door for the clergy to practiſe on the weakneſs of dying men: but after ſome debate the bill was carried by a great majority, and was paſſed into a law.

The lords have always been conſidered as the chief ſupport of the rights of the crown; and the commons, as the principal bulwark of the people. At this juncture, however, they appear to have ſhifted ſides; at leaſt the commons had been very remiſs in their ſtation. Prince George of Denmark, the lord high-admiral of England, knew nothing of ſea affairs, and was moreover ſo afflicted with an aſthma, that he was incapacitated from attending to public buſineſs of almoſt any kind. The management of the navy was therefore committed to a council, who acted under the authority of his name. They had been guilty of ſhameful neglects and miſmanagements, which however had been paſſed over unnoticed by the commons; but the lords, who now ſeemed reſolved to drag every abuſe forth to public view, on the ſecond of March entered upon an enquiry into the condition of the navy †; in which, as I obſerved before, they found things very indifferently managed: for inſtance, complaints had been made to the lord high-admiral of bad proviſions, by which the ſeamen were poiſoned, as well as the nation cheated; yet a ſurvey of the proviſions complained of was delayed for three months, which gave a great opportunity for making ſuch removes and changes, as rendered the proof of this charge altogether impracticable. The merchants complained that they were ill ſerved with convoys, and that ſo little care was taken of the Newcaſtle trade, as occaſioned an exceſſive riſe of coals. The neglect of providing for ſuch ſeamen as were priſoners in France was likewiſe rendered very evident, as was the danger of Jamaica, and the betraying our naval councils to the enemy. Theſe were all digeſted into an addreſs, which was preſented by the houſe of lords to the queen, who endeavoured to pacify the houſe by a ſoft anſwer, though perhaps the righteſt ſtep ſhe could have taken would have been to have diſmiſſed his royal highneſs's council as lord high-admiral, and either reſtored the earl of Pembroke, or appointed other commiſſioners. The lords ſtill continuing their enquiries, ſoon after reſolved, That admiral Graydon, with a ſquadron of men of war, meeting four French ſhips and not attacking them, on pretence of his inſtructions to make the beſt of his way to the Weſt Indies, was a prejudice to the queen's ſervice, and a diſhonour to the nation; and alſo that his diſorderly preſſing men at Jamaica, and his ſevere uſage of the maſters of merchantmen and tranſports under his convoy, was a diſcouragement to the inhabitants

* The firſt-fruits and tenths was an impoſition begun by the popes in the time of the holy wars, and it was raiſed as a fund to ſupport thoſe expeditions; but when taxes are once raiſed by ſuch an arbitrary power as the popes then aſſumed, and after there has been a ſubmiſſion, and the payments have been ſettled into a cuſtom, they are always continued, even after the pretence upon which they were firſt raiſed, ſubſiſts no more. Thus this became a ſtanding branch of the papal revenue, till Henry VIII. ſeemed reſolved to take it away. It was firſt aboliſhed for a year, probably to draw in the clergy to conſent the more willingly to a change that delivered them from ſuch heavy impoſitions: but in the ſucceeding ſeſſion of parliament this revenue was again ſettled as part of the revenue of the crown for ever. It is true, it was the more eaſily borne, becauſe the rates were ſtill at the old value, which in ſome places was not the tenth, and in moſt not above the fifth part of the true value; and the clergy had been often threatened with a new valuation, in which the rates ſhould be rigorouſly ſet to their full extent. The tenths amounted to about eleven thouſand pounds a year, and the firſt-fruits, which were more caſual, roſe one year with another to five thouſand pounds; ſo that the whole amounted to between ſixteen and ſeventeen thouſand pounds a-year. This was not brought into the Treaſury as the other branches of the revenue were; but the biſhops, who had been the pope's collectors, were now the king's, and perſons in favour obtained aſſignations on them for life, or for a term of years. Tindal. Collier. Burnet.

† Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, ii. 71. Burnet. Campbell. Burchet.

of that iſland, and prejudicial to the queen's ſervice, and thereupon addreſſed her majeſty that the ſaid admiral might be no more employed. Graydon was accordingly laid aſide.

The lords at the ſame time reſumed the examination of the earl of Orford's accounts, in relation to his victualling the fleet while it wintered at Cadiz. This matter had been much canvaſſed in king William's time; their lordſhips now were of opinion, that the remarks which had been made on them by the commiſſioners for auditing the public accounts, were frivolous and trifling; and they confirmed an order the lords of the Treaſury had made to paſs the ſaid accounts. The commons propoſed, and ſent up a bill for continuing the commiſſion; the lords made ſome alterations, eſpecially in the nomination of the commiſſioners; but theſe were rejected by the commons. The peers adhered to their amendments; the commons refuſed to admit them: the bill was dropped, and the commiſſion of conſequence expired. No other bill of importance paſſed in this ſeſſion, except that for raiſing recruits, which empowered juſtices of the peace to impreſs idle perſons for ſoldiers and mariners. On this occaſion the lords addreſſed againſt any perſons being put in the commiſſion of the peace who had refuſed the oaths to king William.

The parliament having finiſhed the buſineſs before them, her majeſty came to the houſe of peers on the third of April; and the commons being ſent for up, ſhe made a ſpeech to both houſes, on the uſual topics of acknowlegement, unity, and moderation, and prorogued the parliament to the fourth day of July. The acts paſſed this ſeſſion, beſides the land-tax already mentioned, were, the malt-tax; an act for granting an aid to her majeſty by the ſale of annuities; an act for regiſtering deeds in the Weſt Riding of the county of York *; an act for the increaſe of ſeamen and encouraging navigation, and for the ſecurity of the coal-trade; an act for granting to her majeſty an additional ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage for three years; and the act for the augmentation of poor livings, by granting the revenues of the firſt-fruits and tenths, &c. Thus ended this ſeſſion of parliament, in which all the rancour of party had been diſplayed on both ſides; and the merit of the cauſe was leſs conſidered than the ends which a particular faction had to anſwer by it.

I ſhall juſt obſerve, that the two houſes of convocation ſat at the ſame time with the parliament; and the diviſion ſtill continuing between the upper and lower houſe, nothing of any moment was tranſacted in that aſſembly, except their addreſs to the queen, upon her granting the firſt-fruits and tenths for the poor clergy †.

Soon after the breaking up of the parliament, the earl of Nottingham, after having ineffectually preſſed the queen to diſcard the dukes of Somerſet and Devonſhire, who thwarted him in all his meaſures, waited on her majeſty, and told her that he could no longer ſerve in councils to which thoſe lords were admitted, and thereupon reſigned the ſeals as ſecretary of ſtate. The earl of Jerſey and ſir Edward Seymour, the former lord-chamberlain, and the other comptroller of the houſhold, reſigned their ſtaves of office; upon which the earl of Kent was made chamberlain; Mr. Manſel, a gentleman of a very conſiderable family in Wales, comptroller; Mr. Harley, ſecretary of ſtate; and Mr. Henry St. John was appointed ſecretary at war, in the room of Mr. Blathwayte.

Upon theſe removes, which ſeemed to throw the weight once more into the ſcale of the Whigs, that party became ſo elated, that they quickly after publiſhed a paper, entitled, Legion's humble Addreſs to the Lords; in which they reflected with more acrimony than decency on the houſe of commons, whom they charged with having betrayed their truſt, and giving up the rights of the people. They had even the boldneſs to aſſert, that the commons were become an unlawful aſſembly, and ought to be depoſed, by the ſame rule that oppreſſed ſubjects may, and in all ages have, depoſed bloody and tyrannical princes: that the tyranny of five hundred uſurpers was no more to be endured than that of one, ſince no number or quality of perſons could make that lawful, which in its own nature was not ſo.

They complained that the town of Maidſtone had not been permitted to chuſe repreſentatives the laſt ſeſſion: they inveighed againſt the notorious partiality ſhewn by the committees of the commons appointed to examine into and decide concerning controverted elections: they exclaimed againſt that houſe for its proceedings in the Aylesbury affair, and having deprived the electors of the right of election; of their complimenting the queen with an hereditary right, when her title was purely parliamentary; and of their addreſſing her majeſty to exert her prerogative againſt the peers.

They highly commended the lords for having

* By this law, a memorial of all the deeds and conveyances, and of all wills and deviſes in writing, whereby any honours, manors, and the like, in the ſaid Weſt Riding, may be any way effected in law or equity, may at the election of the party or parties concerned, be regiſtered in the manner as after directed.—And that after ſuch regiſter, every ſubſequent deed or conveyance of the ſaid honours, manors, and the like, ſo regiſtered, or any part thereof, ſhall be adjudged fraudulent and void, unleſs a memorial thereof ſhall alſo be regiſtered; and the like of wills and ſuch matters—The Regiſter-office to be kept at Wakefield—This act not to extend to copyhold eſtates, nor to leaſes at rack-rent, nor to any leaſe not exceeding twenty-one years.

The preamble to this law aſſigns the following very good grounds and reaſons for enacting it, viz. "That this Weſt Riding is the principal place in the North for the cloth manufacture, and that moſt of the traders therein are freeholders, and have frequent occaſions to borrow money upon their eſtates for managing their ſaid trade; but for want of a regiſter find it difficult to give ſecurity to the ſatisfaction of the money-lenders (although the ſecurity they offer be really good) by means whereof the ſaid trade is very much obſtructed, and many families ruined." See ſtat. 2 & 3 Annæ reginæ.

It is certainly much to be wiſhed that ſuch a regiſter could be rendered practicable all over England, ſince many frauds would undoubtedly be prevented thereby, and this too without expoſing the circumſtances of perſons families (the great objection to ſuch an eſtabliſhment) farther than the nature of ſuch regiſters abſolutely require.

† By this act the queen was empowered to incorporate ſuch perſons as ſhe ſhould think fit, and to ſettle upon ſuch corporation the firſt-fruits of all benefices for the maintenance of the miniſters of the church of England, not ſufficiently provided for; and it was farther enacted, That any perſon by deed or will might grant to the ſaid corporation their eſtate or intereſt in any lands, tenements, or hereditaments; and their property in any goods or chattels, for the augmentation of the maintenance of ſuch miniſters, having no ſettled competent penſion, to be applied according to the appointment of the benefactor; and in default of ſuch appointment, then in ſuch manner as by her majeſty's letters-patent ſhall be appointed: and the ſaid corporation are enabled to purchaſe, take, and hold, for the purpoſes aforeſaid, any lands, tenements, goods or chattels, as ſhall be given or granted to them. An act alſo paſſed this ſeſſion for diſcharging out of priſon ſuch inſolvent debtors as ſhould ſerve, or procure a perſon to ſerve, in her majeſty's fleets or armies: and another act for the further explanation and regulation of privilege of parliament, in relation to perſons in public offices. See ſtat. 2 & 3 Annæ reginæ.

ſo nobly vindicated their undoubted rights againſt the encroachments and invaſions of the commons, and aſſerting the rights and liberties of the people of England: they acknowleged their lordſhips to be the ſanctuary and ſafeguard of the nation, and the glorious inſtruments of preſerving her majeſty and their undoubted rights, and aſſure them that they will adhere to and faithfullly defend their lordſhips, both in their perſons and authority, in vindicating their juſt rights, defending her majeſty's perſon and their own liberties, and that they would live and die with them. This very extraordinary addreſs was ſubſcribed, "Our Name is MILLION, and we are more."

It can hardly be ſuppoſed that ſo flagrant an outrage upon ſo illuſtrious an aſſembly as that of the houſe of commons, would paſs uncenſured by any government that had the leaſt regard to its own dignity and authority, or indeed ſafety. Accordingly, the queen iſſued a proclamation, offering a reward of one hundred pounds for the diſcovery of the authors, and fifty pounds for the printer of this libel. However, I cannot find that any one was puniſhed for it.

As ſoon as it was known in France that the Scottiſh conſpiracy was diſcovered, Frazer was, by Lewis's order, confined in the Baſtile, where he remained ſeveral years. In England, Lindſay being ſentenced to die for having correſponded with the French court, was told that no hopes of mercy remained for him, unleſs he would reveal the whole myſtery of the conſpiracy. Nevertheleſs, he perſiſted in denying all knowlege of any ſuch conſpiracy, even at the gallows, whither he was carried with all the dreadful parade of death, the near proſpect of which, it was imagined, would have extorted a confeſſion from him; but this not having the deſired effect, he was carried back to Newgate, where he remained ſome years. He was afterwards baniſhed the kingdom, and at length died of hunger in Holland. As to ſir John Maclean, the lords, after examining him, had come to a reſolution to addreſs the queen in his favour, on account, they ſaid, of his ingenuous confeſſion. He was then diſcharged from priſon, and even received a conſiderable penſion from the crown, though in the queen's time he ſecretly, and after her death openly, continued in the intereſt of the pretender, and died in the rebellion againſt king George I. in 1715.

The miniſtry had been ſo very remiſs in their enquiries into this plot, that it afforded a very plauſible handle to their adverſaries the Whigs, to load them with the popular odium of Jacobitiſm; nor did they ſcruple to inſinuate that the queen herſelf was influenced by a ſiſterly affection for the court of St. Germain's. What ſeemed to confirm this allegation was, the diſgrace of the duke of Queenſberry, who had been particularly active in inveſtigating the ſecret machinations of the French court with the pretender's friends in Scotland, though his being laid aſide at this time appears to have been really occaſioned by the manifeſt decline of his intereſt in Scotland, which incapacitated him to do the government any eſſential ſervice in that kingdom.

The Scots had given repeated proofs of being greatly diſſatisfied with their neighbours of England, who, they thought, had too much exerted their influence in their affairs; and they ſeemed only to wait for an opportunity of ſhewing their reſentment. Their refuſal to come into the Hanover ſucceſſion, or to give ſupplies for the war in the laſt parliament, had given occaſion to many to conclude that they aimed at a change of government, and to put themſelves under the protection of France again, and bring in the pretender. Our court therefore was very deſirous to obtain a majority in the Scottiſh parliament, in order to ſecure to itſelf the nomination of a ſucceſſor to the crown, and obtain thoſe ſupplies which had been refuſed laſt ſeſſion. Mr. James Johnſton, who had been ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland under king William, had, in concert with the marquis of Tweddale, engaged to carry thoſe points, on condition that the ſucceſſor to be nominated ſhould be ſubjected to certain limitations and reſtrictions; to which the queen agreed. Hereupon Johnſton was taken into the adminiſtration, and made lord-regiſter, in the room of ſir James Murray of Philiphaugh; the duke of Queenſberry was diſplaced, and his poſt of high-commiſſioner given to the marquis of Tweddale, and the earl of Cromarty remained ſole ſecretary of ſtate; the earl of Leven was inſtalled governor of Edinburgh caſtle, in the room of the earl of March; the earl of Glaſgow was removed from being lord-treaſurer depute, and his place remained vacant.

Theſe alterations being made in the Scottiſh miniſtry, the parliament was convened on the ſixth day of July this year, when the new lord-commiſſioner preſented them a letter from her majeſty, wherein ſhe obſerved, that their unhappy diviſions had proceeded to ſuch an height, as had not only given her the greateſt concern, but had alſo encouraged her enemies abroad to employ their emiſſaries to debauch them from their allegiance, and render that kingdom a ſcene of war; but ſhe was willing to hope that none but men who were obnoxious to the laws, or of mean and deſperate fortunes, had given ear to them. She ſaid, ſhe was always inclined to believe that the late miſtakes did not proceed from any want of duty or reſpect to her, but only from difference of opinions as to meaſures of government: that ſhe was reſolved to give every ſatisfaction to her people that they could deſire, in regard to the rectifying abuſes, and for that end had named the marquis of Tweddale her high-commiſſioner, of whoſe capacity and diſpoſition to ſerve his country there could be no doubt; that ſhe had given him authority to conſent to ſuch laws as they ſhould think yet wanting to ſecure their government in church and ſtate; and having done her part, ſhe hoped they would lay hold of this opportunity of ſhewing the world the ſincerity of the profeſſions they had made her. The remaining part of the letter turned upon the neceſſity of their granting a ſupply, the diſcouragement of vice, the encouragement of commerce, and the uſual recommendation of moderation and unanimity *.

This letter was backed by a ſpeech from the lord-commiſſioner and the lord-chancellor, who each of them aſſured the parliament, that the whole affair of the Scottiſh plot ſhould be laid before them, and that her majeſty truſted in their prudence and loyalty to take ſuch meaſures as would effectually prevent the like machinations on the

* Burnet. Life of Queen Anne. Tindal.

part

part of her enemies for the future. It would be equally unintereſting and unentertaining to the reader, was I to detain him here with relating the various modes of oppoſition ſet up againſt the miniſtry on this occaſion by the ſeveral parties in Scotland, who were at this time adverſe to the Engliſh government. Suffice it then to obſerve, that the court, with all the intereſt it could make, was not able to carry any one of its points. The Scottiſh parliament reſolved not to name a ſucceſſor to that crown until they had concluded a previous treaty with England, in relation to commerce and other concerns. The populace without doors ſeconded, in tumultuous aſſemblies, the reſolutions of their advocates within: and the commiſſioner and his friends finding it impoſſible to oppoſe the torrent, and under ſome apprehenſion for their own ſafety, the marquis, with the concurrence of the other miniſters, wrote a letter to the queen, repreſenting the diſagreeable ſituation of affairs, and adviſing her majeſty to paſs the bill of ſecurity, as it was called, without which ſhe muſt not expect that the parliament would grant any ſupplies. The lord-treaſurer Godolphin, on whoſe counſel the queen chiefly relied, conſidering that the army, which was already greatly creditor for arrears, muſt of neceſſity be diſbanded, and that this would expoſe the kingdom to imminent danger of an invaſion, ſeconded the advice of the Scottiſh miniſters; upon which the queen authorized the commiſſioner to paſs the bill which was then depending, under the title of a bill "for ſecuring the religion, liberty, and independency of the Scottiſh nation."

This act provided, that in caſe of the death of the queen, her heirs and ſucceſſors, the parliament then in being ſhould immediately meet, and nominate the ſucceſſor to the crown, different from the perſon poſſeſſing the throne of England, unleſs during her majeſty's reign, there be ſuch conditions of government enacted as may ſecure the honour and ſovereignty of the crown and kingdom, the freedom of the parliament, the religion, liberty, and trade of the nation, from Engliſh or any foreign influence: and until the meeting of the eſtates on ſuch death as aforeſaid, the adminiſtration of the government ſhall be by ſuch of the members of the ſaid eſtates, and ſuch of the privy-council as are then at Edinburgh. And all civil commiſſions granted during pleaſure ſhall be void, except ſheriffs, ſtewards, and juſtices of the peace. And for a farther ſecurity to the kingdom, it was enacted, that the whole proteſtant heritors, and all the burghs, ſhall provide themſelves with arms for all the fencible men who are proteſtants; and the ſaid heritors and burghs ſhall diſcipline their ſaid fencible men once a month at leaſt.

The Scottiſh parliament having obtained this act of ſecurity, on which the minds of the nation had been ſo ſtrongly bent, granted the ſupply without farther heſitation: but not yet ſatisfied with this conceſſion on the part of the Engliſh court, they began to canvaſs the affair of the conſpiracy, and the proceedings of the houſe of lords in England, which they termed an officious intermeddling in their concerns, and an encroachment upon the ſovereignty and independency of the nation: but while they were proceeding in their debates upon this matter, the high-commiſſioner, who, from the ſpecimen he had already received of their ungovernable ferocity, dreaded the effects of this enquiry, came to the houſe on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt, and, after a ſoothing ſpeech, prorogued the parliament to the ſeventh day of October following. However, before they ſeparated, they drew up an addreſs to the queen, deſiring that the witneſſes, and all the papers relating to the plot, might be ſent down, in order to be ſubjected to their examination in the next ſeſſion. Immediately after the adjournment of the parliament, an entire change was made in the Scottiſh miniſtry. Tweddale was made chancellor of Scotland, in the room of the earl of Seafield, who, with the earl of Roxburgh, was appointed joint ſecretaries of ſtate; the privy-ſeal was given to the earl of Rothes; the poſt of juſtice-general, to the earl of Cromarty; the management of the Treaſury was veſted in the hands of the earl of Selkirk, lord Belhaven, and ſir John Hume; Baillie of Jerviſwood was made treaſurer-depute; and at the ſame time a commiſſion was ſent down to Edinburgh, by which moſt of the cavaliers or Jacobite party, and all the duke of Queenſberry's faction, were outed, and their places ſupplied by ſuch as it was known would concur with the meaſures purſued at that time by the court of England, where the Whig intereſt ſeemed now to become every day more prevalent *.

From the cabinet and civil affairs of theſe kingdoms, I ſhall now proceed to take a view of the operations of the war abroad. The emperor's affairs were at this time in a moſt deplorable ſituation, and the houſe of Auſtria beheld itſelf on the verge of ruin, without a timely and powerful aſſiſtance. The elector of Bavaria was maſter of Paſſau †: thirty thouſand French, under the command of marſhal Marſin, who had ſucceeded Villars, overſpread the country on the other ſide the Danube. There were ſeveral flying parties in Auſtria. Vienna itſelf was threatened on one ſide by the French and Bavarians, and on the other ſide by prince Ragotſki, at the head of the mutinous Hungarians, fighting for their liberty, and ſupplied with money by the French and Turks. In this forlorn condition, Leopold had no reſource left but to implore the aſſiſtance of her Britannic majeſty; accordingly, in the beginning of April this year, count Wratiſlaw, the imperial envoy here, preſented a memorial to the queen, ſetting forth the imminent danger which threatened Germany, and earneſtly requeſting her relief. This memorial was ſtrongly enforced by the duke of Marlborough, who repreſented the abſolute neceſſity of ſpeedily ſuccouring the emperor. The queen, entirely guided by that general, returned a favourable anſwer to the memorial; and the duke embarking for Holland, arrived at the Hague about the beginning of May, where he had a conference with the States-general; and having repreſented in the ſtrongeſt terms the danger that the

* Lockhart. Hiſt. of Europe. Tindal.

† Paſſau, an imperial city of Bavaria, and the capital of the biſhopric of the ſame name, in Germany, ſtanding on both ſides of the Danube, at the junction of the Inn with it on the one hand, and the Iltz on the other; ſo that theſe rivers divide it into three parts. It is a rich, populous, and trading place, and naturally ſtrong, being fenced on all ſides with rocks and rivers. It lies fifteen miles north-weſt of Lintz, and ſixty ſouth eaſt of Ratiſbon.

empire and all Europe were threatened with, if an immediate check was not given to the French and Bavarians in Germany; and having ſhewn that the allies, being now maſters of the Maeſe and all Spaniſh Guelderland, their frontiers were ſufficiently ſecured, the Dutch at length came into the project for ſending a body of troops immediately for the relief of the empire. The forces for the expedition being ordered to rendezvous, and all proper meaſures being concerted, the duke ſet forward for Maeſtricht, and on the ſixteenth of May joined the detachment commanded by brigadier Ferguſon; and on the eighteenth the Engliſh forces commanded by his own brother, general Churchill, aſſiſted by lieutenant-general Lumley, the earl of Orkney, and other officers of diſtinction. In the mean time, the States regulated the poſts of their general officers: Mynheer Auverquerque, their veldt (or field) marſhal, was appointed to command their forces on the Maeſe, having under him the counts de Tilly and Noyelles; Slangenberg, thoſe on the Moſelle; Saliſch, in Brabant; and Spaar and Fagel in Flanders. As the duke now ſeemed to bend his march towards Coblentz, the French in Flanders imagined he deſigned to open the campaign with the ſiege of Traerbach, and penetrate into France along the Moſelle; whereupon they laid ſiege to Huy, in order to divert him from that enterprize: but this conſummate general had a much more important ſcheme in view; no leſs than that of marching into the heart of the empire, and delivering the houſe of Auſtria from impending ruin. This deſign he had imparted to a few only, in whoſe diſcretion he could ſafely confide. It was approved by the penſionary and deputy Gueldermallen, who procured the approbation of the States-general thereto. The duke, paying little regard to the motions of the French againſt Huy, proceeded in his march by Bedburgh, Kerpenord, Kalſecken, and viſited the frontiers of Bonne, where he received advice that the recruits and reinforcements for the French army in Bavaria had joined that elector at Villingen. The duke now redoubled his diligence, and on the ninth of June got to Mildenheim, where he was viſited by prince Eugene, and next day prince Lewis of Baden arrived at the camp. Theſe three celebrated generals held a long conſultation; the reſult of which was, that the duke and prince Lewis ſhould command alternately from day to day, and that prince Eugene ſhould head a ſeparate army on the Rhine. Accordingly, prince Eugene ſet out for Philipſburgh, and on the ſixteenth the duke marched with the horſe from Eberſpach to Groſſen-Seinſen; his other troops proceeding in two columns under the command of the prince of Heſſe and general Bulow, but encamped in ſuch a manner that the whole might join prince Lewis in a day's march. On the twenty-ſecond the army made a motion, and joined that prince at Waſtertel. In the mean while, the duke had notified to the States-general her Britannic majeſty's orders to march to the relief of the empire, expreſſing his hope that they would approve of the deſign, and allow their troops to ſhare the honour of the enterprize. By the return of the courier he received their High Mightineſſes approbation of the project, and full power to command their forces *.

The Engliſh general having his hands now at full liberty, and being left to act as he pleaſed by his queen and her allies the Dutch, proſecuted his march into the heart of the empire, and by forced ſtages arrived on the banks of the Danube near Donawert †, oppoſite to the Bavarian lines, where about eight thouſand French, and as many Bavarians, lay entrenched, to guard the country they had conquered. On the firſt of July Marlborough encamped with his right at Amerdghem, and his left at Onderingen. The elector of Bavaria hereupon ſent a detachment of his beſt troops to reinforce count d'Arco, who was poſted at Schellenberg, a riſing ground on the Danube, near Donawert, where for ſeveral days he had been raiſing entrenchments, as being a poſt of vaſt importance. The duke, however, knowing that the works were not compleated, reſolved to attempt driving the enemy from their poſt; and, willing to have the ſole glory of this important piece of ſervice, he choſe the day on which he had the command, which, as I have already mentioned, he was to ſhare alternately with the prince of Baden, and gave orders for attacking the enemy without the aſſiſtance of his colleague. Accordingly, on the ſecond of July his grace advanced at three o'clock in the morning, with a detachment of ſix hundred foot, thirty ſquadrons of Engliſh and Dutch, and three battalions of imperial grenadiers, the reſt of the army following him with all poſſible diligence: but the way being bad and long, and other unavoidable accidents intervening, it was near three o'clock in the afternoon before he could get over the river Wermitz, which runs by Donawert, with our artillery. The attack was at length begun with an unparalleled intrepidity by the Engliſh and Dutch, before the Imperialiſts could come up. The enemy on their ſide made a moſt vigorous defence; but after an engagement of about an hour and an half, in which time the Imperialiſts came up, the entrenchments were forced, and the allies made a terrible ſlaughter of the enemy, who, as ſoon as they ſaw us in poſſeſſion of their works, ran away in great confuſion towards Donawert and the Danube; but being cloſely purſued by our horſe and dragoons, the greateſt part followed the example of count d'Arco and the reſt of their generals, who flung themſelves into that river and ſwam over it. Few actions were more bloody than this for the time it laſted. As the attack was begun by a battalion of the Engliſh foot-guards, and the regiments of Orkney and Ingoldſby, they ſuffered more than any others. Upon the whole, we loſt about ſix thouſand men, including many gallant officers. The loſs of the enemy was computed at about eight thouſand. We took ſixteen pieces of cannon, and thirteen colours and ſtandards. The duke gained great honour by the action; but he was once in imminent danger of being routed, had not prince Lewis of Baden arrived with his Imperialiſts in the critical moment to his aſſiſtance,

* Broderick. Life of the Duke of Marlborough. Lamberti, vol. ii.

† Donawert is a city of Germany, on the confines of Suabia, Neuburg, and Bavaria. It ſtands on the Danube, twenty-five miles north of Augſburg, ſeventeen weſt of Neuburg, and forty-four eaſt of Ulm.

in which piece of ſervice he was wounded. The day after this action, the army marched towards Donawert, of which the duke took poſſeſſion, the Bavarian garriſon quitting it upon his approach, after breaking down all the bridges; but they had not time to deſtroy the ammunition and proviſions, as they were ordered to do. The elector of Bavaria hearing of the defeat of his troops, repaſſed the Danube with the utmoſt precipitation, in order to march to the river Leche, leſt the victors ſhould cut off his retreat to his own country. On the fifth of July the confederate army paſſed the Danube over ſeveral bridges of pontoons near Donawert, and encamped at Mertingen, in the elector of Bavaria's country, and the ſixth was obſerved as a thankſgiving in the army for their ſucceſs. Marlborough, not to give the enemy time to recover from their conſternation, immediately ordered his troops to paſs the Leche; whereupon the garriſon of Neuburg abandoned that place, and retired to Ingoldſtadt. Neuburg was immediately ſecured by the confederates; and the enemy having left a ſmall party in Rain *, the ſiege of that town was immediately formed. The elector of Bavaria encamped under the cannon of Augſburg †.

On the thirteenth of July the count de Vehlen, general of the Palatine horſe, arrived in the confederate army from prince Eugene, with advice that the marſhals Villeroi and Tallard, with forty-five thouſand men, had paſſed the Rhine above fort Kehl, in order to join the elector of Bavaria; and therefore his highneſs deſired a reinforcement of horſe to obſerve the enemy's motions. Thereupon prince Maximilian of Hanover was detached with 30 ſquadrons of Imperialiſts as a reinforcement for Eugene. On the 16th the garriſon of Rain capitulated, and were conducted by a party of horſe to the elector of Bavaria's camp; and orders were given for providing magazines at Neuburg and Rain for the ſubſiſtence of the confederate forces. The army then reſumed its march, and on the twenty-third encamped with the right at Wolfurtzhauſen, and the left at Ooſtmaring (the town of Friedberg being in the center of the line) within a league of Augſburg, whereby the elector of Bavaria ſaw all communication with his own country entirely cut off.

The duke of Marlborough having now reduced the elector to the laſt extremity, propoſed very advantageous terms of peace, provided he would abandon the French intereſt and join the Imperialiſts in Italy. The elector ſeemed at firſt inclinable to accept the propoſals, and even agreed to a negotiation, which was in a manner brought to a concluſion; but upon advice that marſhal Tallard had paſſed the Black Foreſt, and was in full march to join him, he ſuddenly receded from the treaty, and declared, that ſince the French king made ſuch powerful efforts to ſupport him, he thought himſelf obliged in honour to remain firm to his alliance. His wretched ſubjects, however, paid dear for this temporizing conduct of their prince. The confederate generals ſo reſented his procedure, that they detached thirty ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons to plunder and burn the country of Bavaria, to the very walls of Munich, its capital.

In the mean time marſhal Tallard, notwithſtanding all the vigilance and precaution of prince Eugene, joined the elector of Bavaria at Biberach, near Ulm, with an army of twenty-two thouſand men, about the end of July; of which the duke of Marlborough having received intelligence, decamped on the fourth of Auguſt from Friedberg, and marched that night to Kippach. The next morning the army continued its route, and went to Hokenwert, where it continued two days; during which time the duke of Marlborough, prince Lewis of Baden, and prince Eugene, held a council of war, in which it was agreed that prince Lewis ſhould beſiege Ingoldſtadt, while the other two were to obſerve the elector of Bavaria. On the eighth the army decamped from Hokenwert, and marched to St. Sanditzell, and on the ninth to Axheim. The ſame day the duke of Marlborough received intelligence that the enemy had paſſed part of their army over the Danube at Dillingen, or Lavingen; upon which the duke gave orders to general Churchill to march with a ſtrong detachment over the Danube at Sconevelt, to reinforce prince Eugene, who lay near Donawert. The whole army followed the next day, and joined the forces of prince Eugene at the camp of Munſter; prince Lewis having by this time marched off towards Ingoldſtadt, which he was to inveſt. On the twelfth of Auguſt the duke and the prince took a view of the enemy, whom they found advantageouſly poſted on a hill near Hochſtet ‡, their right being covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim §, their left by the village of Lutzingen, and their front by a rivulet, the banks of which were ſteep, and the bottom very marſhy. Notwithſtanding this advantageous poſition of the enemy, it was determined in a council of war to attack them before they could fortify themſelves in this poſt, as advices had been received that Villeroy was to march into Wirtemberg to deſtroy that country, and to cut off the communication of the allies with the Rhine, which muſt have been attended with very fatal conſequences to the latter. The ſame night therefore (the twelfth of Auguſt) the duke ordered all the baggage to be ſent towards Donawert, and the army to be ready to march by break of day, which accordingly it did, in nine columns, the Imperialiſts being to the right, and the Engliſh and Dutch on the left. By ſix or ſeven o'clock in the morning of the ever-memorable thirteenth of Auguſt, the allies appeared in ſight of the enemy's camp, where every thing was in profound ſilence, neither Tallard nor Marſin having once

* Rain is a little town in Germany, in the circle of Bavaria, near the Danube and Leche, ſix miles eaſt of Donawert, and nine weſt of Neuburg.

† Conduct of the Ducheſs of Marlborough. Life of Queen Anne. Hiſtory of Europe.

‡ Hochſtet is a pretty large town in Germany, in the circle of Suabia, lying on the north ſide of the Danube; twenty-nine miles ſouth-weſt of Ulm, and ten weſt-by-ſouth of Donawert.

§ Blenheim (or Plentheim) is a village in Germany, in the circle of Bavaria, upon the confines of Suabia. It ſtands on the north ſide of the Danube, and has on the north-eaſt ſide of it a very ſmall rivulet called the Meul-Weyer. It is three miles almoſt eaſt from Hochſtet, nine weſt-ſouth-weſt from Donawert, thirty north-eaſt from Ulm, and thirty-one north-weſt from Augſburg.

imagined that the confederates would have dared to attack them in ſuch a poſition. The appearance of our troops threw them into great confuſion: they fired two pieces of cannon to recal their foraging parties, and alſo ſet fire to ſeveral ſmall villages that lay between the confederate army and theirs. The cannonading began about nine in the morning, and was maintained on both ſides till one in the afternoon.

The French army, including the Bavarians, conſiſted of eighty-two battalions, and one hundred and ſixty ſquadrons; in all, near ſixty thouſand men. Marſhal Tallard commanded the right wing, and the elector, with Marſin, the left. The number of the confederates did not exceed fifty thouſand: their right was led by prince Eugene; their left by the lord Cutts and Orkney, the generals Churchill, Lumley, and Ingoldſby; and the duke of Marlborough took his ſtation in the center, as commander of the whole. Tallard, according to M. de Voltaire, had all the impetuous and ſprightly courage of a Frenchman, with an active and penetrating underſtanding, and a genius fruitful in expedients and reſources; but he laboured under a malady of very dangerous conſequence to a general: his ſight was ſo weak, that he could not diſtinguiſh objects at the diſtance of twenty paces from him; and it has been aſſerted by thoſe who knew him well, that his fiery courage, quite the reverſe of the duke of Marlborough's, growing ſtill warmer in the heat of action, deprived him ſometimes of the neceſſary preſence of mind. This was the firſt time that marſhal Marſin had commanded in chief: with a great deal of wit, and a good underſtanding, he was thought to have had rather the experience of a good officer than that of a general. As to the elector of Bavaria, he was looked upon not only as a great general, but as a valiant and amiable prince; but then he had a greater ſhare of magnanimity than application.

This battle, which proved ſo bloody, and decided the fate of the elector of Bavaria, by the loſs of all his country, began between twelve and one in the afternoon. The allies had a rivulet to croſs before they could attack the enemy, who had guarded it only by three ſquadrons of horſe, under M de Zurlauben, a Bavarian general, who attacked our troops with great vigour and reſolution, and obliged them to give back three times; but this handful of French not being properly ſupported, they were ſoon overpowered by numbers, and obliged to retreat in their turn. The French generals were accuſed of a number of errors in this day's action; one in particular was, their not having taken care to ſend a ſufficient force to diſpute the paſſage of this rivulet againſt the confederates; a miſtake they could never after retrieve. Their artillery, indeed, played very hotly upon our troops, but with very little execution; ſo that, by the help of pontoons and faſcines, they effected their paſſage in the face of the enemy. General Wilkes, at the head of nine battalions of Engliſh and Dutch, attacked the village of Blenheim, to the left of the enemy, and was repulſed, after three ſucceſſive attempts. Mean while the troops in the center, and part of our right wing, having croſſed the rivulet in ſeveral places, formed on the other ſide, without any interruption from the enemy, who remained quiet on the hills of which they were poſſeſſed. Marlborough then attacked Tallard's cavalry: that general, a little before, had rode towards the left wing, to obſerve its diſpoſition. It was no ſmall diſadvantage to Tallard's corps, from the beginning, to be obliged to fight without its general at its head. The corps commanded by the elector and Marſin, had not yet been attacked by prince Eugene: Marlborough began upon the enemy's right wing near an hour before Eugene could come up to the left. As ſoon as marſhal Tallard heard that Marlborough had attacked the wing which he commanded, he immediately poſted thither, where he found a furious action begun. The French cavalry, however, had behaved with ſuch reſolution, that they had put our troops in diſorder, and even obliged part of them to repaſs the rivulet; but a reinforcement of dragoons coming up, the French were broke in their turn, and forced to recoil. The marſhal then went to the village of Blenheim, where he had poſted twenty-ſeven battalions and twelve ſquadrons; and this formed a little detached army, which kept a continual fire on Marlborough's corps, during the whole time he was engaged with Tallard's wing, who, after he had given his orders in this village, haſtened back to the place of action, where the duke, with a body of horſe, and ſome battalions of foot between the ſquadrons, was driving the French cavalry before him.

The cavalry of the left wing of the confederates being now completely formed, aſcended the hill of Lutzingen with amazing intrepidity, charging the enemy's horſe ſo hotly, that, though they rallied ſeveral times, they were at length put to flight. The victorious Marlborough now forced his way between the two bodies of the French army, on one ſide, while on the other his general officers got between the village of Blenheim and Tallard's diviſion, which was alſo ſeparated from the little army in that village. In this deſperate ſituation, marſhal Tallard flew to rally ſome of his broken ſquadrons; but the badneſs of his ſight made him miſtake a ſquadron of the enemy for one of his own, and he was taken priſoner by the Heſſian troops in Engliſh pay, together with the marquis de Montperoux, general of horſe, the majors general de Sepperville, de Silly, de la Valiere, meſſieurs de la Meliſſiere, St. Pouange, de Legendais, and many other officers of diſtinction.

While theſe things were tranſacting in one part of the field, Marſin's quarters, at the village of Oberklau, in the centre, were attacked by ten battalions, under the prince of Holſtein Beck; but before he could form his men on the other ſide, he was overpowered by numbers, deſperately wounded, and taken priſoner. His battalions, however, being ſupported by ſome Daniſh and Hanoverian cavalry, returned to the charge, and were again repulſed. At length the duke of Marlborough in perſon advanced to their relief with ſome freſh ſquadrons from the corps de reſerve, and obliged the enemy to retire.

Prince Eugene had attempted the paſſage of the rivulet at a place where the banks of the ſtream were very ſteep, and the bottom very rough and uneven: the leaſt oppoſition on the part of the enemy muſt have rendered his efforts fruitleſs, and have obliged him to go back; but they made none;

ſo that, being got on the other ſide, he attacked the left wing, commanded by the elector and Marſin, with great vigour. But the imperial horſe behaved on this occaſion in a very bad manner; they were ſo intimidated by the furious fire the French made upon them, that they could not be brought to advance within muſket-ſhot: the Daniſh and Pruſſian troops alſo gave back in the ſame manner; however, at length, being animated by the example of their officers, they took heart, returned to the charge, and exerted themſelves with ſuch vigour, that they at length put the enemy to the rout; and the elector and Marſin, finding it in vain to make farther reſiſtance, abandoned Oberklau and Lutzingen, and were purſued as far as the villages of Morſelingen and Teiſſenhoven, from whence they retired to Dillingen and Lavingen. The rout now became general throughout the French army; every one fled with the greateſt precipitation; and ſo extreme was the terror and confuſion, that officers and ſoldiers ran headlong into the Danube, without knowing whither they were going.

The count du Bourg (afterwards marſhal of France), ſaved a ſmall part of the infantry, by retreating over the marſhes of Hochſtet; but neither he, Marſin, nor any one elſe thought of the little army which ſtill remained in Blenheim, waiting for orders. It conſiſted of twenty-ſeven battalions and twelve ſquadrons, making about eleven thouſand effective men, all the beſt troops of France; and the confederates, being now maſters of the field of battle, ſurrounded Blenheim. It was impoſſible for the French to get out of the narrow ſtreets of a village, and range themſelves in order of battle, in the face of a victorious army, that would have overwhelmed them at once with a ſuperior front, and blown them to atoms with their own artillery, which was all fallen into the hands of the victors. The general officer who commanded theſe troops was the marquis de Clerambault, ſon to the marſhal of that name. On the firſt news of the defeat of the cavalry, and that Tallard was taken priſoner, he abandoned his men, and endeavoured to ſave himſelf by ſwimming acroſs the Danube, but periſhed in the attempt. Marſhal Blanſac then took the command; but, upon the approach of our victorious troops, his courage failed him: he found it was impoſſible to maintain his troops, and thought proper to capitulate; and, about eight o'clock in the evening, ſigned the articles, in conſequence of which the French troops in the village laid down their arms, delivered their colours and ſtandards, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, on condition that the officers ſhould not be rifled.

Thus ended this famous action, which in France is known by the name of the Battle of Hochſtet, and by the Engliſh and Germans called the Battle of Blenheim, and was one of the moſt glorious and complete victories that ever was gained in any war, or by any general. The French army was almoſt entirely cut to pieces; of ſixty thouſand men, who had been ſo long accuſtomed to victory, not above twenty thouſand could be gathered together after the battle. Ten thouſand French and Bavarians were killed upon the ſpot; the greater part of thirty ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons were drowned in the Danube; thirteen thouſand were made priſoners, including twelve hundred officers; one hundred pieces of cannon were taken, with twenty-four mortars, one hundred and twenty-nine colours, one hundred and ſeventy-one ſtandards, ſeventeen pair of kettle-drums, three thouſand ſix hundred tents, thirty-four coaches, three hundred laden mules, two bridges of boats, fifteen pontoons, twenty-four barrels and eight caſks of ſilver. The loſs of the allies amounted to about five thouſand killed, and eight thouſand wounded and taken priſoners *.

The emperor was no ſooner informed of this ſignal victory, which had ſaved his family from impending ruin, than he wrote a letter to the duke of Marlborough, expreſſing his obligations to him, and offering to create him a prince of the empire. The duke declined the honour till he had obtained the conſent of the queen; and this being procured, he was immediately advanced to that high dignity, and Mindelheim was beſtowed on him as his principality; but he was never known by that title, the name of Marlborough being now the moſt noble he could bear.

By the diſperſion of the French army, an open paſſage was left to the allies from the Danube to the Rhine: it was therefore thought moſt adviſeable by the confederate generals, to join all their forces, and drive the enemy entirely out of Germany. Accordingly, prince Lewis of Baden abandoned the ſiege of Ingoldſtadt, and on the 26th day of Auguſt all the forces of the allies began their march under the conduct of the duke of Marlborough, with the princes Eugene and Lewis, by different routes, to the general rendezvous at Bruſchal, near Philipſburg, having firſt left twenty-three battalions and ſome ſquadrons to carry on the ſiege of Ulm † under general Thungen. The duke alſo took care to ſend marſhal Tallard under a guard of dragoons to Franckfort, and diſpoſed of all the other priſoners of diſtinction in the adjacent places. He alſo ordered a detachment to take poſſeſſion of Augſburg, which the French garriſon had evacuated. After a few days ſpent at Bruſchal in order to refreſh the troops, it was determined in a council of war, that prince Lewis of Baden ſhould undertake the ſiege of Landau, in order to ſecure the circle of Suabia from the incurſions of that garriſon. This is ſaid to have been a meaſure propoſed and warmly inſiſted on by the prince of Baden, who was jealous of the glory Marlborough might acquire ſhould he, purſuing the advantage he had already gained, drive the enemy again before him. Marlborough,

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* Burnet. Hiſtory of Queen Anne. Life of the duke of Marlborough. Broderick. Voltaire.

† Ulm is an imperial city and ſovereign ſtate of Suabia in Germany, ſituated on the weſt ſide of the Danube, which here begins to be navigable, after receiving the Lauter and Beaw, oppoſite to the mouth of the Iller. It is governed by its own magiſtrates, who are all Lutherans, as are moſt of the inhabitants. It is a large populous city, with regular fortifications and deep ditches, but not able to ſuſtain a long ſiege; is a place of good trade, and its artiſts excel in clock-work and hard-ware. It lies thirty-ſix miles weſt of Augſburg.

though

though ſenſible that nothing could be more impolitic than this meaſure, which gave the foe time for recollection and recruiting their forces, conſented to the propoſal, and even ſubmitted to cover the ſiege while prince Lewis carried it on; for which purpoſe he and prince Eugene encamped at Croon Weiſſenburg, in the neighbourhood of Landau, which was inveſted about the middle of September; by which time news arrived in the camp that Ulm had ſurrendered to Thungen, on the firſt appearance of that general before its walls. In the place were found two hundred and twenty-two pieces of braſs cannon, twenty-two braſs mortars, one thouſand two hundred barrels of powder, with a conſiderable quantity of proviſions; all of which were extremely ſerviceable to thoſe employed in the ſiege of Landau. While the duke of Marlborough lay covering the operations of prince Lewis with his army, marechal Villeroy approached with his army as if he intended to attack the confederates in their entrenchments; but this proved to be a mere bravado; for after having lain a few days in ſight, he thought proper to retire without making the leaſt attempt to relieve the place, which continued to make a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, till the twenty-third day of November, when the beſiegers, having made ſome advantageous lodgments, and the breaches being rendered practicable, the garriſon capitulated, in order to prevent the fatal conſequences of a general aſſault, and were indulged with honourable terms. Joſeph, king of the Romans, the emperor's eldeſt ſon, had arrived ſome time before in the camp of the confederates, that he might have the credit of taking the place; but his behaviour was not ſuch as to give any favourable impreſſion either of his courage or underſtanding. He was ſeldom ſeen in any poſt of danger, and was continually ſurrounded by his prieſts and confeſſors, who ſeemed to have engroſſed his whole confidence and affection. He was, however, commendable in beſtowing the government of the place on the count de Frize, who had before defended it with great courage and ability *.

After the precipitate retreat of Villeroy, the duke of Marlborough having nothing to apprehend from that quarter, and the ſiege of Landau being drawn out to a great length, his grace, without waiting for the end of it, advanced with a part of the army to the Saar, ſurprized Treves, poſſeſſed himſelf of other proper poſts for erecting magazines, and opening the next campaign with the ſiege of Saar-Louis; after which he cauſed Traerbach to be inveſted by the prince of Heſſe-Caſſel; and though the place was ſtrongly fortified and well defended; the attacks were carried on with ſuch vigour and reſolution, that in about ſix weeks the garriſon ſurrendered on honourable terms. On the tenth of November the king of the Romans concluded a treaty with the electreſs of Bavaria, whereby ſhe was to ſurrender all the towns in Bavaria to his imperial majeſty, her electoral highneſs being permitted to remain in Munich with a guard of four hundred men, and to be allowed a yearly penſion out of the revenue of the electorate, for the ſupport of her court and family. The operations of this year's campaign in Germany being concluded by the ſurrender of Landau, the duke of Marlborough repaired to Berlin, where he contracted for a reinforcement of eight thouſand Pruſſians, to ſerve under prince Eugene in Italy during the enſuing campaign. Thence he proceeded to the court of Hanover, and ſo on to the Hague, where he was congratulated by the States-general on his victories at Schellenberg and Blenheim, and treated with as much conſideration and reſpect as if he had been actually the ſtadtholder. In December he embarked for England, where he was received by all ranks of people with thoſe demonſtrations of joy and gratitude which his important ſervices ſo well deſerved †.

In Flanders very little paſſed worthy notice this campaign, except the bombardment of Bruges and Namur by baron Spaar with nine thouſand Dutch troops, and two attacks upon the French lines by M. d'Auverquerque, who actually forced them, though he was not able to maintain the footing he had gained. The elector of Bavaria, who after his defeat had retired to Bruſſels, aſſembled all his forces, with a view to ſurprize the Dutch general; but he was diſſuaded from this hazardous enterprize by marechal Villeroy, who repreſented in the ſtrongeſt terms the fatal conſequences that would inevitably enſue in caſe of a repulſe.

In Italy the French were greatly ſuperior to the duke of Savoy, who was obliged to be inactive, and ſee Vendoſme reduce Vercelli and Ivrea. The French afterwards made themſelves maſters of the valley of Aoſta, whereby his royal highneſs's communication with Germany by the way of Switzerland was entirely cut off; and on the fourteenth of October the duke of Vendoſme laid ſiege to Verrua, a ſtrong fortreſs, ſituated on the other ſide of the Po, between Caſal and Turin. It held out five months againſt all the efforts of the French general, the duke of Savoy having poſted his little army on the other ſide of the Po at Creſcentino, where he had a bridge of communication, by which he ſupplied the place occaſionally with freſh proviſions; but at length the communication being cut off, the duke of Savoy retired to Chivas, and Verrua ſurrendered to the enemy. The duke of Savoy complained greatly of having been abandoned by his allies on this occaſion; and indeed the emperor had greatly neglected Italy, that he might act with more vigour againſt Ragotſki and the Hungarian malcontents, over whom he had gained ſeveral advantages; notwithſtanding which, they continued very formidable. In the ſummer of this year a treaty had been ſet on foot between Leopold and them, under the mediation of the Engliſh and Dutch, who ſent their miniſters into Hungary for that purpoſe; but after much time had been ſpent in treaties, the war was renewed on that ſide; and the troops which had been promiſed to the duke of Savoy, to aſſiſt him againſt the French, were ordered into Hungary, and the burthen of the war in Italy thrown upon the Engliſh and Dutch ‡.

I ſhall now proceed to take a view of the meaſures proſecuted by our court in ſupport of the intereſts of the archduke of Auſtria, whom the allies had determined to ſet upon the throne of Spain, in oppoſition to the French king, who had already placed his grandſon the duke of Anjou in that ſo-

* Broderick. Burnet. † Burnet. Life of the duke of Marlborough. ‡ Burnet. Lamberti.

vereignty,

vereignty, by the name of Philip V. The reader may remember that I left the archduke, whom we muſt now call Charles III. (for by that title he was recognized by the confederates) at the Hague, concerting with the Dutch and the duke of Marlborough the moſt ſuitable ſteps to be taken for aſſerting his claim. On the twenty-third of December of the preceding year, his catholic majeſty arrived at Spithead, and the next day the duke of Somerſet, maſter of the horſe to the queen, waited on him on ſhip-board with a letter of compliment from her majeſty, and acquainted him that ſhe expected to ſee him at Windſor. The next day Charles landed and went to Petworth, a ſeat of the duke of Somerſet in Suſſex, where the prince of Denmark was come to receive him, and they were both ſplendidly entertained there by the duke that evening. On December 29, his Catholic majeſty and the prince ſet out for Windſor, where they arrived about ſeven at night. His majeſty was received by the queen at the head of the grand ſtair-caſe. Having made his compliments, he thanked the queen for her generous aſſiſtance; and having led her majeſty into her chamber, ſhe preſented ſeveral ladies of the firſt quality to him, who had each of them the honour of a kiſs from his royal lips; then the prince waited on his majeſty to the apartment prepared for him. His majeſty ſupped that night with the queen and prince, the queen giving him the right hand at table, and the prince ſitting at the end. While the king was at Windſor, the Spaniſh merchants attended him to wiſh him ſucceſs, deſired his protection, and were graciouſly received by him.

His Catholic majeſty being very deſirous of proſecuting his voyage to Liſbon, ſet out on the thirty-firſt of December for Portſmouth, and the next day went on board admiral Rooke in the Royal Catherine at Spithead. The Dutch ſquadron arriving in that road on the fifth of January, 1704, the combined fleet ſet ſail for Portugal, having on board a body of land forces under the duke of Schomberg. When admiral Rooke had almoſt reached Cape Finiſterre, he was driven back by a ſtorm to Spithead, where he was obliged to remain till the middle of February; then being favoured with a fair wind, he happily performed the voyage to Liſbon, arriving there on the twenty-fifth of February; and after ten days had been ſpent in adjuſting the ceremonial, the king of Portugal came on board the Engliſh admiral in perſon, with moſt of the royal family, to conduct his Catholic majeſty to ſhore, where he was received with great ſplendor, though the court of Portugal was then overſpread with ſorrow for the death of the Infanta, whom the king of Spain intended to eſpouſe. Among other debates in relation to the ceremony of receiving the king of Spain, there was one which deſerves particular notice, and that was in relation to our flag, which I ſhall tranſcribe from the account publiſhed by authority. The king of Portugal deſired, that upon his coming on board the admiral's ſhip in his veſſel of ſtate, and ſtriking his ſtandard, the Engliſh flag might be ſtruck at the ſame time; and that when his Catholic majeſty, with himſelf, ſhould go off from the ſhip, his ſtandard ſhould be hoiſted, and the admiral's flag continue ſtruck till they were on ſhore. This propoſition was made from the king of Portugal by the king of Spain. To which the admiral replied, that his majeſty, ſo long as he ſhould be on board, might command the flag to be ſtruck when he pleaſed; but that whenever he left the ſhip, he himſelf was admiral, and obliged to execute his commiſſion, by immediately hoiſting his flag. This, and ſome other reaſons, ſatisfied the king of Spain, as well as his Portugueze majeſty, ſo that the flag of England was no longer ſtruck than the ſtandard of Portugal.

Notwithſtanding the exterior civility and friendſhip which the court of Portugal affected to diſplay towards king Charles, that prince ſoon found little or no preparations to ſupport his intereſt, or to open the campaign with vigour. The Portugueze miniſtry were ſecretly friends to the French; the people being led entirely by their prieſts, had an invincible averſion to thoſe they called heretics. Another misfortune was, that the duke of Schomberg was on ill terms with Fagel, the Dutch general, and both of them were envied by the Portugueze officers, who had prevailed on their king not to ſuffer the Engliſh and Dutch to command their own forces, or act in a body, but to diſtribute them into his little paltry towns that were not tenable. The king of Portugal had promiſed to enter Spain with Charles by the middle of May, but he was not ready till the middle of June, when they reached Santareno. Here they publiſhed their reſpective manifeſto's, Charles diſplaying his title to the crown of Spain, and offering his pardon to all his ſubjects who ſhould in three months join his army and the king of Portugal, declaring that his ſole intention in taking up arms was to reſtore the liberty of the Spaniſh nation, oppreſſed by the power of France, and to aſſert the right of his Catholic majeſty Charles III. to that monarchy, unjuſtly uſurped from him by the duke of Anjou. The duke of Anjou, however, the preſent poſſeſſor, took care in the mean time to anticipate the deſigns of his competitor, and the powers who ſupported him.

The duke of Berwick, who had engaged in the ſervice of Philip, and ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an able general (tho' he had paſſed elſewhere for a man of a very middling military genius) entered Portugal in the beginning of May, and took the town of Segura by ſurprize, and ſo intimidated the governor of Salvaterra, that he delivered up that place without making any defence. Cebreros was next reduced, with very little oppoſition. Zebredo was quitted by its inhabitants, and the town of Ihana la Viella was taken by ſtorm. At the ſame time the marquis de Jeoffreville, prince Tſerclaes de Tilly, and the marquis de Villadarias, were ſent with three ſeparate bodies of troops, to invade Portugal in as many different quarters, while the duke of Berwick laid ſiege to Sovreira Formoſa, defended by two battalions of Dutch, who were compelled to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. The duke then paſſed the Tagus *, and joined prince Tſerclaes. King Philip arriving ſoon after in

* Tagus, now Tago, is the largeſt river of Spain, riſing on the confines of Arragon, from whence it deſcends from the mountains of Molina, and, running ſouth-weſt through the midſt of New Caſtile and Eſtremadura, paſſes by the cities of Aranjuez,

in the army, laid ſiege to Portalegre, and the garriſon, including an Engliſh regiment of foot, commanded by colonel Stanhope, were taken in the place. Philip next proceeded to inveſt Caſtel-Davide, which gave him very little trouble in the reduction. On the other hand, the marquis das Minas, the Portugueze general, penetrated into Spain with fifteen thouſand men, and took Fuente Grimaldo in Caſtile by ſtorm, routed a body of French and Spaniards commanded by Don Ronquillo, and made himſelf maſter of Manſeinto. It being now the latter end of June, and the weather growing exceeding ſultry, Philip ſent his troops into quarters of refreſhment; and not thinking it poſſible to preſerve all his conqueſts, ordered his troops to abandon them, except Marvan and Salvaterra, and to raze the walls of Portalegre, Caſtel Davide, and ſome other towns. The allies followed the example of Philip, by putting their troops under covert from the prevailing heats.

The ſucceſs of the enemy gave no ſmall uneaſineſs to the Engliſh court; and duke Schomberg finding his advice diſregarded by the Portugueze, and foreſeeing very little honour or ſucceſs from the ſervice in which he was engaged, deſired leave to reſign his commiſſion, which was granted, and the earl of Galway was ſent over to ſucceed him, with a reinforcement of eight thouſand Dutch, who arrived at Liſbon in the beginning of Auguſt. About a month after, the earl having reviewed the Portugueſe and auxiliary forces, marched them over the river Coa, and encamped near Almeyda. Thither king Charles and his Portugueze majeſty repaired on the twentieth of September, with a deſign to penetrate into Caſtile; but they found the river Agueda ſo ſtrongly defended by the enemy, that the paſſage was not to be effected: they therefore returned back into Portugal, and in the beginning of October ſent the army into winter-quarters. The Spaniards on their ſide were now ſo weakened by ſending off detachments to the ſuccour of Gibraltar, inveſted by the allies this ſummer, that they were not in a capacity to undertake any thing of importance during the remaining part of the campaign *.

In Poland the war was ſtill carried on between young Charles of Sweden and Auguſtus, with unremitting fury and animoſity. Charles, whoſe army lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Dantzick, had found means to engage cardinal Radjouſki, archbiſhop of Gneſna, and primate of Poland, in his intereſt. By the intrigues of this prelate a diet was aſſembled at Warſaw, which ſolemnly depoſed Auguſtus, and declared the throne vacant. The intention of Charles and the primate was to have ſet the crown on the head of young Sobieſki, ſon of their late monarch. This prince was then at Breſlau in Sileſia, waiting with impatience for this event. While he was one day hunting, a few leagues from the place of his reſidence, in company with prince Conſtantine, one of his brothers, thirty Saxon horſemen, ſent privately by king Auguſtus, iſſued ſuddenly from a neighbouring wood, ſurrounded the two princes, and carried them off without reſiſtance to Dreſden, where they were committed to cloſe cuſtody. By this ſtroke Auguſtus diſconcerted the meaſures of Charles, the cardinal, and the aſſembly of Warſaw. Fortune, who delights alike to ſport with crowned heads as with the humbleſt of her ſubjects, expoſed Auguſtus almoſt at the ſame time to the danger of being taken himſelf. He was at table three leagues from Cracow (the capital of Poland) relying upon an advanced guard which was poſted at ſome diſtance, when all on a ſudden Renſchild, one of Charles's generals, appeared with a ſtrong party, after having ſurprized the guard. The king of Poland had but juſt time to get on horſeback, with eight or ten of his officers. General Renſchild, who purſued him for four days, was upon the point of ſeizing him every moment; and it was only by good fortune that he eſcaped †.

Our operations at ſea during the courſe of this year next demand our attention; and we ſhall ſee, that the Engliſh arms in that element fell very little ſhort of the ſucceſs with which they had been crowned by land. Sir George Rooke, after having landed king Charles at Liſbon, cruized for ſome time with the confederate fleet on the coaſt of Portugal, and then returned into the Tagus, where he was preſſed by king Charles to execute a deſign upon Barcelona, projected by the prince of Heſſe d'Armſtadt, who declared his opinion that the Catalonians would declare for the houſe of Auſtria, as ſoon as they ſhould be aſſured of proper protection and ſupport. The admiral accordingly took the prince on board, with whom he ſailed on the twentieth of Auguſt to Barcelona. In the mean time, the Engliſh miniſtry received advice that the French were very buſy in fitting out a great ſquadron at Breſt, which alarmed us much; and it was reſolved to equip, with the utmoſt expedition, a good fleet, which was put under the command of ſir Cloudeſley Shovel, admiral of the white, who had under him ſir Stafford Fairborne, vice-admiral of the red, and George Byng, eſq. then rear-admiral of the ſame ſquadron Sir Cloudeſley was directed, if he found the Breſt ſquadron already ſailed, to call a council of war, in order to judge what ſtrength might be neceſſary to ſend to ſir George Rooke; and if it amounted to twenty-two ſhips, then he was to ſail with them himſelf, that our fleet might at all events be ſuperior to that of the enemy. Sir Cloudeſley executed his inſtructions punctually; and finding that a great ſtrength was neceſſary in the Mediterranean to oppoſe the French, he ſailed thither about the latter end of May ‡.

On the eighteenth of that month ſir George Rooke appeared before the city of Barcelona, when a prieſt, and ſome others of the inhabitants, came on board, and informed the prince of Heſſe and the admiral, that if ſome few forces were landed, and a few bombs thrown into the town, the Catalonians would declare for Charles III. and open their gates to him. Upon this ſome Dutch ketches were ordered cloſe in ſhore, who during the whole night threw ſhells into the place,

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Aranjuez, Toledo, and Alcantara; and then croſſing Portugal with the ſame courſe, forms the harbour of Liſbon, where it is about three miles wide, and falls into the Atlantic Ocean at Caſcaes, eight or ten miles below that city.

* Hiſtory of Europe. Tindal. Lamberti.
† Voltaire's Hiſtory of Charles XII. of Sweden.
‡ Lives of Admirals. Burchet. Oldmixon.

and the next morning early the prince of Heſſe landed his troops, to the number of about two thouſand men, who remained aſhore all that day and the enſuing night; but the prince finding no diſpoſition in the inhabitants to ſtir in his favour, notwithſtanding the bombs had done conſiderable execution on the town, his highneſs thought proper to reimbark the men, from an apprehenſion of their being attacked by a ſuperior force. On the twenty-firſt of May the fleet left Barcelona, and ſteered for the iſles of Hieres. In their paſſage they deſcried a large French ſquadron, which was ſailing towards Toulon, and was no other than that which had been diſpatched from Breſt. Sir George Rooke immediately gave chace; but their ſhips being cleaner than ours, outſailed us, and got ſafe into Toulon; upon which the admiral proceeded for Liſbon, in order to wait for a reinforcement. On the fourteenth of June our fleet ſailed through the Streights mouth, and two days after was joined by ſir Cloudeſley Shovel with his ſquadron off Lagos. A council of war was then called, in order to conſider what ſervice ſhould be proceeded on, when it was reſolved to ſteer up the Mediterranean in queſt of the French fleet. After cruizing for near a month, without ſeeing any thing of them, on the ſeventeenth of July the admiral called a council of war in the road of Tetuan *, wherein it was reſolved to make a ſudden attempt upon Gibraltar †, which was known to be but ſlenderly provided with a garriſon.

Thither the fleet accordingly bent its courſe, and on the twenty-firſt got into that bay. At three o'clock in the afternoon the mariners, Engliſh and Dutch, to the number of one thouſand eight hundred, with the prince of Heſſe at the head of them, were put on ſhore on the neck of land to the northward of the town, to cut off all communication with the country. Having taken poſt there, his highneſs ſent a ſummons to the governor to ſurrender the place; who anſwered, that he would defend it to the laſt extremity. Next day the admiral gave the ſignal for cannonading the town, which was performed with ſuch vigour, that fifteen thouſand ſhot were expended in five hours. In the mean time, to amuſe the enemy, captain Whitaker was ſent in with ſome boats, who burnt a French privateer of twelve guns in the old mole-head. By this time the admiral perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the ſouth mole-head by the fire from our ſhips; and conſidering that if we could poſſeſs ourſelves of theſe works, the town muſt be taken of courſe; he ordered all the boats of the fleet to be manned and armed, and gave the command of them to captain Whitaker, with orders to attempt to make himſelf maſter of theſe works: but while Whitaker was preparing to execute theſe orders, captain Hicks of the Yarmouth, and captain Jumper, who lay next the mole, puſhed on ſhore in their pinnaces, and ſome other boats; whereupon the Spaniards immediately ſprung a mine, which blew up all the fortifications upon the mole, killed two lieutenants, with about forty men, and wounded about ſixty. Nevertheleſs the ſeamen kept poſſeſſion of the great platform till captain Whitaker landed with the reſt of the boats, who, with the ſeamen under his command, quickly made himſelf maſter of a redoubt between the mole and the town, and turned the cannon he found therein againſt the enemy. The admiral then ſent a letter to the governor, and at the ſame time a meſſenger to the prince of Heſſe, deſiring that general to ſend a peremptory ſummons, which his highneſs accordingly did; in conſequence of which, on the twenty-fourth in the morning, the governor capitulated, and the prince of Heſſe took poſſeſſion of the place. Upon this occaſion it is but doing juſtice to our brave ſeamen to obſerve, that as this deſign was entirely contrived by the admiral, ſo it was executed entirely by the ſailors, and therefore the whole honour is due to them. After having left as many men with the prince of Heſſe as could be ſpared for the defence of this conqueſt, the fleet ſailed to Tetuan, in order to take in wood and water.

This account of the taking of Gibraltar is inſerted from that publiſhed by the government. Biſhop Burnet in his Hiſtory has indeed given a different turn to the affair, in which, with a partiality inexcuſable in any writer, and ſtill more in a divine, and that divine giving in his hiſtory upon oath, he has endeavoured to make our enterprize, undertaken on the moſt mature advice, and conducted with the greateſt ſkill and bravery, together with the ſucceſs that attended it, to be the effect of pure chance. Rooke, ſays he, *fell in* upon Gibraltar; from which no one would imagine that a counicil of war had actually been called on board the admiral's own ſhip at Tetuan harbour, and a reſolution taken there by the general officers of both nations to attack the place, as the fact really was. In ſhort, according to this right reverend hiſtorian, every thing ſucceeded by accident. The reader however is to be informed, that Rooke was a Tory, and the biſhop had taken an utter averſion to all of that party ‡. But to return:

* Tetuan is a walled town of Habat, in the empire of Morocco in Africa, ſituated on the Cus, juſt within the Streights of Gibraltar, and about three miles from the ſea.

† Gibraltar is a celebrated town and fortreſs of Andaluſia in Spain, by the Moors called Gebel Tarif, i. e. Mount Tarif, a Mooriſh general who, in the eighth century, landed here with three African princes, whence its preſent name ſeems to be compounded. It lies on the ſtreight between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean, to which it gives its name. The town, which is neither large nor beautiful, ſtands at the foot of Mount Calpe, one of Hercules's pillars, and about ſixteen miles north of Ceuta, the other, in Africa. On account of its fortifications, it is looked upon as the key of Spain, and is furniſhed with all the neceſſary artillery for its defence. It is built on a rock in a peninſula, and acceſſible only on the land ſide, by a narrow paſſage between the rock and the ſea, acroſs which the Spaniards have drawn a fortified line, in order to prevent the garriſon of Gibraltar from having any intercourſe with the country; yet they carry on a clandeſtine trade. The harbour is formed by a bulwark properly fortified: The ſtreight of Gibraltar is twenty-four miles in length, and fifteen in breadth, and through it ſets a ſtrong current from the Atlantic and the Mediterranean; for ſtemming of which a briſk gale is required. The garriſon is confined within very narrow limits, the ground of which hardly produces any thing; ſo that they have all their proviſions from England and Ceuta, on the Barbary coaſt. The road is not ſafe either againſt enemies or ſtorms. Since ſeveral notorious oppreſſions have been committed by the governors of Gibraltar, this town has been erected into a body corporate, and the civil power lodged in its magiſtrates. It lies forty miles ſouth-weſt of Cadiz, and eighty ſouth of Seville. Buſching.

‡ His lordſhip in his account is pleaſed to introduce the following circumſtance; That after the admiral had bombarded the town to very little purpoſe, and with little hopes of ſucceſs, ſome bold men ventured to go aſhore in a place where it was not thought poſſible to climb up the rocks; and yet they ſucceeded in it; and when they had got up, they ſaw that all the women of the town were come out according to their ſuperſtition, to a chapel, there to implore the Virgin's protection. They ſeized on them, and that contributed not a little to diſpoſe thoſe in the town to ſurrender.

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The fleet being ſupplied with proviſions, ſailed again into the Mediterranean, and on the eleventh of Auguſt got ſight of the French fleet, which ſir George purſued with all the ſail he could make. On the thirteenth, which was Sunday, he came within three leagues of them, to the weſtward of Cape Malaga, where they brought to, formed their line, and lay ready to receive him. Their line conſiſted of fifty-two ſhips, and twenty-four gallies: they were very ſtrong in the center, and weaker in the van and rear: to ſupply which, moſt of the gallies were divided into thoſe quarters. In the center was the count de Thouloufe, with the white ſquadron; in the van, the white and blue; and in the rear, the blue: each admiral had his vice and rear-admiral. Our line conſiſted of fifty-three ſhips, the admiral ſir George Rooke, with the rear-admirals Byng and Dilkes, being in the centre. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel and ſir John Leake led the van, and the Dutch formed the rear.

The action began about ten in the morning, when the van and rear, commanded by Shovel and the Dutch admiral Callembergh, immediately preſſed forward to a cloſe engagement, and ſoon compelled that part of the French line with which they were engaged to give way; but the center of the French bore extremely hard upon Rooke's diviſion: the fight however was maintained with great obſtinacy till night, when the French bore away to leeward, their diſabled ſhips being taken in tow by the gallies. The wind ſhifting in the night, the enemy got the weather-gage; but their fleet and ours lay by all day within three leagues of each other, repairing their defects, and at night they again made ſail to the northward. Sir George Rooke endeavoured the two next days to renew the fight, but the French as earneſtly evaded it, and at laſt made all the ſail they could, and fairly ran for it. This plainly ſhews that the victory was ours, notwithſtanding that the French, according to their old cuſtom, claimed the honour of the day; and Lewis XIV. wrote a letter to the archbiſhop of Paris affirming this, and directing Te Deum to be ſung on the occaſion: and however Burnet and other writers, to anſwer purpoſes, have affected to treat this action as of very little conſequence, and not to be mentioned with the other ſucceſſes gained by the duke of Marlborough; yet if we conſider the great diſadvantages under which the admiral engaged the French fleet, and that they were ſo beaten, that their grand fleet durſt not venture a battle in that element during the remainder of the war, it certainly may be ſaid, without exaggeration, that the battle of Malaga decided the empire of the ſea, and left to us and the Dutch the indiſputable claim to the title of MARITIME POWERS *. The loſs ſuſtained by each ſide in this action may be found at the bottom of the page †.

After the battle ſir George Rooke ſailed to Gibraltar to refit; and leaving a ſquadron of eighteen ſhips under ſir John Leake, ſet ſail for England, where he arrived in the month of September, when her majeſty, to ſhew the true ſenſe ſhe had of the ſervice performed by the fleet under his command this ſummer, thought proper that his royal highneſs prince George, lord high-admiral, ſhould introduce to her majeſty ſuch of the officers who had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves, when ſhe was pleaſed to confer the honour of knighthood on George Byng and Thomas Dilkes, eſqrs. rear-admirals, and captain John Jennings, commander of the St. George, a ſecond-rate.

As ſoon as the news of the loſs of Gibraltar reached the court of Spain, Philip, the reigning king, ſent the marquis of Villadarias with an army to releaſe it. He inveſted the place on the twenty-fourth of October. The ſiege laſted four months; during which the prince of Heſſe diſplayed many ſhining proofs of courage, conduct, and capacity, in its defence. The garriſon was ſupplied with men and proviſions from the ſquadron under ſir John Leake; but that admiral being obliged to ſail to Liſbon for freſh ſuccours, monſieur de Pointis, the French admiral, came out of Cadiz with thirteen men of war, and blocked up Gibraltar on the ſide next the ſea, whereby the town was reduced to the laſt extremity until ſir John, returning thither again, ſurpriſed de Pointis with his ſquadron in the bay, of whom he took three, and ran two of the largeſt ſhips on ſhore, which the enemy quitted after having ſet fire to them; and the beſiegers, after having loſt the beſt part of their army by ſickneſs and the ſword, thought fit to raiſe the ſiege on the tenth of March, leaving only a detachment of their forces at ſome diſtance to block up the place ‡.

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* Campbell's Lives of Admirals, who thus enumerates the advantages the French fleet had over ours: firſt, Their ſhips were bigger; they had ſeventeen three-deck ſhips, and we had but ſeven. Secondly, they had a great advantage in their weight of metal, for they had ſix hundred guns more than we. Thirdly, they were clean ſhips, juſt come out of port, whereas ours had been long at ſea, and had done hard ſervice. Fourthly, they had the aſſiſtance of their gallies; and how great an advantage this was will appear from hence, that about the middle of the fight the French admiral ordered a ſeventy gun ſhip to board the Monk, a ſixty gun ſhip of ours, commanded by captain Mighells, which ſhe did, and was beat off three times; and after every repulſe, ſhe had her wounded men taken off, and her complement reſtored by the gallies. Fifthly, the French fleet was thoroughly provided with ammunition, which was ſo much wanted in ours, that ſeveral ſhips were towed out of the line, becauſe they had not powder nor ball ſufficient for a ſingle broad-ſide. Campbell. Burchet.

† Of the Engliſh were killed and wounded two thouſand three hundred and fifty-eight, and of the Dutch four hundred. Sir Andrew Leake, captain of the Grafton; captain Coe of the Ranelagh; lieutenant Jennings of the St. George; the third lieutenant of the Shrewſbury, and the firſt lieutenant of the Lenox, were all the officers of their rank that were killed. Captain Myngs, captain Baker, captain Kirton, captain Jumper, captain Myghels, lieutenant Ediſburg, and lieutenant Leſtock, were wounded; as were two lieutenants of the Barfleur, and the chaplain; ſeven or eight lieutenants more, three maſters, and about as many boatſwains and carpenters.

On the French ſide were killed the Bailey of Lorraine, commodore of a ſquadron, and the count de Thouloufe's ſecond; five captains, of which three were knights; a commiſſary of marines, ſix lieutenants, and five ſea-enſigns. Among the latter, the marſhal de Chateaurenault's ſon, and the ſieur de Bollem Villers, the count de Thouloufe's gentleman: the count himſelf was wounded in the forehead, ſhoulder, and thigh: the count de Relingues had his leg ſhot off: the marquis de Herhault, intendant of the fleet; monſieur du Caſſe, commodore of a ſquadron; monſieur de Chateaurenault, the count de Phelipaux, the count de Cominges, monſieur de Valincourt, the count de Thouloufe's ſecretary, ſeven captains, eight lieutenants, and about one hundred and fifty other officers, were wounded.

‡ Burnet. Oldmixon. Burchet. Hiſtoire Militaire par le Marq. de Quincy, tom. iv. p. 450, &c.

After this view of foreign tranſactions, it is time to return to domeſtic occurrences.

On the twenty-fourth of October the parliament met, and the ſeſſion was opened with a ſpeech from the throne, in which her majeſty obſerved, that the great and remarkable ſucceſs with which God had bleſſed her arms, produced unanimous joy and ſatisfaction through all parts of the kingdom; and that a timely improvement of the preſent advantages would enable her to procure a laſting foundation of ſecurity for England, as well as a firm ſupport for the liberty of Europe: ſhe declared, that her intention was to be kind and indulgent to all her ſubjects; ſhe expreſſed her hope that they would do nothing to endanger the loſs of this opportunity, and that there would be no contention among them, but who ſhould do moſt for the public welfare: "Such a temper as this (added ſhe) in all your proceedings, cannot fail of ſecuring your reputation both at home and abroad: this would make me an happy queen, whoſe endeavours ſhall never be wanting to make you a happy and flouriſhing people."

The next day the lords attended her majeſty with an addreſs of thanks for her ſpeech, in which they congratulated her on the great and glorious ſucceſs of her arms, under the command of the duke of Marlborough, without taking any notice of ſir George Rooke.

The commons, in their addreſs preſented the ſame day, congratulated her majeſty "as well upon the victory obtained by ſir George Rooke, as upon that obtained by the duke of Marlborough." The different ſpirit of the two houſes may be gathered from the different wording of their addreſſes. They alſo aſſured her, they came diſpoſed to do every thing that was neceſſary for the effectual proſecution of the war, and that they would give ſuch a ſpeedy diſpatch to the public buſineſs as might enable her majeſty to purſue the advantages ſhe had obtained over the common enemy; that they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours, by all proper meaſures, to prevent all diviſions among themſelves, and diſpute only who ſhould moſt contribute to the welfare of the nation, both in church and ſtate †.

The commons taking into conſideration the ſervices of the army and navy, by an unanimous vote, on the ſecond of November, deſired the queen, in an addreſs, "to beſtow her bounty upon the ſeamen and land-forces who had behaved themſelves ſo gallantly:" upon which her majeſty gave directions accordingly, for diſtributing a bounty amongſt them. After this they deliberated upon the different articles of national expence, and ſhewed ſuch zeal and application in ſupporting the war by neceſſary ſupplies, that before the end of November the ſupplies requiſite for maintaining both the army and navy were voted; and on the ninth of December the bill for the ſame received the royal aſſent, when the queen, in a ſhort ſpeech, thanked the commons for their diſpatch, which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe conſidered as a ſure pledge of their affection ‡.

The high-church party, who had ſtill the paſſing the occaſional-conformity bill greatly at heart, now cauſed it to be revived and brought into the houſe of commons, on a new model, by Mr. William Bromley, who made a long ſpeech in ſupport of it, wherein he urged, that the practice of occaſional conformity was ſuch a ſcandalous hypocriſy, as was not to be excuſed by any pretence; that the employing perſons of a different religion from that eſtabliſhed by law, had never been practiſed by any wiſe government, and was not allowed even in Holland, the country of univerſal toleration; and obſerved, that this law, ſo neceſſary, having been twice refuſed in the houſe of lords, the only way to have it paſs, was to tack it to the money-bill, and therefore he made a motion in form for ſo doing, which occaſioned a warm debate; however, upon better conſideration, the commons ſent it up ſingly, on the fourteenth of November, when it would hardly have excited a debate, had not the queen been preſent, and deſirous of hearing what could be ſaid on both ſides of the queſtion. For the information and ſatisfaction of her majeſty, the ſubject was again diſcuſſed, and all the arguments for and againſt being repeated, the bill was rejected by a majority of 21 voices, the majority increaſing nine this year beyond the laſt: this was thought to have been owing to the too indiſcreet behaviour and ſpeeches of the nonjurors and Roman catholics while the bill was depending in the lower houſe.

By this time the lords were engaged in an affair which made no leſs noiſe than the conformity bill, I mean the debates on the late conduct in the Scot-

† Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 392.

‡ The ſums granted for the above purpoſes were as follow: For maintaining forty thouſand ſeamen, including eight thouſand marines, four pounds per man a month, for thirteen months, amounting to two hundred and eighty thouſand pounds. For the ordinary of the navy one hundred thouſand pounds, and forty thouſand pounds for ordnance ſtores for the ſea-ſervice, over and above the proportion of four pounds a man. For making a wharf and ſtore-houſe at Portſmouth, ten thouſand pounds. For forty thouſand landmen to act in conjunction with the allies, eight hundred eighty-five thouſand one hundred and ninety-three pounds. For ten thouſand additional forces for the ſame ſervice, one hundred ſeventy-ſeven thouſand five hundred and eleven pounds. For maintaining ten thouſand men to act in conjunction with the Portugueze, two hundred twenty-two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-nine pounds. For her majeſty's proportion of ſubſidies to her allies, three hundred and ſeventy thouſand one hundred and nineteen pounds. For her majeſty's ſubſidy to the duke of Savoy, from October 3, to December 25, 1703, forty thouſand pounds. For levy-money for recruiting the horſes of the Engliſh horſe and dragoons loſt at Schellenberg and Blenheim, ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-five pounds. For recruiting the men and horſes of the foreigners in her majeſty's pay in the ſame battles, twenty-four thouſand ſix hundred ſixty-five pounds. For an additional regiment on the Portugueze eſtabliſhment, five thouſand one hundred and thirty-ſix pounds. For ſurgeons in the hoſpital in Portugal for the year 1704, two hundred and forty-four pounds. For expences in the Portugal war laſt year not provided for by parliament, ſixty-eight thouſand five hundred and forty-ſix pounds. For guards and garriſons in England, three hundred and fifty-ſeven thouſand pounds. For the ordnance of the land-ſervice, one hundred and twenty-thouſand pounds. For tranſports, ſixty thouſand pounds. For circulating Exchequer-bills, four thouſand pounds. And for five thouſand additional forces to be raiſed in conjunction with our allies to ſerve with the fleet, for their levy-money, eleven thouſand two hundred and forty-four pounds: for their pay for one year, eighty-ſeven thouſand one hundred and twenty-five pounds. In all, four millions ſix hundred and ſeventy thouſand four hundred and eighty-ſix pounds. Towards the raiſing whereof was granted a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound, which produced about two millions; the duty upon malt, which might raiſe about eight hundred thouſand pounds, and three thouſand ſeven hundred pounds a week out of the Exciſe; eight hundred ſeventy-ſeven thouſand nine hundred and thirty pounds by ſale of annuities for ninety-nine years, at fifteen years purchaſe; a ſubſidy on wines and merchandizes for four years, as a fund for raiſing ſix hundred forty-ſix thouſand nine hundred and fifty-ſeven pounds for the uſe of the navy; and the duty on low wines continued.

tiſh parliament. The lord Haverſham having acquainted the peers, that he had matters of great importance to lay before them, but that he deſired it ſhould be in a full houſe; all the lords in town and in the neighbourhood thereof, were ſummoned to attend three days after, when his lordſhip made a ſet ſpeech, wherein having congratulated the lords on the duke of Marlborough's victories, and upon ſir George Rooke's deliverance as he called it, he took notice of a ſquadron of Dutch ſhips being called away, juſt before the battle of Malaga ‖, to be a convoy to their merchants, while neither the Engliſh trade or coaſt were protected, but the enemy inſulted us even in the Channel, while we vainly boaſted of being miſtreſs of the ſeas. He alſo mentioned as a grievance, the exportation of our corn; but the chief purport of his ſpeech was to fix an odium upon the miniſtry for ſuffering the act of ſecurity to paſs in Scotland.

He obſerved on this ſubject, "that the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion of Scotland had been poſtponed, partly becauſe the miniſtry for that kingdom were weak and divided, partly from a received opinion, that the ſucceſſion was never ſeriouſly and cordially intended by thoſe who managed the affairs of Scotland in the cabinet-council: he expatiated on the bad conſequences that might attend the act of ſecurity, which he ſtyled a Bill of Excluſion; for, ſaid he, can any reaſonable man believe, that thoſe who promoted that bill, could ever be really friends to the ſucceſſion as ſettled by the Engliſh parliament? He particularly mentioned that clauſe by which the heritors and burghs were ordered to exerciſe their fencible men every month: he ſaid, the nobility and gentry of Scotland were as learned and brave as any nation in Europe, and that theſe were generally diſcontented; the common people, he ſaid, were very numerous, very ſtout, and very poor; and aſked, who was the man that could tell what ſuch a multitude, ſo armed and ſo diſciplined, might do under ſuch leaders, ſhould they find opportunities ſuitable to their intention? Beſides, added this noble peer, I look upon it as of the laſt conſequence to England, that there ſhould not be the leaſt ſhadow or pretence of a neceſſity to keep up a regular ſtanding army in this kingdom, in time of peace. He then recommended theſe circumſtances to the conſideration of the houſe, and concluded with theſe words of lord Bacon, "Let men beware how they neglect or ſuffer matter of trouble to be prepared, for no man can forbid the ſparks that may ſet all on fire §."

Theſe matters were afterwards debated with ſome warmth in both houſes, and a majority in each ſeemed to fall in with lord Haverſham's ſentiments. The queen began this winter to come to the houſe of peers upon any important debates, as well for the ſake of her own inſtruction as to reſtrain the too great heat of the different parties by her preſence. The earl of Nottingham, in a ſpeech he made upon this ſubject, caſt ſuch ſevere reflections on the memory of king William, that he would have been ſent to the Tower, had not the lords declined ſuch a ſtep out of reſpect to her majeſty. After much declamation, in which the miniſtry were very ſeverely handled, and as warmly defended, the lords came to the following reſolutions: "That, to prevent the inconveniences that might happen by the late act paſſed in Scotland, the queen might be enabled, on the part of England, to name commiſſioners to treat about an entire union with Scotland, provided that thoſe powers be not put in execution till commiſſioners ſhould be firſt named on the part of Scotland, by the parliament there*: that no Scotſman ſhould enjoy the privileges of an Engliſhman, except ſuch as were ſettled in England, Ireland, and the Plantations, and ſuch as were or might be in the ſea or land ſervice, until an union could be effected, or the ſucceſſion ſettled as in England †: that the traffic of cattle from Scotland to England ſhould be ſtopped ‡: that orders ſhould be iſſued for ſeizing ſuch veſſels as ſhould be found trading from Scotland to France, or to the ports of any of her majeſty's enemies; and that cruiſers be appointed for that end ‖; and that the exportation of Engliſh wool into Scotland be prohibited §." On theſe reſolutions a bill was formed for an entire union, and paſſed the upper houſe on the twentieth of December. In the mean time the lords preſented an addreſs to the queen, requeſting that her majeſty would be pleaſed to give orders for the fortifying Newcaſtle, Tinmouth, Berwick, Carliſle, and Hull; that the militia of the four northern counties might be diſciplined and provided with arms; that a competent number of regular troops might be kept in the northern borders of England, and in the north of Ireland; and that the laws for diſarming the papiſts might be put in execution. The queen, in her anſwer, promiſed that a ſurvey ſhould be made of the places mentioned, and laid before the parliament, and that ſhe would give the neceſſary directions upon other articles of the addreſs ¶.

Complaints being daily made of the miſmanagement both at the board of the prince of Denmark's council, as lord high-admiral, and at ſea, their lordſhips proceeded to take the ſame under their conſideration; and, having made the proper enquiries, preſented an addreſs to her majeſty, ſetting forth, that leſs money had been paid to the ſervice of the navy than had been provided for that purpoſe, whereby the navy-debt was increaſed a million of money and upwards, ſince the year 1702; that more than fifteen hundred men were wanting of the laſt year's complement of ſeamen provided for by parliament; that too large ſalaries were given to the prince's council and other officers. Hereupon his highneſs's council laid before her majeſty an anſwer to all theſe objections, ſhewing particularly that the funds given for the navy had fallen ſhort near one million two hundred thouſand pounds, which was the cauſe of the increaſe of that debt. Here I cannot forbear making an obſervation on the public ſpirit of parliaments in this queen's reign: if they gave in one ſeſſion, they

‖ While the combined fleet lay to take in wood and water at Tetuan, after the taking of Gibraltar, the Dutch admiral, Callembergh, ſent a flag-officer and ſix ſhips home to take care of their trade. Burchet.

§ Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, iii. Burnet. Tindal.

* This was ſuggeſted by the lord Wharton.

† This by lord Halifax.

‡ This by lord Ferrers.

‖ This by the earl of Torrington.

§ This by lord Mohun.

¶ Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, iii.

enquired

enquired in the next; and it is impoſſible to mention any remarkable expedition within the firſt ſix years, which was not examined and cleared up by ſuch enquiries; by this means the people ſaw and knew what they were doing, which encouraged them to pay chearfully, at the ſame time that it put them upon endeavouring to acquire by induſtry, what might maintain them happily, notwithſtanding theſe large but neceſſary expences. To proceed.

The commons having, in a grand committee, conſidered the ſtate of the nation with regard to Scotland, reſolved, on the eleventh of January, "that a bill be brought in, to enable her majeſty to appoint commiſſioners to treat of an union with Scotland; that the natives of Scotland, not already ſettled, and continually reſiding in the dominions of England, ſhall be reputed aliens, unleſs Scotland ſhall come into the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover; that more effectual proviſion be made for preventing the exportation of wool into Scotland †; that a ſtop be put to the importation of Scotch linen; that immediate proviſion be made to prevent the conveying horſes, arms, and ammunition, from England and Ireland into Scotland:" purſuant to which reſolutions a bill was brought in, and paſſed both houſes in a few days.

The duke of Marlborough being now returned home, he had the thanks both of the lords and commons for his great ſervices; and the lower houſe preſented an addreſs to the queen, intreating her to conſider of ſome proper means to perpetuate the memory of ſuch noble actions. In a few days, viz. on the ſeventeenth of January, 1705, the queen returned an anſwer by the chancellor of the Exchequer, in which ſhe acquainted the houſe, that ſhe was inclined to grant the intereſt of the crown in the honour and manor of Woodſtock and hundred of Wooton, to the duke of Marlborough and his heirs; and that as the lieutenancy and rangerſhip of the parks, with the rents and profits of the manors and hundreds, were already granted for two lives, ſhe judged it proper to remove that incumbrance, and deſired the aſſiſtance of the houſe therein. In conſequence of this intimation a bill was prepared, enabling her majeſty to beſtow theſe honours and manors on the duke and his heirs, and deſiring her to advance the money to clear the incumbrances. The queen not only complied with this addreſs, but alſo ordered the comptroller of the board of works to build, in Woodſtock park, a magnificent palace for the duke, to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of Blenheim Houſe, where the famous battle, from whence it takes its name, is repreſented in moſt curious paintings and tapeſtry: the ſtructure, which was the deſign of ſir John Vanbrugh, is thought, by moſt judges of architecture, to have more of grandeur and ſolidity, than of propriety and elegance.

Such were the honours and rewards heaped upon the duke of Marlborough, all which the world were ſatisfied he had juſtly merited; but his grace's glory and influence were now arrived to ſuch a pitch, that the bare mentioning the merit of another was held a ſufficient reaſon to lay that man aſide. The univerſity of Oxford had ſent an addreſs to her majeſty, congratulating the ſucceſs of her arms in Germany, under the admirable conduct and invincible courage of the duke of Marlborough; and at ſea under the moſt brave and faithful admiral ſir George Rooke. The latter part of this addreſs gave umbrage to the queen, as it ſeemed to raiſe the admiral upon a level with the general, whoſe great victories had captivated her admiration, and whoſe wife had alienated her affection from the Tories; her majeſty therefore returned a cool anſwer to the addreſs, and ſoon after ſir George Rooke, without the leaſt demerit on his ſide, was diſmiſſed from his command, and permitted to retire to his ſeat in Kent, without any reward for a long ſeries of eminent ſervices. The command of the fleet was beſtowed on ſir Cloudeſley Shovel, declared rear-admiral of England; ſir John Leake was appointed vice-admiral of the white; ſir George Byng, vice-admiral of the blue; ſir Thomas Dilkes, rear-admiral of the red; William Whetſtone, eſq. rear-admiral of the white; and ſir John Jennings was made an admiral in the room of ſir James Wiſhart, rear-admiral of the blue, who laid down his commiſſion at that time.

The duke of Marlborough having brought over with him marſhal Tallard, with the other French generals and officers taken at Hochſtet ‡, they were immediately conveyed to Nottingham and Litchfield, where they were attended by a detachment of the royal regiment of horſe-guards, were treated with great reſpect, and allowed the privilege of riding ten miles round the places of their confinement.

On the eighth of February the houſe of commons took into conſideration the treaty which the duke of Marlborough had concluded with the king of Pruſſia, for taking eight thouſand of his troops into Engliſh pay to ſerve in Savoy; and unanimouſly reſolved, that an humble addreſs be preſented to her majeſty, returning the thanks of the houſe to her majeſty for concluding the ſaid treaty, which was ſo ſeaſonable a ſupport to the duke of Savoy, and ſo great an advantage to the common cauſe; and alſo to aſſure her majeſty, that they would effectually enable her to make good the ſaid treaty. They alſo farther addreſſed her to continue her endeavours for an accommodation between the emperor and his ſubjects, now in arms in Hungary, in order for the better and more effectual carrying on the preſent and moſt neceſſary war: they likewiſe took notice, how very deficient the allies were in furniſhing their reſpective quotas towards the

† The Scottiſh parliament had paſſed an act for exporting their wool the laſt ſeſſion, only to ſpoil the woollen manufacture, which our miniſtry had weakly or treacherouſly ſuffered to receive the royal aſſent, as well as the act of ſecurity.

‡ There were, beſides the marſhal, the marquis de Montperoux, general of the horſe; the count de Blanzac, lieutenant-general; the marquis de Hautefeuville, general of dragoons; the marquis de Valleſame, the marquis de Sapperville, the marquis de Silly, the chevalier de Croiſſy, the marquis de la Valiere, major generals; monſieur de St. Second, brigadier; the marquis de Vaſſe, colonel of dragoons; the marquis de Marivaux, lieutenant-general; monſieur de la Meſſiliere, monſieur Jolly, monſieur d'Amigny, brigadiers; monſieur de St. Maurice, the count de Lionne, the marquis de Laſſey, the baron d'Elſt, monſieur de Balincourt, monſieur de Saalveboeuf, monſieur de Montenay, monſieur de Gallort, monſieur de Creſſey, colonels of foot; monſieur de Ligondais, the baron de Heyder, colonels of horſe; monſieur de Priſc, and monſieur d'Aurival, colonels of dragoons.

war, as well by ſea as land; and beſought her majeſty to uſe her intereſt with them, that they might next year furniſh their complete proportion, according to their reſpective treaties: to all which the queen returned complying anſwers.

The remaining part of this ſeſſion was conſumed in diſputes and altercations between the two houſes on the Ayleſbury affair, which was now brought on the carpet again. John Petty, John Ovrat, John Paton, Henry Baſs, and Daniel Horn, inhabitants of that borough, encouraged by the countenance the houſe of peers had given Aſhby to ſue White, and the reſt of the conſtables of Ayleſbury, for refuſing his vote, ventured alſo to lay their ſeveral actions againſt the ſaid conſtables on the latter account; whereupon the five complainants were committed to Newgate, by order of the houſe of commons, for proſecuting their action at common law contrary to the declaration of that houſe formerly made. The priſoners moved for an habeas corpus in the court of Queen's-bench, but that court refuſed to take cognizance of the affair. Two of them now endeavoured to bring their writs of error returnable in parliament, which occaſioned great heats between the two houſes, and ſeveral repreſentations to her majeſty; the lords addreſſing that the writs of error in that court might be granted, and the commons inſiſting they might not. The principal matter in diſpute was the ſame as in Aſhby's caſe, viz. Whether an elector's vote being refuſed by the proper officer empowered to take the poll, he might not bring an action at law againſt ſuch offender? or, Whether ſuch elector's right to vote could be determined any where but in the houſe of commons? I ſhall not detain the reader by a repetition of the arguments uſed by each ſide in ſupport of their different opinions, as I have already touched upon this matter in my account of the tranſactions of laſt ſeſſion; but ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that the lords firſt had a conference, and then a free conference with the commons, about the principal points in this affair; but neither ſide being willing to recede in any part from the principles they had adopted, and the diſputes beginning to threaten ſerious conſequences, the queen thought it moſt adviſeable to put a ſtop to the contention between the two houſes, by immediately cloſing the ſeſſion. Accordingly, repairing to the houſe of peers on the fourteenth of March, the deputy uſher of the black rod was ſent to ſummon the commons to attend her majeſty in the upper houſe, where ſhe paſſed the bills that were ready for the royal aſſent; and then having in a ſhort ſpeech thanked the parliament for the zeal and diſpatch with which they had provided for the exigences of government, and warned them to avoid the fatal effects of animoſity and diſſenſion, ſhe commanded the lord keeper to prorogue the parliament to Thurſday the firſt of May; but on the fifth of April it was diſſolved by proclamation, and another was publiſhed for calling a new parliament, this being upon the point of expiring according to the triennial act.

Beſides the acts already mentioned, the following bills received the royal aſſent this ſeſſion:

I. An act to prevent the exportation of Iriſh linen to the plantations, and to prohibit the importation of Scotch linen into Ireland. By the ſtatute of the fifteenth of Charles II. "For the encouragement of trade, ſtiled by way of eminence, The Act of Navigation, it was enacted, That no merchandize of any part of Europe ſhall be imported into any part of Aſia, Africa, or America belonging to his majeſty but what ſhall be laden from England, except as therein excepted." The act before us ſo far repeals the ſame, as to permit the exportation of Iriſh linen cloth to the Engliſh plantations in Engliſh built ſhipping, navigated according to law; "foraſmuch, ſaith the preamble, as the proteſtant intereſt in Ireland ought to be ſupported by giving the utmoſt encouragement to the linen manufactures of that kingdom." * The linen manufacture of Ireland was then, and in a great meaſure ſince is principally carried on in the province of Ulſter, and parts adjacent, where the Proteſtants are by far the majority of the people; but in moſt other parts of that kingdom it is well known to be otherwiſe.

II. An act for giving remedy on promiſſory notes, making them aſſignable by endorſement, in like ſort as was enacted on inland bills of exchange, Anno 1698, ninth of king William. And whereas in the ſaid act of the ninth of king William there is no proviſion made for proteſting *inland* bills of exchange, in caſe the party on whom ſuch bill, or bills, ſhall be drawn refuſes to accept the ſame, it was now hereby enacted, "That *inland* bills of exchange ſhall be underwritten for acceptance, and proteſted for non-acceptance, as well as for non-payment, in like ſort as *foreign* bills of exchange." ‡ It is ſomewhat ſtrange that two ſuch ſalutary and important regulations as this law hath made in promiſſory notes, and inland bills of exchange, were not ſooner enacted in a country of ſuch conſiderable mercantile tranſactions as England has long been famed for. But to ſay the truth, which many have remarked, our national ſlowneſs in reforming abuſes and defects, ſeems but too well grounded. This law was made perpetual by the ſeventh of queen Anne, cap. xxv.

III. An act "for encouraging the importation of naval ſtores from her majeſty's plantations in America." The neceſſity which all maritime trading nations, and eſpecially England, lie under of being ſupplied with naval ſtores, has often put it in the power of the northern crowns to diſtreſs ſuch nations who had none of their own. This evidently appeared in the year 1703 from the tar company of Sweden, who abſolutely refuſed to let us have any pitch or tar, (although ready money was always paid for it) unleſs we would permit it all to be brought in Swediſh ſhipping, and at their own price, and likewiſe only in ſuch quantities as that company ſhould think proper. This diſappointment put the government and parliament on the method of allowing bounties for raiſing of pitch and tar, hemp and flax, and ſhip-timber in our own North American colonies, particularly in Carolina, and gave riſe to this act, whereby it is enacted, "that whoever ſhall in ſhips, and with ſailors qualified as by the Act of Navigation, import from the Engliſh plantations in America the under-mentioned naval ſtores, ſhall be entitled to the following bounties, viz. for tar and pitch per

* See ſtatutes 3 & 4 Annæ Regin. cap. viii. ‡ Ibid. cap. xix.

ton, of eight barrels, four pounds ſterling; for rozin and turpentine per ton three pounds; for hemp per ton, of twenty hundred weight, ſix pounds; for all maſts, yards, and bowſprits, per ton, of forty feet each ton, one pound. This act to be in force for nine years, from the firſt of January 1705, old ſtyle.*" The good conſequence of which ſeaſonable law was ſoon after felt, and ſtill continues to be every day more manifeſt, for the ſaid colonies do at this time import into England great quantities of merchantable pitch and tar fit for moſt uſes in the navy, and which may in time be probably brought to ſerve for all uſes, ſo as to render us abſolutely independent on Sweden for ſuch two moſt neceſſary articles. Of late alſo good hemp and flax are raiſed in theſe colonies, where there are immenſe tracts of proper and excellent lands for raiſing thoſe commodities, of which, according to Mr. Gee (in his ingenious book of the Trade and Navigation of Great Britain conſidered) Ruſſia did, ſo late as the year 1729, export annually to Britain and other nations to the value of one million ſterling.

IV. An act to prohibit all trade and commerce with France. It is ſomewhat remarkable that, notwithſtanding the ſeveral addreſſes and repreſentations of the lords and commons to the throne againſt the Dutch for trading with France during the war, that people had ſuch intereſt with our miniſtry at this time (probably through the friendly offices of the duke of Marlborough), that they obtained an order of council, by which the ſhips of the States, that had proper paſſes, ſhould not be moleſted by the commanders of her majeſty's ſhips in their trade with France, and this at the very time that all trade and commerce with that country was ſtrictly forbidden to our own ſubjects! It was indeed alleged in defence of this meaſure, that as we were then about to open a free trade with Spain, this would be an equivalent in our favour; but it will clearly appear that this was no more than a ſpecious pretence for conniving at the Dutch, for we never propoſed to trade to any place that was not under the dominion of king Charles, and he was not then poſſeſſed of a foot of land in Spain, except Gibraltar. Beſides, when we had a trade in thoſe ports that were afterwards in king Charles's poſſeſſion, the Dutch had the ſame privilege of trading thither as ourſelves; nor does there appear any reaſon why they ſhould have been indulged in the French trade on account of our trading with Spain.

V. An act to prevent all correſpondence with her majeſty's enemies. By this act "whoever had paſſed into France after the fourth of May, in the firſt year of the queen, or had borne arms in the French ſervice, and ſhould return into the queen's dominions after the twenty-fifth of March 1705, without licence, was declared guilty of high-treaſon †."

I need not, I believe, apologize to my readers for the particular notice I have taken of the above acts, which, on account of their importance to the commercial intereſts of this kingdom, deſerve ſome degree of attention. I ſhall now proceed in the track of my hiſtory.

The queen, upon the diſſolution of the late parliament, wherein Toryiſm prevailed in the houſe of commons, made ſeveral promotions and changes in favour of the Whigs; this was brought about chiefly by the influence of the ducheſs of Marlborough and of the duke her huſband, who had now mutually abandoned the Tory intereſt. The duke of Newcaſtle was made lord privy-ſeal, in the room of the duke of Buckingham; and Charles earl of Peterborough, and Hugh lord Cholmondeley, were ſworn of the privy-council; the earl of Montague was made duke of that name; lord Cutts was appointed commander of her majeſty's forces in Ireland, under the duke of Ormond; and the following promotion of general officers took place, viz. brigadier Frederick Hamilton, the lord Windſor, the lord Raby, and brigadier Ravenſworth, were made major-generals; and the honourable colonel Mordaunt, colonel Brood, and colonel Stanhope, were made brigadier-generals.

The queen about this time went to Newmarket, where ſhe was attended by the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, Dr. Ellis, and the heads of that univerſity, who gave her majeſty an invitation to Cambridge, which ſhe was graciouſly pleaſed to accept, and was magnificently entertained on the ſixteenth of June, at the charge of the univerſity, in Trinity-college. On this occaſion her majeſty beſtowed the honour of knighthood on Mr James Montagu, council for the univerſity, and the famous Mr. Iſaac Newton, mathematical profeſſor. In the mean time, the whole nation was in a ferment, on account of the elections for the new parliament, both parties exerting their utmoſt efforts to diſpoſe the minds of the people in their favour. On the other hand, ſeveral counties and corporations thought fit to give inſtructions to their new repreſentatives as to their behaviour in the enſuing parliament, which generally ran in the Whig ſtrain, and were thought to have been procured by the miniſtry.

In the beginning of May this year count Gallas, envoy-extraordinary from the imperial court, received advice of the death of his maſter the emperor Leopold V. who died on the fifth of May, and was ſucceeded by Joſeph, king of the Romans, his eldeſt ſon. The envoy had orders to aſſure her majeſty, that the new emperor would not only obſerve all the treaties concluded with his predeceſſor, but would omit nothing that might render thoſe alliances more firm. Some time after the earl of Sunderland was ſent envoy-extraordinary from her majeſty to the emperor Joſeph, with compliments of condolance on the death of his father, and of congratulation on his imperial majeſty's acceſſion to the throne, with orders to ſignify at the ſame time her majeſty's reſolution to abide invariably by the league ſubſiſting between the Imperial and Britiſh courts.

Before I proceed to relate the progreſs of the war in the year 1705, I ſhall take a ſhort ſurvey of the proceedings of the parliaments in Ireland and Scotland, beginning in order of time.

The Iriſh parliament met at Dublin on the fifth day of March, 1704 5, according to the ridiculous ſtyle then in uſe, when the heats which had for

* Stat. 3 & 4 Annæ Reg. cap. x.

† Stat. 3 & 4 Annæ Reg. cap. xii.

ſome time ſubſiſted among the proteſtants there, and had been connived at by the miniſtry, were revived; and ſome of the high-church clergy, who had been preferred to benefices in that kingdom from England, were very buſy in raiſing the ſame fury againſt the diſſenters that had prevailed on this ſide the water. Soon after the opening of the ſeſſion, a diſpute aroſe between the commons and the lower houſe of convocation, occaſioned by the latter offering a memorial againſt the paſſing a bill for the improvement of the hempen and flaxen manufactures of the kingdom, wherein was a clauſe to aſcertain the tythes of hemp and flax. After ſome altercation, in which the convocation juſtified their memorial, the commons came to the following warm reſolutions: That the convocation were guilty of a contempt and breach of privilege of the houſe; that all matters relating to the memorial ſhould be razed out of the Journals and books of convocation; and that the perſon who preſented the ſaid memorial was guilty of a breach of privilege, and ſhould be taken into cuſtody. The commons proceeding ſtill farther, came to ſome reſolutions that reflected obliquely on the convocation, as enemies to her majeſty's government and the proteſtant ſucceſſion: whereupon the clergy in convocation paſſed ſome reſolves, which contain a ſhort, but ſtrong, apology for their body againſt the inſinuations of their adverſaries. The ſubſtance of theſe reſolutions was as follows, viz.

"That the church and nation had been happily delivered from popery and tyranny by his late majeſty king William III. of bleſſed memory, by means of the Revolution.

"That the continuance of theſe bleſſings were due, under God, to the auſpicious reign and happy government of her majeſty queen Anne.

"That if any clergyman ſhould, by word or writing, declare any thing in oppoſition to theſe reſolutions, they ſhould look upon him as a ſower of diviſions among the proteſtants, and an enemy to the conſtitution.

"That to teach or preach againſt the doctrine, government, rites, or ceremonies of the church; or to maintain ſchools or ſeminaries for the education of youth in principles contrary to thoſe of the eſtabliſhed church, was a contempt of the eccleſiaſtical laws of the kingdom, of pernicious conſequence, and ſerved only to continue and widen the unhappy ſchiſms and diviſions in the nation." This reſolve was plainly levelled againſt the preſbyterians.

Theſe feuds, however, did not prevent the due diſpatch of the public ſupplies: one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds were voted for the ſupport of the neceſſary branches of the eſtabliſhment; and ſeveral bills being ready for the royal aſſent, the duke of Ormond went to the houſe of lords with the uſual ſolemnity, on the ſixteenth of June, and paſſed them, after which the parliament was prorogued for one year; and his grace having viſited ſeveral of the fortified towns with able engineers, and given orders for ſuch repairs and additional works as were wanted, embarked for England, leaving the adminiſtration of the government of Ireland in the hands of ſir Richard Cox, lord-chancellor, and of the lord Cutts, commander in chief of her majeſty's forces in that kingdom, who were appointed lords-juſtices during his grace's abſence *.

The Iriſh ſeſſion being thus finiſhed, the Scottiſh parliament met a few days after, viz. on the twenty-eighth of June. The miniſtry of that kingdom had by this time undergone a great change: the Engliſh miniſtry finding how much they had been cenſured upon account of the act of ſecurity which they had connived at, reſolved to purſue ſuch meaſures as might reinſtate them in the favour of the public, and with that view ſet all their powers to work to get the proteſtant ſucceſſion ſettled in Scotland, or to procure an union of the two kingdoms. The marquis of Tweddale and ſecretary Johnſon were now laid aſide, and the management of affairs again intruſted to the duke of Queenſberry, under the title of lord privy-ſeal; and the office of high-commiſſioner was conferred upon the young duke of Argyll, who ſucceeded to his father's influence among the preſbyterians, with inſtructions to bring about the points propoſed by the Engliſh miniſtry.

At the opening of the ſeſſion the members were divided into three parties, namely, the Cavaliers or Jacobites, the Revolutioniſts, and the *Squadrone Volante*, or Flying Squadron: this latter conſiſted of diſcarded courtiers, who diſclaimed all connection with the other two parties, and pretended to hold the balance between them. The marquis of Tweddale was at the ead of this faction, and had with him the earls of Rothes, Roxburgh, Haddington, and Marchmont. Biſhop Burnet tells us, that they were in great credit with the people of Scotland, on account of their pretending to act from dictates of conſcience only. Their number, he ſays, was between twenty and thirty †. The Cavaliers, or Antirevolutioniſts, were headed by duke Hamilton; Queenſberry, Argyll, Annandale, and their friends, headed the Revolutioniſts, or zealous preſbyterians.

Many members being abſent at the opening of the ſeſſion, the lord-commiſſioner adjourned the parliament to the third of July, when being met again, the queen's letter was read to the aſſembly, wherein her majeſty expreſſed herſelf to the following purport: That at their laſt meeting ſhe recommended to them, with the greateſt earneſtneſs, the ſettling of the ſucceſſion of that her ancient kingdom in the proteſtant line; and ſeveral things having ſince happened which ſhewed the great inconveniency of that matter continuing in ſuſpence, ſhe could not but at preſent moſt ſeriouſly renew the recommendation of that ſettlement, as being convinced of the growing neceſſity thereof, both for the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, and the peace and ſafety of all her dominions, and for defeating the deſigns and attempts of all her enemies; and to prevent any objections to the ſaid ſettlement, that could be ſuggeſted from the views or fears of future inconveniencies that might happen to that her kingdom from thence, ſhe ſhould be ready to give the royal aſſent to ſuch proviſions and reſtrictions as ſhould be found neceſſary and reaſonable in ſuch a caſe; and therefore ſhe muſt ſtill leave

* Burnet. Hiſtory of Europe. Tindal. † Burnet, ii. 460.

it upon them, as moſt neceſſary for all the ends already mentioned, that they go to the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion before all other buſineſs.

"She was fully ſatisfied, ſhe ſaid, and doubted not but they were, that great benefits would ariſe to all her ſubjects, by an union of Scotland and England, and that nothing would contribute more to the compoſing of differences, and extinguiſhing the heats that were unhappily raiſed and fomented by the enemies of both nations, than the promoting of every thing that tended to the procuring of the ſame; therefore ſhe heartily recommended them to paſs an act for a commiſſion to ſet a treaty on foot between the kingdoms, as the parliament of England had done, for effectuating what was ſo deſirable, and for ſuch other matters and things as might be judged proper for her honour, and the good and advantage of both kingdoms for ever, in which ſhe ſhould moſt heartily give her beſt aſſiſtance." The reſt being matter of form, I ſhall paſs it over. This letter was backed by a ſpeech of the duke of Argyll, the high-commiſſioner, and by another from the lord-chancellor.

Many matters of conſiderable moment were taken into conſideration by this parliament, ſuch as the ſtate of the commerce and coin of the kingdom, the eſtabliſhing a paper-credit, by circulating of bills, &c. but they all came to nothing. The affair of nominating a ſucceſſor being taken into deliberation, duke Hamilton propoſed, that the parliament ſhould not proceed upon that matter until the treaty with England ſhould be diſcuſſed, and the limitations be ſettled: upon which it was put to the vote, Whether to go firſt upon the conſiderations of a treaty of union with England, or upon limitations? but it was carried for limitations. At length, however, the draught of an addreſs to her majeſty, ſetting forth the reaſons why the parliament could not proceed to an act for a treaty with England, was offered by Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun, and was to this effect: "That the act lately paſſed in the parliament of England containing a propoſal for a treaty of union of the two kingdoms, is made in ſuch injurious terms to the honour and intereſt of the Scottiſh nation, that the parliament could by no means comply with it: but that out of the great ſenſe they had of the duty they owed to her majeſty, they declared that they ſhould always be ready to comply with any ſuch propoſal from the parliament of England, whenever it ſhall be made in terms as are no ways diſhonourable or diſadvantageous to the nation or people of Scotland."

A very hot debate enſued hereupon; but at length the parliament proceeded to the act for a treaty with England, when the duke of Hamilton, to the ſurprize of his whole party, moved that the nomination of the commiſſioners ſhould be left to the queen. This gave riſe to a ſtill more vehement altercation; but at length the queſtion being put, Whether the nomination ſhould be left to the queen, or the parliament? the duke's motion was approved by a ſmall majority, and an act for treating about the union was paſſed; but it was provided, that they ſhould not commence ſuch treaty until the clauſe in the Engliſh act, declaring the ſubjects of Scotland *aliens*, ſhould be reſcinded; ſo that nothing was effectually to be done for uniting the two kingdoms till the Engliſh parliament ſat and made the repeal abovementioned. On this occaſion the duke of Athol entered a rigorous proteſt, to which the greater part of the cavaliers, and all the *ſquadron*, adhered, comprehending twenty-four peers, thirty-ſeven barons, and eighteen boroughs. On the twentieth of December the houſe was adjourned, after having granted a ſupply of fifty thouſand pounds. Not long after the adjournment, the earl of Marr, who during the whole ſeſſion had ſtuck faſt by the court, was declared ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of the marquis of Annandale, who was appointed preſident of the council *.

It is now time to turn from the conſideration of civil affairs to the progreſs of the war in 1705. The duke of Marlborough had long been revolving a ſcheme for improving the victory he had gained at Blenheim; and, after the moſt mature deliberation, no one appeared ſo rational as that of making an impreſſion on the frontiers of France. The Moſelle † was therefore pitched upon as the ſcene of action, and large magazines of all ſorts were formed at Triers. On the thirtieth of March the duke left England, and repaired to the Hague, where he ſoon perſuaded their High Mightineſſes to approve of his project, and even to contribute their troops towards its execution. This point ſettled, he departed for Maeſtricht in order to aſſemble his army; in which he uſed ſuch diligence, that by the latter end of May the troops paſſed the Maeſe, and bent their march towards the Moſelle, under the command of the duke's brother, general Churchill; while his grace ſet out for Raſtadt, to viſit prince Lewis of Baden, where, after a long conſultation, they reſolved that a ſufficient number of German troops ſhould be left for ſecuring the limits of Lauterburg and Stolhoffen, under the command of general Thungen; and that prince Lewis ſhould advance with a large detachment towards the Saar, to act in concert with the duke of Marlborough in forming the ſiege of Saar-Louis (a fortreſs of Lorraine, ſituate on the Saar) the taking of which would have opened a gap into the very bowels of France.

The duke with his troops paſſed the Saar in the beginning of June, and encamped at Elft, in ſight of marſhal Villars, who was encamped in that neighbourhood with a numerous army; but upon the approach of the allies, retreated to Coningſmacheren. As the time was very precious, on account of the great ſcarcity of forage, for want of which the Engliſh and Dutch army could not long ſubſiſt between the Moſelle and the Saar, he ſent frequent expreſſes to quicken the march of the Imperialiſts; but neither his remonſtrances, nor thoſe of the deputies of the States, had any effect. It is true, ſome few imperial troops were detached

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* Burnet. Lockhart. Tindal.

† The Moſelle is a river of Germany, riſing in the Faucillis, one of the Vauge mountains in Lorraine, from whence it runs north through the duchy, and paſſing by Toul, Mentz, and Thionville, to Triers, and afterwards running north-eaſt through the electorate of Triers, loſeth itſelf in the Rhine, near Coblentz. From Mentz it is navigable the whole year. Buſching.

from

from Lauterburg for the Moſelle; but they would march their own way, that is, ſo ſlowly, that inſtead of being on the banks of the Saar on the ninth or tenth of June at the fartheſt, they did not arrive till the twentieth, and there were neither horſes nor artillery provided. Prince Lewis of Baden, who had promiſed to join the duke in perſon, came indeed as far as Creutznach; but then, under a pretence of being taken ill, he went to the baths at Swalbach, leaving the command of the imperial troops to the count de Frize. The prince was ſtrongly ſuſpected of treachery; but it is more probable that the motives of his conduct proceeded from envy of the duke, whoſe military reputation had now eclipſed that of all the other commanders.

While our general met with ſuch a mortifying diſappointment on the Moſelle, the French did not fail to avail themſelves of their ſuperiority in the Netherlands, where monſieur d' Auverquerque was in no condition to oppoſe their progreſs; they inveſted Huy, and carried on their attacks with ſuch vigour, that in leſs than fourteen days the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. Fluſhed with ſucceſs, and encouraged by the abſence of the duke of Marlborough, the elector of Bavaria and marſhal Villeroy undertook the reduction of Liege, and actually began to raiſe batteries before the citadel. When this diſagreeable news reached the allied army, the deputies of the States repreſented to the duke of Marlborough, "that it was impoſſible to ſubſiſt them any longer where they then were; that the Germans having, by their delays, rendered the beſieging of Saar Louis impracticable, and defeated all the projects for a campaign on the Moſelle, it was to no purpoſe to continue any longer in thoſe parts, when their forces might be better employed in the Netherlands for ſtopping the progreſs of the enemy." The duke was but too ſenſible of the truth of this repreſentation, but being willing to remain till the laſt extremity, he did not decamp till the ſeventeenth of June, by which time he found all his hopes vaniſhed; he then marched for the Netherlands by the ſhorteſt way, and the imperial troops, the Pruſſians, and the Wirtembergers, moved towards the Upper Rhine. Marſhal Villars having now no enemy to dread, ſent a detachment to reinforce the elector of Bavaria, and another for the army of marſhal Marſin in Alſace, and advanced with the reſt towards Triers, which the Palatine general abandoned in a moſt diſhonourable manner to the enemy. After which, Villars marched to join monſieur Marſin, and both together drove the Imperialiſts from the lines of Croon Weiſſenburg; and general Thungen could with difficulty maintain himſelf in the lines of Lauterburg.

In the mean while, the duke of Marlborough proſecuted his march with ſo much expedition, that he ſaved Liege; for the enemy, upon the advice of his approach, ſent back their artillery to Namur, and retired in great precipitation to Tongeren. On the other hand, the duke puſhing his ſucceſs, retook Huy, and ſoon made the enemy retire behind their lines, which the duke reſolved to force. The French were poſted along their lines, with near one hundred battalions, and one hundred and forty-ſix ſquadrons. The force of the allies was nearly equal, they having ninety-five battalions, and one hundred and fifty-nine ſquadrons. In order to divide the enemy, it was reſolved to make a falſe motion; and accordingly the army under monſieur d'Auverquerque decamped from Vignamont on the ſeventeenth of July, in the morning, and marched towards Burdine on the other ſide the Mehaigne. Marlborough at the ſame time made a motion as if he intended to ſupport Auverquerque in the attack of the lines about Meſſelin, which was the weakeſt part of them. This feint had the deſired ſucceſs; for the French ſent off large detachments to thoſe parts where they apprehended the greateſt danger; by which they left thoſe on which the duke had a real deſign in a very weak condition. The duke ſaw with pleaſure the enemy give ſo readily into the ſnare he had prepared for them, and the ſame night put his army in march, which was joined by that of M. d'Auverquerque, his army having repaſſed the Mehaigne; and both proceeded with all poſſible expedition to ſupport a detachment which was ordered to attack the enemy's lines about Heyliſhem. The deſign was ſo ſecret, and ſo ſudden in the execution, that the enemy knew nothing of it; and this being the ſtrongeſt part of their lines, was leſs ſuſpected than any other.

The confederate troops paſſed the lines with very little oppoſition, but were afterwards attacked by twenty four ſquadrons of Bavarian horſe, and twenty battalions. This occaſioned a ſharp diſpute; but the horſe and dragoons of the right wing defeated them, and the enemy at length fairly betook themſelves to flight, leaving their ſtandards, colours, and cannon, behind them. All the troops behaved to admiration; and amongſt the horſe the regiment of brigadier Cadogan diſtinguiſhed themſelves, having had the honour to charge firſt: they defeated four ſquadrons of Bavarian guards, drove them through two battalions of their own foot, and took four ſtandards. In this action the confederates took the marquis d'Alegre, and the count de Horne, lieutenant-generals, priſoners; with one major-general, two brigadier-generals, and ſeventy-four other officers. The army marched the ſame day before noon to Tirlemont, the French decamping in our ſight, and paſſed the Geete, breaking down their bridges with ſuch precipitation, that they left fourteen or fifteen hundred men on this ſide, who were taken priſoners, with the battalion of Montluc in Tirlemont. There was little of moment performed the reſt of the campaign in the Netherlands, the Dutch deputies refuſing to concur with a propoſal made by the duke of Marlborough and monſieur Auverquerque, to paſs the river Yſch and attack the French, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſtrong camp of Parck, extending their army in ſuch manner as to cover Bruſſels and Louvain. The duke was not a little chagrined at this timid conduct in the deputies, and wrote an expoſtulatory letter to the States-general on the ſubject, which being made public, occaſioned great uneaſineſs among our own people at home, who foreſaw that ſuch dilatory proceedings would infallibly ſpin out the war to a great length.

About the latter end of October the duke of Marlborough, in conſequence of an invitation from the new emperor Joſeph, ſet out for Vienna, where

he was treated with great reſpect, and concerted with his imperial majeſty the operations of the enſuing campaign. After viſiting the courts of Berlin and Hanover he repaired to the Hague, where the States-general, in order to compenſate for the diſguſt their deputies had given him by their over-caution, agreed to furniſh an additional number of ten thouſand men, as a reinforcement to the army of prince Eugene in Italy. After this his grace took his leave of their High Mightineſſes, and embarking for England, arrived at St. James's on the thirtieth of December *.

With regard to the proceedings of the army on the Upper Rhine, the Imperialiſts did not take the field till Auguſt, when prince Lewis of Baden, now recovered from his indiſpoſition, arrived in the camp at Stolhoffen. Marſhal Villars had a little before paſſed the Rhine at Straſburg, which obliged general Thungen to do the like with the Imperialiſts. Prince Lewis having taken a review of the army, reſolved to advance and attack Villars, but the latter thought proper to retreat; and the French abandoned Haguenau, and ſome other places of no great importance. After which the Germans formed the blockade of Fort Lewis, and thus the campaign ended on that ſide, without any conſiderable action.

In Italy prince Eugene made ſeveral attempts to join the duke of Savoy this campaign, but was not able to effect it, through the vigilance and attention of the duke of Vendoſme. At length his royal highneſs, underſtanding that the duke of Savoy was reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs, having now but a ſmall army of twelve thouſand men, and no conſiderable territories left, and that even Turin, his capital city, was threatened with a ſiege, reſolved to make a bold puſh to get to his aſſiſtance. Accordingly, he tried to divide the French army, by ſending a ſtrong detachment towards the Adda: the ſcheme took. The duke of Vendoſme immediately marched with good part of his troops to watch the motions of this detachment, while prince Eugene in the mean time advanced to attack the body commanded by the grand prior; but Vendoſme having notice of his deſign before he had marched to too great a diſtance, returned and joined his brother; whereupon there happened a ſharp engagement near Caſſano, on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, in which great numbers were killed and wounded on both ſides, and both ſides ſung Te Deum for the victory. The French boaſted they had gained their point in hindering the conjunction of prince Eugene with the duke of Savoy; and prince Eugene thought he had great reaſon to be ſatisfied for having prevented the ſiege of Turin this campaign; and having left the command of the army to count Raventlau, he returned to Vienna to ſollicit further reinforcements †.

Things in Portugal were but badly managed laſt year. This year the confederates under the earl of Galway had ſome ſucceſs, but not equal to what was expected. The Portugueze, with their allies the Engliſh and Dutch, marched to the frontiers of Spain; and meeting with no enemy in the field on that ſide (the vigorous defence of Gibraltar by the prince of Heſſe, of which I have already taken notice, having obliged the French and Spaniards to draw moſt of their forces that way) they laid ſiege in the beginning of May to the town of Valencia d'Alcantara, in the province of Alentejo, which in a ſhort time they carried by ſtorm. The garriſon of Albuquerque, another town of no great ſtrength, fearing the ſame fate, ſurrendered on the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month, on articles. Several councils were afterwards held to ſettle the operations for the reſt of the campaign, when the earl of Galway and general Fagel propoſed laying ſiege to Bajadox; but that being a town better fortified than either of the former, and having a garriſon of nine or ten battalions to defend it, and the Portugueze moreover declaring they wanted the neceſſary requiſites for forming the ſiege, that deſign was laid aſide for the preſent, and about the latter end of June the army was ſent into quarters of refreſhment.

In the mean time, however, the marquis das Minas, who commanded a ſeparate army of Portugueze in the province of Beyra, attacked the town of Salvaterra, in which was a garriſon of three hundred and ſixty men, who ſurrendered priſoners at diſcretion. The marquis afterwards plundered and burnt Sarca; but receiving intelligence that a ſtrong body of French and Spaniards were in full march towards him, he thought proper to retire to Penamacos. As ſoon as the ſummer heats were pretty well abated, the earl of Galway again renewed his inſtances to form the ſiege of Bajadox, which after much delay, and many frivolous excuſes, on the part of the Portugueze (who from the beginning never appeared to act heartily in the cauſe of the allies) was agreed to, and about the latter end of September the army marched towards that place, and opened the trenches on the fourth of October; and the ſiege was carried on with ſuch vigour, that the reduction of the town was looked upon as certain: but the enterprize miſcarried by an unforeſeen accident. The earl of Galway being one day in the trenches, buſied in giving the neceſſary orders, a cannon-ball carried away his right arm, and he was obliged to be moved off the field; ſo that the conduct of the ſiege was left to general Fagel, who is ſaid not to have carried it on with that vigour which the Engliſh general had done, and by that means gave time to the marquis de Theſſe to throw a relief of one thouſand men into Bajadox; and then the confederates abandoned the enterprize, and marched their troops into winter-quarters. The earl of Galway had the conſolation to receive letters from the queen his miſtreſs, and from the king of Portugal, condoling with him on his misfortune, and expreſſing their entire ſatisfaction in his conduct previous to that unhappy accident ‡.

The diſappointment the arms of the allies ſuſtained in Portugal was, however, in ſome meaſure, made up by king Charles's ſucceſs in Catalonia, and the reduction of Barcelona by the celebrated earl of Peterborough and ſir Cloudeſley Shovel, who in the latter end of May ſailed for St. Helen's with the Engliſh fleet, having on board a body of five thouſand land-forces; and on the

* Burnet. Broderick. Life of the duke of Marlborough.
† Burnet. Tindal. Voltaire.
‡ Hiſtory of Europe. Impartial Enquiry.

twentieth day of June arrived in Liſbon harbour, where they were reinforced by ſir John Leake from the Mediterranean, and the Dutch admirals Allemonde and Vanderduſſen. King Charles having received aſſurances that the inhabitants of Catalonia and Valencia were well affected to his intereſt, reſolved to repair into thoſe quarters, and undertake ſome actions of importance. Accordingly, having ſent to the prince of Heſſe d'Armſtadt to get the garriſon of Gibraltar in readineſs to embark, he went on board the Engliſh admiral's ſhip, with the earl of Peterborough and other officers of diſtinction; and the fleet ſailed on the twenty-eighth day of July, the earl of Galway having ſupplied them with two regiments of Engliſh dragoons, and in a few days arrived in the bay of Gibraltar, the ruins of which place preſented a melancholy, but uncontrovertible proof of the great courage, induſtry, and indefatigable care, wherewith the gallant prince of d'Armſtadt, and the brave officers and ſoldiers under him, had defended it againſt the united forces of France and Caſtile; a defence ſo glorious and honourable, as hardly to be paralleled either in antient or modern hiſtory! Here the prince of Heſſe came on board, and with him the Engliſh guards and three old regiments; in lieu of which two new-raiſed battalions were left in the garriſon.

On the eleventh of Auguſt the fleet put into the bay of Altea * to water, when the earl of Peterborough publiſhed a manifeſto, importing, "That he was not come to take poſſeſſion of any place in the name of her Britannic majeſty or of the States-general, but to maintain the juſt right of the houſe of Auſtria to the Spaniſh crown; to defend the good and loyal ſubjects of that monarchy; and to free them from the inſupportable yoke of foreign maſters †." Encouraged by this declaration, the inhabitants flocked from all quarters, acknowleging Charles III. as their lawful ſovereign, and ſeized the town of Denia, not far from Altea, for his ſervice, whither his Catholic majeſty immediately ſent a garriſon of four hundred Portugueze, under the command of general Ramos. The fleet then ſailed from Altea bay about the middle of Auguſt, and arrived in the bay of Barcelona on the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month, about nine o'clock in the morning.

This city, the capital of Catalonia, is one of the moſt antient in Spain, having been a colony of the Carthaginians, built by them to ſtop the impetuous torrent of the Romans who came from Italy, and after they had ſubjected Gallia Narbonenſis, were endeavouring to make themſelves maſters of Spain. It is ſituated in a plain near the ſea, having a mole within, which only gallies and ſmall ſhips can enter. The entrance into it has a platform with ſome guns mounted for its defence, and a light-houſe, being a tower built in the form of a pyramid, with a lanthorn at the top. It is fortified round with ten bulwarks and ſome old towers. Its ditch in ſome parts is not very deep, and the covered way is not quite finiſhed. The caſtle and citadel, which is called Montjuic, is built upon a hill on the weſt ſide. It commands the city, without being commanded itſelf by any ground thereabouts. The country along that coaſt is level, very fruitful, and well cultivated, being watered by many rivers and rills, which run down from the neighbouring mountains; for at about a league's diſtance from the ſea the land begins to riſe, and ſhapes itſelf into ſeveral hills and mountains, one above another, in the form of a theatre, all full of villages and towns, vineyards and country ſeats, which make a very agreeable proſpect all along the ſea-coaſt for a great way together.

As ſoon as the fleet had anchored, the enemy began to fire from the mole and a battery near the ſea, upon ſome of the tranſport ſhips which ſtood in for the ſhore; but this firing had but very little effect, and the tranſports all anchored in ſuch a manner as they found moſt commodious for the landing of the forces aboard them. The wind however blew ſo hard, and made ſo great a ſea, that notwithſtanding all the diligence that could be uſed, it was impoſſible for them to get on ſhore that day. The day following, however, the wind and ſea being down, the debarkation of the troops began, about three quarters of a league from the city, near a river called Baſſoz, which lies on the eaſt ſide, between the town and a place called Badalona. By the twenty-eighth the landing was completed, and the troops poſſeſſed of a ſtrong camp, being extremely well received by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, who were ſtrongly attached to the houſe of Auſtria.

Upon the arrival of the fleet, Don Franciſco de Velaſco, viceroy of Catalonia, gave orders for burning all the ſtraw and forage in the country and villages for a league round Barcelona: but notwithſtanding all his precaution, there remained enough for all the horſe the fleet had brought. The prince of Heſſe having been diſpatched with two frigates to enquire into the poſture of affairs on the coaſt, and of the ſtrength of the city, his highneſs put into Mataro, four leagues diſtant from Barcelona, where having informed himſelf of what he judged neceſſary, and adviſed the people thereabouts, who had declared for king Charles, to come down, he returned to the fleet, with information that the inhabitants of Barcelona were warmly in the intereſt of his Catholic majeſty; but that they were overawed by a garriſon of five thouſand men, commanded by Velaſco, the duke of Popoli, and other officers who had eſpouſed the cauſe of Philip.

On the twenty-ſeventh a council of war was held on board the admiral, and his Catholic majeſty reſolved to go on ſhore the day following, to encourage the expedition by his preſence. Accordingly his majeſty landed on the twenty-eighth, amidſt the acclamations of an infinite multitude from Vich, and other parts of the adjacent country, who, with repeated cries of "Long live the King!" came to the water-ſide, threw them-

* Altea is a ſmall ſea-port town of Spain, in the kingdom of Valencia, ſituated on the Mediterranean, and abounds in wine, flax, ſilk, and honey. Here the confederate fleet, during the firſt part of the war with Spain, in the reign of queen Anne, had frequent ſupplies of freſh water and proviſions till the fatal battle of Almanza in 1707. It is ſituated forty-five miles ſouth of the city of Valencia.

† Dr. Friend's Account of the Earl of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain.

ſelves at his majeſty's feet, and kiſſed his hand, with a thouſand demonſtrations of joy; inſomuch that Charles found it a difficult matter to diſengage himſelf from their boiſterous loyalty; but having at length mounted on horſeback, he rode to the camp, where the forces were all drawn up in a line to receive him; and when his majeſty arrived at his quarters, he was ſaluted with a treble diſcharge of cannon and ſmall arms.

Some days after his Catholic majeſty had landed, an expreſs arrived from England, directing the earl of Peterborough, the general, to proceed to Italy, and endeavour to join the duke of Savoy with his troops, or to make an attempt upon Naples and Sicily, as ſhould be found moſt adviſeable, in order to drive the French out of Italy, and ſet his royal highneſs at liberty to employ his forces another way. Theſe orders gave inexpreſſible uneaſineſs to king Charles: he preſſed lord Peterborough in the moſt earneſt manner not to abandon him, when there appeared ſuch a proſpect of ſucceſs in carrying on the war in Spain; adding at the ſame time with great warmth, that if his lordſhip (who ſeemed diſpoſed to comply with the orders he had received) ſhould perſiſt in his reſolution to go away, his majeſty, finding that his crown and good ſubjects were to be thus ſacrificed, was reſolved to ſtay with them, and ſhare the event of his good or evil fortune. Upon this ſeveral councils of war were called, wherein it was deliberated, whether or not to proceed to the ſiege of Barcelona. The opinions of the members were various: lord Peterborough did indeed twice give his vote for the undertaking; but from the minutes of thoſe councils it appeared to be only out of the extreme inclination he had to comply with the king of Spain's deſires, and not out of any confidence he had of ſucceeding. At length the prince of Heſſe propoſed to the earl the ſcheme of ſurpriſing the fort of Montjuic, and deſired that his lordſhip would give him only one thouſand men for that purpoſe, offering himſelf to conduct and command them. The earl having taken a view of that fort, and of the town on that ſide; and having maturely weighed his highneſs's reaſons, and conſidered the manner in which he intended to proceed in the attack; not only concurred with the prince and readily granted him the one thouſand men he deſired, but likewiſe reſolved to ſupport his highneſs with one thouſand more, and ſome dragoons *.

Accordingly a detachment of two thouſand men, ſupported by the dragoons, and furniſhed with ſcaling-ladders, and all other materials for a ſudden aſſault, began their march the fourteenth of September, at ſix in the evening, led by the brave prince of Heſſe; but being obliged to go a conſiderable way about, and the roads they had to paſs through being very bad, they did not arrive at the foot of the hill on which fort Montjuic is ſituated, till day had began to break; whereupon the alarm was given to thoſe in the caſtle and town, who received our troops with a general diſcharge of their artillery and ſmall arms: notwithſtanding which the prince preſſed forward, and the troops entered the covered way and ditch ſword in hand, ſome of them getting upon the out-works that were unfiniſhed, and, maugre the continual fire of the enemy, poſſeſſed themſelves of the baſtion of a new fortification, beat the Spaniards out of it, and obliged them to retire into the caſtle: but the prince of Heſſe expoſing his perſon too much, in order to make himſelf maſter of a poſt that would cut off the communication between the town and the fort, was unfortunately ſhot through the thigh with a muſket-ball that tore an artery, by which he loſt a great quantity of blood; and after marching about fifty paces, animating the men, as if he had known nothing of his being wounded, he fell down through weakneſs, and was carried to a little houſe that ſtood near the place; but before the ſurgeons, who were immediately called, could come to look at his wound, he expired, to the inexpreſſible grief of every one who had a true ſenſe of his great military abilities. The ſoldiers, who had a kind of enthuſiaſtical confidence in the prince, were ſtruck with an inſurmountable damp upon the news of his untimely fall. Their deſpondency was ſtill farther encreaſed upon ſeeing the marquis of Riſburg march out of Barcelona, at the head of a large body of troops, to ſuccour the line of communication, and reinforce the citadel. All was now upon the point of falling into confuſion on our ſide, when lord Peterborough, hearing of the prince's death, advanced, and took upon him the command (for hitherto he had only ſerved as a volunteer in this enterprize) and by his preſence re-animated the drooping ſpirits of the ſoldiers, and perſuaded them to maintain their ground; and being reinforced with freſh bodies of troops, the earl attacked the fort, tho' with no great proſpect of ſucceſs; the governor, a Neapolitan gentleman, named Don Carlos Caracholi, continuing to defend it very reſolutely, till the ſeventeenth of September, when a bomb from one of our batteries falling into the magazine of powder, blew it up, by which the governor and ſome of the beſt officers, and a number of men, were killed. This ſtruck the reſt with ſuch conſternation, that they were unable to make any farther reſiſtance. The earl of Peterborough advancing to ſtorm the place, through a breach made in part of the wall and gate by the exploſion, they ſurrendered at diſcretion.

This poſt of Montjuic was of the utmoſt importance, for it commanded the city, being upon an eminence; and beſides, the fortifications of the town on that ſide were weakeſt. This induced the earl to make immediate diſpoſitions for bombarding Barcelona; the trenches were accordingly opened before it on the 19th of September, and the batteries erected, with the help of the Miquelets or militia of Catalonia and our own ſeamen; and the fleet from the road thundered with ſuch fury upon the town, and did ſuch terrible execution, that in a few days the governor, deſpairing of relief, thought fit to capitulate, and ſurrendered on the fourth of October. The next day the earl of Peterborough ordered a detachment of the army to take poſſeſſion of one of the gates. The ſame day Gironne declared for king Charles, as did all the reſt of Catalonia, except Roſes *.

The king of Spain having made his entry into Barcelona, and received the oath of fidelity from his ſubjects, a council of war was aſſembled a few days afterwards, wherein it was reſolved that ſir

* Friend's Account, &c. Boyer's Life of Q. Anne, p. 206. † Boyer. Burnet. Tindal. Hiſt. of Europe.

Cloudeſley

Cloudeſley Shovel ſhould proceed for England with the beſt part of the fleet: that ſir John Leake, with a ſtrong ſquadron, ſhould be left in the Mediterranean: that ſix ſhips ſhould remain with the earl of Peterborough; two more be ſtationed at Gibraltar; and a third and fourth-rate be employed, at the requeſt of his Portugueze majeſty, in cruizing for the homeward-bound Brazil fleet. In purſuance of thoſe reſolutions, ſir Cloudeſley Shovel, with 19 ſhips of the line, and part of the Dutch fleet, ſailed through the Streights, and arrived at Spithead on the ſixteenth of November *.

The garriſon of Barcelona, all but one thouſand men, who, with Velaſco the late governor, were conveyed to Malaga, inliſted in the ſervice of Charles, who formed from among them a body of guards, and ſix other regiments were raiſed by the ſtates of Catalonia. The Condé di Cifuentes, at the head of the Miquelets and Catalonians who were in the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria, ſecured Tarragona, Tortoſa, Lerida, San Mattheo, and other places. At the ſame time Don Raphael Nebat, a Catalonian general, who had already three brothers in the ſervice of Charles, deſerted Philip, with his whole regiment of five hundred horſe; and joining general Ramos at Denia, they made themſelves maſters of Xabia, Oliva, Gandia, and Alſira, in Valencia. Encouraged by ſuch great ſucceſſes, they advanced to the capital of that kingdom, which bears the ſame name ‡: this they took by the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants, and in it the marquis de Villa Garcia, the viceroy, and the archbiſhop; and thereupon the whole kingdom of Valencia, except Alicant and Perſinſola, revolted to king Charles, who appointed the conde di Cifuentes his viceroy of that province; and had the Portugueze made any diverſion, as they promiſed, or but permitted their allies, the Engliſh and Dutch, to have advanced to the Spaniſh frontiers at this time, it is not improbable but all Spain had ſubmitted to Charles; but their unaccountable dilatorineſs, not to give it a worſe term, furniſhed the enemy with an opportunity to ſend a body of ſix thouſand men into the kingdom of Valencia, under the command of the conde de las Torres, who forthwith inveſted San Mattheo, guarded by colonel Jones, at the head of five hundred Miquelets only. This being a place of great importance on account of its ſituation, the earl of Peterborough marched thither with one thouſand infantry and two hundred dragoons, and by means of feigned intelligence artfully conveyed to the conde, induced that general to abandon the ſiege with precipitation, in the apprehenſion of being ſuddenly attacked by a conſiderable army. The earl having ſo effectually atchieved this important enterprize, poſſeſſed himſelf of Nules and Molviedro (the ancient Saguntum), and then having nothing to interrupt his progreſs, he marched to Valencia, where he was received by the inhabitants in general as their guardian angel and deliverer. Indeed the generous behaviour of the earl to the natives, his care to protect them, and the ſtrict diſcipline he kept among his troops had ſo conciliated the minds of the Spaniards to the Engliſh, that the diſorders at Port St. Mary's were entirely forgot, and they appeared ready to join the allies, and run all hazards with them, to drive the French and their adherents out of the kingdom.

Our affairs at ſea were more proſperous this year than they had been formerly. Beſides the great things done in the Mediterranean in the beginning of the ſeaſon by admiral Leake, who defeated monſieur de Pointis' ſquadron, and thereby relieved Gibraltar; Sir George Byng, ſent with a ſmall ſquadron into the Soundings, took a French ſhip of forty guns, together with twelve privateers, and ſeven rich Weſt India ſhips. Our other cruizers alſo picked up ſo many of the French privateers, that we had ſome thouſands of their ſeamen in our priſons; and ſuch a good look-out was kept off Breſt, that the French fleet did not think fit to venture forth. By this means our navigation was rendered much more ſafe, and our trade conſequently more proſperous; but as it would be unpardonable in an hiſtorian who makes claim to impartiality not to mention our loſſes as well as our ſucceſſes, I muſt not paſs by unnoticed a misfortune that attended the Engliſh arms by ſea in the courſe of this year, I mean the capture of the Baltic fleet homeward-bound, with their convoy of three ſhips of war, which were taken by the Dunkirk ſquadron, commanded by the count de St. Paul, though he himſelf was killed in the engagement.

The endeavours uſed by the Engliſh and Dutch envoys at the court of Vienna, to accommodate matters between the emperor and his rebellious ſubjects in Hungary, having had no effect, that kingdom continued to be a ſcene of confuſion and plunder.

Poland was in no better condition. Charles XII. of Sweden, who ſtill maintained his army by contributions in that country, had preſented to the diet at Warſaw young Staniſlaus Leczinſki, palatine of Poſnania, as a perſon proper to be their king: the intimation of a conqueror has the force of a law. The diet, unable to reſiſt, acquieſced in his propoſal. Staniſlaus was elected and proclaimed king, and recognized by Charles; while Auguſtus, unable to maintain his footing in Poland, retreated into his Saxon dominions, which he impoveriſhed in order to raiſe a great army to return into Poland. The pope eſpouſed the cauſe of Auguſtus, and cited the cardinal-primate to appear at Rome, to give an account of the ſhare he had in the Poliſh troubles. The old cardinal however refuſed to go to Rome: he owned Staniſlaus, but died before his coronation; and that ceremony was performed by the biſhop of Cujavia, in the preſence of Charles, on the fourth of October, 1705, in the city of Warſaw, notwithſtanding the uſual cuſtom of the Poles crowning their kings at Cracow.

* Burchet. Lives of Admirals. Oldmixon, &c.

‡ Valencia is the capital of the province of the ſame name, on the river Turio. It ſtands in a very fruitful country, abounding with corn, wine, oil, fruits, &c. The inhabitants amount to fifteen thouſand families. It is the ſee of an archbiſhop, and has an univerſity. The city is abundantly ſupplied with water, not only from the river which runs along it, but by an incredible number of deep wells, dug almoſt in every houſe. Trade and manufactures flouriſh here,; the principal of the latter is that of ſilk, which the women and children ſpin before their houſes. They export large quantities of wine, oil, and fruit; and the inhabitants have an eaſy and agreeable converſation, without any of that ſtiffneſs obſervable in the reſt of Spain. It lies one hundred and eighty miles ſouth-eaſt of Madrid.

While Charles was thus intent upon the ruin of Auguſtus, he neglected the preſervation of his own dominions. Peter, czar of Muſcovy, was every day becoming more formidable. Though he had given but little aſſiſtance to Auguſtus in Poland, he had nevertheleſs made powerful diverſions elſewhere. He now began to grow not only a good ſoldier himſelf, but likewiſe inſtructed his ſoldiery in the art of war: diſcipline was eſtabliſhed among his troops, and he underſtood the great ſecret of ſubſiſting his armies. He had beſides formed a reſpectable navy, capable of making head againſt the Swedes in the Baltic. Strengthened by theſe advantages, and by the abſence of the king of Sweden, he took Narva by aſſault, ravaged all Livonia, and made incurſions even into Sweden ‖.

Peter, however, aſpired to a nobler character than that of a deſtroyer of towns: he employed himſelf in laying the foundation of a great city in the midſt of his military toils: this was the city of Peterſburgh, which he afterwards made the place of his reſidence, and the center of his kingdom's trade. It is ſituated between Finland and Ingria, in a marſhy iſland, round which the river Neva throws ſeveral branches before it falls into the Gulph of Finland. He himſelf drew the plan of the city, the fortreſs, and the harbour, with the quays which embelliſh it, and the forts that defend its entrance. This deſert and uncultivated iſland, which, during the ſhort ſummer in theſe climates, was only a heap of mud, and in winter a frozen pool, into which there was no entry by land but through pathleſs foreſts and deep moraſſes, and which had hitherto been the haunt of wolves and bears, was, by an amazing perſeverance, made habitable, amidſt the obſtacles which nature, the genius of the people, and an unſucceſsful war, conſpired to raiſe againſt it. Peterſburgh was become a reputable city in 1705, and its harbour was filled with ſhips. The emperor, by a proper diſtribution of favours, drew many foreigners thither, beſtowing lands upon ſome, houſes upon others, and encouraging all the artiſts that came, to civilize this barbarous climate. Above all, he rendered it proof againſt the utmoſt efforts of his enemies. The Swediſh generals, who frequently beat his troops in every other quarter, were never able to hurt his infant colony. It enjoyed a profound tranquillity in the midſt of the war with which it was ſurrounded §.

I ſhall now return to England, where the Whigs carried all before them, and got poſſeſſion of all places and preferments. On the 13th of October the ſeals were taken from ſir Nathan Wright, and William Cowper, eſq. a great patron of the diſſenters, was made lord keeper in his room, and was ſoon after made lord-chancellor. It muſt be acknowleged, that lord Cowper was ſo eminent for his abilities and integrity, that he brought a new credit to the Whig party in the nation. The earl of Abingdon was about the ſame time removed from his place of conſtable of the Tower and lord-lieutenant of Oxfordſhire. Some other changes of leſs note were alſo made, all of them having the ſame tendency.

On the twenty-fifth of October the new parliament met, when a violent conteſt aroſe about the choice of another ſpeaker. The candidates were Mr. Bromley and Mr. Smith; the former ſupported by the Tories, the latter by the Whigs, who carried their point by a majority of forty voices; upon which Mr. Smith was preſented to, and approved by her majeſty on the twenty-ſeventh, when ſhe made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which ſhe repreſented the neceſſity of acting vigorouſly againſt France, as the common enemy to the liberties of Europe. She recommended the fortitude of the duke of Savoy, which, ſhe ſaid, was without example, and merited all their endeavours to encourage him to perſevere in the ſame conduct. She acquainted them, that ſhe had an intention to expedite commiſſions for treating of an union with Scotland: ſhe earneſtly recommended unanimity and brotherly affection among her people: ſhe obſerved, that ſome perſons had endeavoured to foment animoſities, and even ſuggeſted in print that the eſtabliſhed church was in danger. Such people, ſhe ſaid, were enemies to her and to the kingdom, and meant only to cover deſigns which they durſt not publicly avow, by endeavouring to diſtract the nation with unmeaſurable and groundleſs diſtruſts and jealouſies. She declared, ſhe would always affectionately ſupport and countenance the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed; that ſhe would inviolably maintain the toleration; that ſhe would promote religion and virtue, encourage trade, and every thing elſe that might make them a happy and a flouriſhing people; "And they who ſhall concur zealouſly with me (concluded ſhe) in carrying on theſe good deſigns, ſhall be ſure of my kindneſs and favour."

This ſpeech, which was a very long one, and ſuppoſed to be drawn up by the new lord-keeper, was extremely pleaſing to the majority of the parliament, and both houſes preſented addreſſes fraught with the warmeſt expreſſions of duty and affection; and the commons in particular preſented a ſecond on the thirteenth of November, in which they return her thanks for her great care and endeavours to ſettle the ſucceſſion to the Scottiſh crown in the houſe of Hanover, and promoting the union of the two kingdoms, aſſuring her no endeavours ſhould be wanting on their part to aſſiſt her in perfecting ſo ſalutary a work. They at the ſame time requeſt that her majeſty will be pleaſed to direct that the whole of the proceedings of the late ſeſſion of parliament in Scotland, relating to the union and the ſucceſſion, might be laid before the houſe. The lords had made the like requeſt the day before: the queen anſwered both houſes, that ſhe would comply with what they deſired ¶.

The lower houſe having diſcuſſed and decided ſome controverted elections (which is the firſt buſineſs the commons generally enter upon) proceeded to examine the eſtimate for the ſervice of the enſuing year, and readily voted the neceſſary ſupplies.

The moſt important debates in this ſeſſion began in the houſe of lords, her majeſty being preſent at all of them. On the fifteenth of November, while that houſe was upon the ſtate of the

‖ Volt. Life of Charles XII. king of Sweden. § Voltaire's Hiſtory of the Ruſſian Empire, under Peter the Great. ¶ Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 446.

nation, the lord Haverſham, an active man among the Tories, made a long ſpeech, in which he reflected with great freedom on the conduct of the duke of Marlborough, both on the Moſelle and in Brabant; as alſo on the behaviour of the Dutch, who prevented the duke's engaging the French after he had forced their lines. Having occaſion to ſpeak of the decay of our trade, he ſaid, "There was a word we were very fond of, which we called the Balance of Power: but the Dutch, who were a very wiſe people, had a double view, and took as much care of the balance of *trade* as they did of the balance of *power*, and were as much afraid of our power by ſea as the power of France by land." Trade, he obſerved, begets wealth, and wealth begets power; and he thought it was very hard for England, that while the Dutch lived at peace under the protection of our arms, we, if we would have any part of trade with them, muſt have it under the protection of French paſſes: that the Dutch indeed complained they were very poor, but he did not ſee how they had been any thing out of pocket ſince the war; for they had more by remittances from England than all the money that went out of their country to Portugal, Savoy, and the German princes †."

But the principal deſign of this ſpeech appears to be the inviting over the princeſs Sophia; and therefore he concluded with a motion, That an addreſs might be preſented to her majeſty, to invite over the preſumptive heir of the crown to reſide here. This motion was ſtrongly ſupported by the duke of Buckingham, the earls of Rocheſter, Nottingham, and Ayleſbury, who urged, that there was no method could be more effectual for ſecuring the ſucceſſion than that of the ſucceſſor being upon the ſpot, ready to aſſume and maintain his right againſt any pretender whatſoever, as it appeared, from the whole courſe of the Engliſh hiſtory, that when the throne became vacant, the firſt comer had always ſucceeded in his pretenſions. This propoſal, however, was warmly oppoſed by the Whigs, who knew it was ſo diſagreeable to the queen, that ſhe would never give her conſent. In fine, the queſtion being put, Whether to approve of the motion? it was carried in the negative by a great majority: however, the lords thought fit, on the motion of lord Wharton, to bring in a bill for the further ſecurity of the Hanover ſucceſſion, and the peace of the kingdom, in caſe of her majeſty's deceaſe. This bill provided that a regency ſhould be appointed, to be compoſed of the ſeven perſons who ſhould poſſeſs for the time being the offices of archbiſhop of Canterbury, lord-chancellor or lord-keeper, lord-treaſurer, lord-preſident, lord privy-ſeal, lord high-admiral, and lord chief-juſtice of the Queen's-Bench: that their buſineſs ſhould be to proclaim the next ſucceſſor through the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and join with a certain number of perſons named as regents by the ſucceſſor, in three liſts to be ſealed up and depoſited with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord-keeper, and miniſter reſidentiary of Hanover: that theſe joint regents ſhould conduct the adminiſtration, till the ſucceſſor ſhould arrive or ſend further orders: and that the laſt parliament, even though diſſolved, ſhould re-aſſemble, and continue ſitting for ſix months after the death of her majeſty.

The bill met with a warm oppoſition from the Tories in the lower houſe, and ſeveral of the upper houſe entered their proteſts againſt it: nor were there wanting ſome of the Whig party in the houſe of commons who endeavoured to obſtruct it, from a perſuaſion that the princeſs Sophia was really deſirous to reſide in England. Great exceptions were taken to that clauſe in the bill, enacting that the laſt parliament ſhould be reaſſembled. The Tories obſerved hereupon that this was a plain contradiction to part of the act by which the ſucceſſion was originally ſettled; for, among other limitations, the parliament had provided, that when the crown ſhould devolve to the houſe of Hanover, no one who had either place or penſion ſhould be capable of ſitting in the houſe of commons. After long and puzzling debates, it was at laſt agreed that a certain number of offices ſhould be particularly ſpecified as non-admiſſible into the houſe of commons on any condition. This ſelf-denying clauſe, and ſome other amendments, produced conferences between the two houſes, and at length the bill paſſed by their mutual aſſent, under the title of an Act of Regency; but it was not till the 19th of February; ſo induſtrious had the Tory party been in throwing obſtructions in the way, in order, if poſſible, to carry their point of bringing over the next ſucceſſor. The principal managers for the Tories on this occaſion were Mr. Bromley and ſir Thomas Hanmer. While this matter was in debate, the queen gave the royal aſſent to an act for exhibiting a bill to naturalize the princeſs Sophia and the iſſue of her body ‡.

The Tories tried their ſtrength in another point, in which however they found themſelves equally diſappointed. The duke of Marlborough had incurred the hatred of that party by deſerting them (who had certainly been the inſtruments of his firſt promotion) and joining with the Whigs: they reſolved therefore to ſet on foot a ſtrict enquiry into his conduct, in hopes of diſcovering ſome particulars that would be ſufficient to fix a ſtain upon his character, and effect his ruin. With this view a motion was made in the upper houſe ‖ by the lord Haverſham, That the miſcarriages of the laſt campaign ſhould be enquired into, and that an addreſs ſhould immediately be preſented to her majeſty, requeſting her to acquaint the houſe with whatever ſhe knew concerning thoſe tranſactions §. Fired with indignation at this concealed attack upon their darling general, the Whigs muſtered all their force, and the motion was rejected by a great majority. And now more effectually to triumph over their adverſaries, the two houſes preſented an addreſs to her majeſty, importing, that being juſtly alarmed by the many artifices lately employed by the emiſſaries of France, in order to raiſe jealouſies and miſunderſtandings between the allies, they moſt earneſtly beſought her majeſty to uſe all poſſible endeavours to preſerve a good correſpondence among the confederates, and in a particular manner to maintain and cultivate a ſtrict friendſhip with the States-general. However, as if conſcious of the

† Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, ii. 149. Burnet.
‡ Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. Burnet. Tindal.
‖ On the twenty-ſecond of November.
§ Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 448.

great deficiencies of the allies in furniſhing their reſpective quotas, and properly concurring with us in the operations of the war; they at the ſame time deſired, that as her majeſty had ſet them a noble example, ſhe would uſe all proper means to excite the whole confederacy to make early and effectual preparations, and to exert their utmoſt efforts in the proſecution of the war. The commons in the mean while proceeded with great unanimity in providing proper funds for the ſupplies; and the queſtion being propoſed, Whether it ſhould be referred to the committee of ways and means to conſider, that in the clauſe for adding ten thouſand men to act in conjunction with the troops of the States-general, it ſhould be provided, That the Dutch be obliged to leave off trading with France? it was carried in the negative by a majority of one hundred and eighty-four againſt one hundred and ſeventeen. I have already animadverted upon the ſtrange partiality ſhewn in favour of the Dutch by the Whig party.

The Scottiſh parliament having declared that they would enter into no treaty of union with England, till the act by which they were declared aliens ſhould be finally reſcinded; in order to remove this obſtruction, the two houſes now concurred in repealing that act, as well as the taking off the ſeveral prohibitions and reſtrictions which had been laid upon the trade between the two nations.

On the twenty-fifth of November captain Norris, in the Britannia, with the lord Shannon and brigadier Stanhope, arrived at St. James's, with news of the ſucceſs of the allies in Catalonia. The queen hereupon went to the houſe of peers on the twenty-ſeventh, and in a ſpeech communicated to the lords and commons theſe good tidings; with which the commons were ſo pleaſed, that they forthwith granted two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds "for her majeſty's proportion in the expence of proſecuting the advantages already gained by king Charles III. for the recovery of the monarchy of Spain to the houſe of Auſtria *".

On the firſt of September this year a pamphlet called, The Memorial of the Church of England, had been preſented at the Old Bailey, and ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. It was a Tory production, and the deſign of it was to ſhew that the Whig miniſtry were contriving the deſtruction of the church of England, and countenanced its greateſt enemies. This pamphlet had been much read; and being wrote in a ſtyle well adapted to captivate the minds of the people, it had raiſed a great clamour that the church was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger: it was therefore reſolved by the miniſtry that an enquiry ſhould be made into the real foundation of this uneaſineſs; and accordingly the lord Halifax moved that a day might be appointed to enquire into "the danger of the church." Upon this the ſixth of December was appointed for that purpoſe: and on that day the queen repaired to the houſe of peers, in order to hear the reaſonings on this important ſubject.

The debate was opened by the earl of Rocheſter †, who, among other things, urged, That there was danger to be apprehended to the eſtabliſhed church, from theſe three cauſes: Firſt, the act of ſecurity in Scotland: Secondly, the heir of the houſe of Hanover not being ſent for over: Thirdly, the not paſſing the bill to prevent occaſional conformity. Upon the firſt, he ſaid, the preſbyterian church in Scotland was fully eſtabliſhed, without a toleration: that to arm that people was to give them a power to invade England, where they had a powerful party, who never wanted the will to deſtroy the church: that he thought the heir to the crown ought to be preſent amongſt us, in order to be fully acquainted with us and our conſtitution, and thereby enabled to prevent any evil deſigns upon the church and ſtate: with reſpect to the occaſional conformity-bill, he obſerved, that by rejecting that bill, which was in itſelf ſo reaſonable, and the church's requeſt in it ſo ſmall, the greateſt enemies to the church might qualify themſelves to hold offices of truſt and authority in church and ſtate, to the ruin of both.

The ſubſtance of this ſpeech was repeated and enlarged upon by ſeveral other peers of the ſame party, particularly the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Nottingham, the duke of Leeds, Compton biſhop of London, the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhop of St. Aſaph. Theſe were anſwered by lord Halifax, lord Wharton, Burnet biſhop of Saliſbury, the biſhop of Norwich, and others. The ſubſtance of their argument was, that the church was ſafer now than it ever had been. At the Revolution proviſion was made, that our king muſt be of the Reformed Religion: nor was this all; by the late act of ſucceſſion he was reſtricted to be of the communion of the church of England. In regard to the occaſional conformity-bill, it was anſwered, that the rejecting that bill could not with any propriety be brought as a matter of objection and blame, inaſmuch as it was done by a majority of the houſe, to whoſe deciſion the leſſer number were bound to ſubmit. It was aſked, If we had not all our laws left to us not only entire, but ſtrengthened by late additions and explanations; ſo that we were ſafer in theſe than we had been at any time formerly? As to the diſſenters, it was ſaid, they gained no new ſtrength: on the contrary, they were viſibly decreaſing; the toleration had conciliated their minds towards us, and they had given many recent inſtances of their care and zeal to preſerve the government. In reſpect to our clergy, the queen was taking all poſſible care to relieve them from the depreſſions of poverty, and a ſpirit of zeal and piety appeared in our churches, and at ſacrament, beyond the example of former times. In one reſpect, it was acknowleged that the church was in danger, and that was from an evil ſpirit and a virulent temper ſpread among the clergy, many of whom had raiſed factions in dioceſes againſt their biſhops: theſe, it was ſaid, were dangers created by the very men who now filled the nation with imaginary perils, while their own conduct produced real and threatening ones ‡.

Lord Somers recapitulated all the arguments which had been advanced on both ſides of the queſtion, and declared his own opinion to be, that the nation was happy under a wiſe and juſt adminiſtration; and that for men to raiſe groundleſs jealouſies at that juncture, could mean no leſs than an intention to embroil the people at home, and

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 447. † Proceed. Houſe of Lords, ii. 154. ‡ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 435.

defeat

defeat the glorious deſigns of the allies to humble the arrogance of that reſtleſs enemy of this nation, Lewis of France.

In fine, the queſtion being put, Whether the church of England was in danger? it was carried in the negative by ſixty-one againſt thirty. Then the houſe reſolved, "That the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed, which was reſcued from the extremeſt danger by king William III. of glorious memory, is now, by God's bleſſing, under the happy reign of her majeſty, in a moſt ſafe and flouriſhing condition; and whoever goes about to ſuggeſt and inſinuate that the church is in danger under her majeſty's adminiſtration, is an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom *."

This reſolution was oppoſed by many lords, who entered their reaſons for diſſenting from it; but being communicated to the commons, that houſe, after ſome ſhort debates, concurred with the determination of the peers, and alſo joined with them in an addreſs to her majeſty to take effectual meaſures for making the joint reſolution of the two houſes public; as alſo for bringing to condign puniſhment the authors and ſpreaders of the ſeditious and ſcandalous report of the church being in danger. Her majeſty returned for anſwer, that ſhe would readily comply with their requeſt, and was very well pleaſed to find them ſo forward in aſſiſting her to put a ſtop to thoſe groundleſs and malicious reports. Accordingly, on the twentieth of December ſhe iſſued a proclamation, notifying the reſolution of the two houſes, and offering a reward for diſcovering the author of the Memorial of the Church of England, and for apprehending David Edwards, charged upon oath as the printer and publiſher of that libel. The next day, December 21, her majeſty came to the houſe of peers, and, among other bills, gave the royal aſſent to one for naturalizing the princeſs Sophia, electreſs and ducheſs-dowager of Hanover, and the iſſue of her body. She then made a ſpeech to both houſes, applauding the unanimity of their proceedings, and the good diſpoſition they had ſhewn towards an union with Scotland. After this the commons adjourned themſelves to the ſeventh day of January.

In the mean time Edwards, the printer of the Memorial, finding himſelf abandoned by the party who had employed him, ſurrendered himſelf, on a promiſe of his pardon if he would diſcover the author. He named three gentlemen of the houſe of commons; ſir Humphry Mackworth, Mr. Pooley, and Mr. Ward; but as he was not able to make out the charge, the copy having been brought him by a third hand, the matter ſlipt. Edwards was continued in cuſtody a long time, in expectation perhaps that he would make a fuller diſcovery; but he was at length diſcharged, and the real authors of the Memorial are to this day unknown.

The firſt thing the commons did after their next meeting (January 1706) was to preſent the thanks of the houſe to the duke of Marlborough (lately returned from abroad) for his great ſervices to the queen and the nation in the laſt campaign, and for his prudent negotiations with her allies: to which his grace returned a reſpectful and grateful anſwer. The credit of this nobleman was extremely high with the nation at this juncture, inſomuch that having propoſed a loan of five hundred thouſand pounds to the emperor on a branch of his revenue in Sileſia, the whole ſum was ſuddenly ſubſcribed by the merchants of London, and other monied perſons ‡. Indeed public credit at this time was very high; the kingdom was bleſſed with plenty; the forces were well paid, notwithſtanding the great quantities of coin exported for the maintenance of the war; the paper-currency ſupplied the deficiency ſo well, that there were very few murmurs heard.

All the funds being now eſtabliſhed, one in particular, for two millions and a half, by way of annuities for ninety-nine years, at ſix and an half per cent. her majeſty came to the houſe of peers on the nineteenth of March; and having given the royal aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, ſhe made a ſpeech to b th houſes, in which ſhe expreſſed her acknowlegements for the unanimity and diſpatch with which they had conducted the public buſineſs, and the zeal and affection they had ſhewn for her ſervice: after which, by her majeſty's order, the parliament was prorogued to the firſt of May following §. For the ſeveral public bills that received the royal aſſent this ſeſſion, I refer the reader to the notes ¶; but cannot cloſe this account of parliamentary affairs without taking particular no-

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* Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, ii. 145.

‡ The prince of Denmark ſubſcribed twenty thouſand pounds, the duke of Marlborough ten thouſand pounds, the treaſurer Godolphin five thouſand pounds, the earl of Portland ten thouſand pounds, and the earl of Sunderland two thouſand five hundred pounds.

§ Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 473.

¶ An act for naturalizing the princeſs Sophia, and the iſſue of her body, by which the uſual qualifications required of perſons to be naturalized (viz. receiving the ſacrament, and taking the oaths) were diſpenſed with. An act for 4 s. in the pound upon land. An act for repealing ſeveral clauſes in the act made for the ſecurity of the kingdom of England, againſt ſeveral acts paſſed in Scotland, particularly that part of it which made the Scots aliens. An act for continuing the duties on malt, &c. An act to prevent frauds committed by bankrupts: by this act it was enacted, That ſuch bankrupts who ſhall remove, carry away, or embezzle, any part of their effects, ſhall ſuffer as felons; a bankrupt ſhall not be diſcharged, unleſs his certificate be firſt ſigned by *four fifths* in number and value of his creditors; commiſſioners of bankrupts may appoint aſſignees, who may by the majority of the creditors be afterwards removed—No commiſſion of bankruptcy ſhall be iſſued by the application of any creditor, unleſs his ſingle debt ſhall amount to one hundred pounds; or of two of the creditors ſo petitioning, to one hundred and fifty pounds; or of three or more creditors, to two hundred pounds. See ſtatut. 5 Annæ, cap. xxii. An act alſo paſſed during this ſeſſion, by the procurement of the lord Somers, for abridging and reforming ſome proceedings in the common law and in chancery, which were both dilatory and very chargeable: beſides theſe, and ſome other acts, to the number of ſeventeen, the royal aſſent was given to fifty-three private ones.

And here I cannot paſs over unnoticed a very extraordinary example of public ſpirit and integrity in the lord-keeper Cowper. On the firſt day of the year it was a cuſtom for all thoſe who practiſed in chancery, to offer a new year's gift to the lord-chancellor or keeper of the great-ſeal. Theſe grew to be ſo conſiderable, that they amounted to fifteen hundred pounds a year. On the new year's-day of this year, which was his firſt, he ſignified to all thoſe who, according to cuſtom, were to come with their preſents, that he would receive none. He thought it looked like beſpeaking the favour of the court; and that if it was not bribery, yet it came too near it, and looked too like it. Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, vol. iv. p. 220.

tice of two acts, viz. "An act for the better ſecurity of her majeſty's perſon and government, and of the crown of England in the proteſtant line;" and "An act for the encouragement and increaſe of ſeamen, and the ſpeedier manning of the fleet."

By the firſt of theſe, commonly called the Act of Regency, the act of ſucceſſion received very material alterations, particularly in the appointing a regency after the demiſe of her majeſty. And whereas it was provided by the former act of ſettlement, that all matters relating to the government ſhould be tranſacted in the privy-council, and ſigned by the members of that board, this clauſe was repealed by the preſent act, as well as that other important clauſe, that no perſon in office ſhould be a member of parliament. I have already taken notice that this laſt alteration met with great oppoſition in the houſe of commons, and at length the matter was compromiſed in the following manner, viz. That after the diſſolution of the then parliament, no perſon in any new office to be created by the crown, or any commiſſioner, ſecretary, or receiver of prizes, comptroller of accounts of the army, commiſſioner of tranſports for ſick or wounded, agents of regiments, governors of plantations, commiſſioners of the navy, of the out-ports, or any having penſions from the crown during pleaſure, ſhould be capable of being choſen members of the commons: and that if any perſon choſen a member ſhould afterwards accept any place of profit from the crown, his election ſhould be void; but that the ſame perſon might be re-choſen for that or any other county or borough. And it was further provided, that there ſhould be no more commiſſioners appointed for the execution of any office than there had been before that ſeſſion: and, laſtly, it was enacted, That if any perſon declared incapable of being elected by this act ſhould preſume to ſit or vote in the houſe, he ſhould forfeit five hundred pounds to him that ſhould ſue for the ſame.

By the bill for the encouragement and increaſe of ſeamen, a reward was offered for every perſon who ſhould diſcover and take up ſuch ſeamen as ſhould not be already in her majeſty's ſervice, and a penalty denounced againſt every one who ſhould harbour or conceal ſuch ſeamen. Conduct-money was to be allowed for conveying and ſubſiſting ſuch ſeamen, according to the uſage of the navy: and as an encouragement to ſeamen and ſea-faring perſons, every ſeaman who ſhall be turned over from one ſhip to another ſhall be paid the wages due to him from the ſhip in which he is turned over, before that ſhip to which he ſhall be turned over go to ſea, either in money, or by a ticket, which ſhall entitle him to an immediate payment. A clauſe was alſo inſerted for diſcharging of ſuch ſeamen, and other inſolvent perſons, as are in priſon for debt, and delivering them into her majeſty's ſervice on board the fleet *.

The new convocation met at the ſame time with the new parliament; but inſtead of imitating the union and harmony of the parliament, they revived the diviſions by which the former had been diſtracted, and the two houſes ſeemed to act with more determined rancour againſt each other. The lower houſe being determined to make choice of a prolocutor, choſe Dr. Binks, dean of Litchfield: then the upper houſe proceeded to draw up an addreſs to the queen, wherein they expreſs much reſentment againſt thoſe who ſuggeſted the church to be in danger, and ſent it to the lower houſe for their concurrence, which was refuſed, without any reaſon being aſſigned for ſuch diſſent. They prepared another in a different ſtrain, which was rejected by the archbiſhop. Then the lower houſe came to ſeveral reſolutions, aſſerting their right of having what they offered to the upper houſe received by his grace and their lordſhips. This paper being preſented to their lordſhips, and read, they ſtill refuſed to receive the addreſs of the lower houſe, by which a ſtop was put to all addreſſing, and to all farther communication between the two houſes, and the convocation was prorogued in the beginning of March. The queen, apprehending theſe diſputes would riſe to a greater height if the two houſes were ſuffered to meet ſuddenly, ſent a letter to the archbiſhop, wherein ſhe ſignified her reſolution to maintain her ſupremacy, and the due ſubordination of preſbyters to biſhops: ſhe expreſſed her hope that he and his ſuffragans would act conformably to her reſolution, in which caſe ſhe aſſured them of her favour and protection; and concluded with directing them to adjourn the convocation to ſuch farther time as ſhould appear convenient †.

Her majeſty, after having done every thing in her power to preſerve peace and unity at home, was no leſs attentive to do the ſame among her neighbours and allies abroad. The biſhopric of Lubeck in Germany becoming vacant the preceding year, the duke adminiſtrator of Holſtein, brother to the late duke of that name, and nephew of the late biſhop, and prince Charles brother to the king of Denmark, who were both choſen coadjutors to that prelate by different parties, now laid claim to the vacant ſee. The duke of Holſtein firſt took poſſeſſion of it, but was ſoon after ejected by ſome Daniſh troops. The king of Sweden ſeemed reſolute to maintain the right of the duke of Holſtein; the king of Denmark, that of his brother; and the emperor, whoſe prerogative it is to confirm the election of all proteſtant biſhoprics, being fearful of diſobliging either party in this critical juncture of affairs, choſe rather to leave the controverſy to the arbitration of the queen of England and the States-general. Their High Mightineſſes referring the ſame to her Britannic majeſty, the queen decreed, That the adminiſtrator of Holſtein ſhould be reſtored to the civil poſſeſſion of the biſhopric, until the diſpute was finally determined either by the aulic chamber or a friendly accommodation, which ſhould be left to the king of Denmark's choice. The parties concerned acquieſced with this proviſional deciſion; and about the middle of April this year (1706) the king of Denmark ordered his troops to evacuate the biſhopric of Lubeck, and to deliver up the town and caſtle of Eutin to Mr. Wick, the Engliſh reſident at Hamburgh ‡.

The attention of the public was now engroſſed by the moſt important tranſaction that ever hap-

* See Stat. 4 & 5 Annæ reginæ. † Calamy. Boyer. Burnet. ‡ Boyer's Hiſt. of Europe, vol. vii.

pened in this iſland, which was finally and legally concluded at the cloſe of the year 1706: I mean, a conſolidating union of the two Britannic kingdoms of England and Scotland, after their crowns had been united one hundred and four years before in the perſon of king James I. This great and happy union had been ſeveral times before attempted in different reigns, but had been as often obſtructed by the ſtarting of various objections; to remove which, no ſerious or ſteady endeavours had ever been purſued. Nothing certainly could be more obvious than that it was the intereſt of *two nations*, inhabiting and poſſeſſing *the ſame iſland*, perfectly to unite for their common defence againſt all attacks from the continent. While they remained disjointed, they had their different, and conſequently their contrary intereſts to purſue, not only in matters of trade and commerce, product, and manufactures, but even in friendſhip and affection with regard to different nations on the continent. Religion too (or rather indeed the mere *external* mode of it) contributed its ſhare in keeping up the difference; and what had perhaps the greateſt influence of all, ancient ill-judged national prejudices on both ſides, ſtill remained too ſtrong eaſily to be conquered. Finally, the great hereditary officers of Scotland, and the poſſeſſors of many other lucrative poſts in that ſtate, which muſt be neceſſarily ſunk upon ſuch an incorporating union with England, had hitherto no ſmall influence in obſtructing it; but happily a more moderate way of thinking than formerly, in the miniſtry of both kingdoms, at length got the better of all obſtructions; and the parliament of each kingdom having paſſed an act, empowering the queen to appoint commiſſioners to treat upon this ſubject, her majeſty was pleaſed, on the part of England, to nominate the following noblemen and gentlemen:

Thomas, lord archbiſhop of Canterbury.
William Cowper, eſq. lord-keeper of the great-ſeal.
John, lord archbiſhop of York.
Sidney, lord Godolphin, lord high-treaſurer of England.
Thomas, earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, preſident of the council.
John, duke of Newcaſtle, keeper of the privy-ſeal.
William, duke of Devonſhire, ſteward of the houſhold.
Charles, duke of Somerſet, maſter of the horſe.
Charles, duke of Bolton.
Charles, earl of Sunderland.
Evelyn, earl of Kingſton.
Charles, earl of Carliſle.
Edward, earl of Orford.
Charles, viſcount Townſhend.
Thomas, lord Wharton.
Ralph, lord Grey.
John, lord Powlet.
John, lord Somers.
Charles, lord Halifax.
William Cavendiſh, marquis of Hartington.
John Manners, marquis of Granby.
Sir Charles Hedges, and Robert Harley, principal ſecretaries of ſtate.
John Smith.
Henry Boyle, chancellor of the Exchequer.
Sir John Holt, chief-juſtice of the Queen's-bench.
Sir Thomas Trevor, chief-juſtice of the Common-pleas.
Sir Edward Northey, attorney-general.
Sir Simon Harcourt, ſollicitor-general.
Sir John Cook, advocate-general. And
Stephen Waller, doctor of laws.

The commiſſioners on the part of Scotland were,

James, earl of Seafield, lord-chancellor of Scotland.
James, duke of Queenſberry, lord privy-ſeal.
John, earl of Mar, and Hugh, earl of Loudon, } principal ſecretaries of ſtate.
John, earl of Sutherland.
John, earl of Morton.
David, earl of Wemys.
David, earl of Leven.
John, earl of Stair.
Archibald, earl of Roſeberry.
David, earl of Glaſgow.
Lord Archibald Campbell.
Thomas, viſcount Duplin.
Lord William Roſs.
Sir Hugh Dalrymple, preſident of the ſeſſion.
Adam Cockburn, of Ormiſtoun, lord juſtice-clerk.
Sir Robert Dundaſs, of Arniſtoun, and Robert Stewart, of Tillicultrie, } lords of ſeſſion.
Mr. Francis Montgomery, one of the commiſſioners of the Treaſury.
Sir David Dalrymple, one of her majeſty's ſollicitors.
Sir Alexander Ogilvie, receiver-general.
Sir Patrick Johnſton, provoſt of Edinburgh.
Sir James Smollet, of Bonhill.
George Lockhart, of Carnwath.
William Morriſon, of Preſtongrange.
Alexander Grant.
William Seton, of Pitmidden.
John Clark, of Pennycook.
Hugh Montgomery.
Daniel Stuart. And
Daniel Campbell.

The Engliſh commiſſioners named Mr. George Doddington, and the Scots, ſir David Nairn, to be their ſecretaries.

The commiſſioners of both kingdoms met, for the firſt time, on Tueſday the ſixteenth of April, 1706, at the council-chamber of the Cockpit, near Whitehall, the place appointed for their conferences; and their commiſſions being opened and read by the reſpective ſecretaries, and introductory ſpeeches delivered by the lord-keeper of England and the lord-chancellor of Scotland, it was agreed that copies of the ſeveral commiſſions ſhould be prepared and ſigned by the ſecretaries, and interchanged; and then the commiſſioners adjourned to the Monday following (April 22) when, being again aſſembled, the lord-keeper Cowper, in the name of the lords-commiſſioners for England, delivered to the board four preliminary articles, which were read, and were in ſubſtance as follows: That all propoſals made by either ſide ſhould be in writing; and every point, when agreed, reduced into writing: That no point, though agreed upon, ſhould be obligatory, till all matters ſhould be adjuſted in ſuch a manner as would be proper to be laid before the queen and the parliament of each nation, for their approbation: That a committee ſhould be appointed from each commiſſion, to

reviſe the minutes which might paſs, before they ſhould be inſerted in the books by the reſpective ſecretaries: and, laſtly, That all the proceedings during the treaty ſhould be kept ſecret.

The Scots propoſed a fœderal union, in the nature of that ſubſiſting between the Dutch United Provinces, or the cantons of Switzerland; but the Engliſh would hear of nothing leſs than an incorporating union, ſo as effectually to take from any future Scottiſh parliament, the power of repealing the articles of this treaty. Accordingly, on the twenty-fourth of April, the lord-keeper of England propoſed that the two kingdoms of England and Scotland ſhould be for ever united into one nation, by the name of GREAT-BRITAIN; that it ſhould be repreſented by one and the ſame parliament; and that the ſucceſſion to this monarchy, in failure of heirs of her majeſty's body, ſhould be ſubject to the limitations mentioned in an act of parliament made in England, in the twelfth and thirteenth year of the reign of the late king William III. entitled, "An act for the farther limitation of the crown, &c."

To theſe preliminaries the commiſſioners for Scotland agreed, with this proviſo only, "That all the ſubjects of the united kingdom of Great Britain ſhould have full freedom and intercourſe of trade and navigation, to or from any part or place within the ſaid united kingdoms, and plantations thereunto belonging, and that there may be a communication of all other privileges and advantages which do or may belong to the ſubjects of either kingdom." This the commiſſioners of England acquieſced in, under ſuch terms as, in the further progreſs of this treaty, ſhould be found for the common advantage of both kingdoms. Theſe general preliminaries being agreed upon, the commiſſioners proceeded to particulars; and during their conferences the queen made them ſeveral viſits to quicken their progreſs. I ſhall not trouble the reader with the ſeveral propoſals and anſwers on every head, which may be found at large in the Proceedings of the Lords-Commiſſioners for the Union, publiſhed by authority; but give him the ſubſtance of the articles as they were agreed to and ratified by both parliaments, though not without great oppoſition on the part of that of Scotland, as will hereafter appear.

ARTICLES of UNION between ENGLAND and SCOTLAND. *

I. That the two kingdoms of England and Scotland ſhall, from the firſt of May, 1707, be united into one kingdom, by the name of GREAT BRITAIN; and that the enſigns-armorial of the ſaid united kingdoms be ſuch as her majeſty ſhall appoint; and the croſſes of St. Andrew and St. George be conjoined in ſuch manner as her majeſty ſhall think fit, and uſed in all flags, banners, ſtandards, and enſigns, both by ſea and land.

II. That the ſucceſſion to the united monarchy of Great Britain ſhall be to the princeſs Sophia and her heirs; and that all papiſts, or perſons that marry papiſts, ſhall be for ever excluded from inheriting the imperial crown of Great Britain, agreeable to the proviſion for the deſcent of the crown of England, made in the firſt year of the reign of their late majeſties king William and queen Mary, entitled, "An act declaring the rights and liberties of the ſubject, &c."

III. That the united kingdoms of Great Britain ſhall be repreſented by one and the ſame parliament, to be ſtiled the parliament of GREAT BRITAIN.

IV. That the ſubjects of the united kingdoms ſhall have freedom of trade and navigation to all places within the ſame, and plantations belonging to it; and that there be a communication of all other rights, privileges, and advantages, except where it is otherwiſe expreſsly agreed in theſe articles.

V. That all ſhips or veſſels belonging to the Scots [at the time of ratifying the treaty of union of the two kingdoms in the parliament of Scotland] ſhall be deemed *Britiſh* built, the owners making oath that [at the time of ratifying the treaty of union in the parliament of Scotland] the ſame did [in the whole or in part] belong to them.

VI. All parts of the united kingdom to be under the ſame regulations of trade, and liable to the ſame cuſtoms and duties [excepting and reſerving the duties upon export and import of ſuch particular commodities, from which any perſons, the ſubjects of either kingdom, are eſpecially liberated and exempted by their private rights, which after the union are to remain ſafe and entire to them in all reſpects as before the ſame; and that from and after the union, no Scots cattle carried into England ſhall be liable to any other duties, either on the public or private accounts, than thoſe duties to which the cattle of England are or ſhall be liable within the ſaid kingdom: and ſeeing by the laws of England there are rewards granted upon the exportation of certain kinds of grain, wherein oats grinded or ungrinded are not expreſſed, that from and after the union, when oats ſhall be ſold for fifteen ſhillings ſterling per quarter, or under, there ſhall be paid two ſhillings and ſix-pence ſterling for every quarter of the oatmeal exported, in the terms of the law, whereby, and ſo long as rewards are granted for the exportation of other grains; and that the beer of Scotland have the ſame rewards as barley: and in reſpect the importation of victual into Scotland would prove a diſcouragement to tillage; therefore, that the prohibition, as now in force by the law of Scotland, againſt importation of victual from Ireland, or any other place beyond ſea, into Scotland, do after the union remain in the ſame force as now it is, until more proper and effectual ways be provided by the parliament of Great Britain for the diſcouraging the importation of the ſaid victual from beyond ſea.]

VII. That all parts of the united kingdom be liable to the ſame exciſes upon all exciſable liquors [excepting only that the thirty-four gallons Engliſh barrel of beer or ale, amounting to twelve gallons Scots preſent meaſure, ſold in Scotland by the brewer at nine ſhillings and ſixpence ſterling, excluding all duties, and retailed, including duties and the retailer's profit, at two-pence the Scots

* The words inſerted within crotchets, thus [ ], denote the amendments made by the Scots, which are thus diſtinguiſhed, that they may better appear to the reader's view.

pint,

pint, or eighth part of the Scots gallon, be not after the union liable, on account of the preſent exciſe upon exciſeable liquors in England, to any higher impoſition than two ſhillings ſterling upon the aforeſaid thirty-four gallons Engliſh barrel, being twelve gallons the preſent Scots meaſure.]

VIII. Foreign ſalt in England ſhall pay the ſame duty as in Scotland: [but in regard the duties of great quantities of foreign ſalt imported may be very heavy upon the merchants importers; that therefore all foreign ſalt imported into Scotland ſhall be cellared and locked up under the care of the merchant importer, and the officers employed for levying the duties upon ſalt: and that the merchant may have what quantities thereof his occaſions may require, not under a weight of forty buſhels at a time, upon his giving ſecurity for the duty of what quantities he receives payable in ſix months.] By this article it was alſo provided, that ſalt made in Scotland ſhould be exempted for ſeven years from the Engliſh duty; but from the expiration of the ſaid ſeven years, ſhall be ſubject to the ſame duties as ſalt made in England: [but Scotland ſhall, after the ſaid ſeven years, remain exempted from the duty of two ſhillings and four-pence per buſhel on home ſalt, impoſed by an act made in England in the ninth and tenth of king William III. of England: and if the parliament of Great Britain ſhall, at or before the expiring of the ſaid ſeven years, ſubſtitute any other fund in the place of the ſaid two ſhillings and four-pence of exciſe upon the buſhel of home ſalt, Scotland ſhall, after the ſaid ſeven years, bear a proportion of the ſaid fund, and have an equivalent in the terms of this treaty.] No ſalt whatſoever ſhall be brought from Scotland to England by land in any manner, under certain penalties denounced: and for eſtabliſhing an equality in trade it was provided [that all fleſh exported from Scotland to England, and ſhipped in Scotland to be exported beyond ſea; and proviſions for ſhips in Scotland, and foreign voyages, may be ſalted with Scots ſalt, paying the ſame duty for what ſalt is ſo employed, as the like quantity of ſuch ſalt pays in England, and under the ſame penalties, forfeitures, and proviſions, for preventing of frauds, as are mentioned in the laws of England.] And that for the encouragement of the herring fiſhery [there ſhall be allowed and paid to the ſubjects inhabitants of Great Britain, during the preſent allowances for other fiſhes, ten ſhillings and five-pence ſterling for every barrel of white herring that ſhall be exported from Scotland; and that they ſhall be allowed five ſhillings ſterling for every barrel of beef or pork ſalted with foreign ſalt, without mixture of Britiſh or Iriſh ſalts, and exported to ſale from Scotland to parts beyond ſea, alterable by the parliament of Great Britain.]

IX. That whenever the ſum of one million nine hundred and ninety-ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-three pounds eight ſhillings and four-pence halfpenny ſhall be enacted by the parliament of Great Britain on land, that part of the united kingdom now called Scotland ſhall be charged with the additional ſum of forty-eight thouſand pounds, as the quota of Scotland for ſuch tax, and ſo proportionably for any greater or leſſer ſum raiſed in England on land; the ſaid quota to be aſſeſſed in the ſame manner as the ceſs now is in Scotland, but ſubject to ſuch regulations as ſhall be made in the parliament of Great Britain.

X. That Scotland ſhall not be charged with the ſtamp-duties now in force in England.

XI. Nor with the duties payable in England on windows.

XII. Nor thoſe on coals and culm.

XIII. Scotland ſhall not pay the malt-duty during its continuance in England (which was to expire the twenty-fourth of June 1707.)

XIV. Scotland ſhall not be charged with any other duties impoſed by the parliament of England before the union, except thoſe conſented to in this treaty; and if the parliament of England, in their proviſion for the ſervice of the year 1707, ſhall impoſe any farther cuſtoms, Scotland ſhall have an equivalent for the ſhare thereof they may be liable to; [and Scotland ſhall not be charged with any impoſition on malt made or conſumed in that kingdom during this war.]

XV. Stipulates, That whereas, by the terms of this treaty, the ſubjects of Scotland, for preſerving an equality of trade throughout the united kingdom, will be liable to ſeveral cuſtoms and exciſes now payable in England, which will be applicable towards payment of the debts of England contracted before the union, it is agreed [That an equivalent ſhall be anſwered to Scotland for ſuch part of the Engliſh debts as Scotland may hereafter become liable to pay by reaſon of the union, other than ſuch for which appropriations have been made by parliament in England, of the cuſtoms and other duties on exports and imports, exciſes on all exciſable liquors, in reſpect of which debts equivalent are herein before provided]; which equivalent is herein ſtipulated to be three hundred ninety-eight thouſand eighty-five pounds ten ſhillings ſterling, to be granted by the parliament of England in the manner as in this article is particularly and at large explained. The diſtinction of this equivalent is in the ſame article applied, [1ſt, For indemnifying of private perſons for any loſſes they may ſuſtain by reducing the coin of Scotland to the ſtandard and value of England. 2dly, For indemnifying the ſufferers in the late African and Indian company of Scotland. 3dly, For diſcharging the public debts of Scotland. 4thly, For improving the manufacture of the coarſe wool of Scotland: and, 5thly, For encouraging and promoting the fiſheries, and ſuch other manufactures and improvements in Scotland as may moſt conduce to the general good of the united kingdom: for which end commiſſioners were to be appointed, &c.] It ſeems the Scots in general were ſo inflamed, by the deſtruction of their Darien or African company by the government of England, that nothing but the abſolute aſſurance of an equivalent for reimburſing of their whole capital employed on that affair, with intereſt, being two hundred and thirty-two thouſand one hundred and ſixty-two pounds ſixteen ſhillings and eleven-pence halfpenny, could have prepared their minds for this union; and they even inſiſted on the inſertion of this clauſe, [That if the ſaid ſtock capital and intereſt ſhall not be paid in twelve months after the commencement of the union, that then the ſaid company may from thenceforward trade, or give licence to trade, until the ſaid whole capital ſtock and intereſt ſhall be paid.]

XVI. That

XVI. That the coin be of the ſame ſtandard throughout the united kingdom as now in England, and a mint to be continued in Scotland, under the ſame rule as the mint in England, [and the preſent officers of that mint be continued.]

XVII. That the ſame weights and meaſures be uſed throughout the united kingdom as are now uſed in England; and ſtandards ſhall be kept in the burghs, agreeable to the ſtandard of the Engliſh Exchequer.

XVIII. That the laws for the regulation of trade, cuſtom, and ſuch exciſes which Scotland is to be liable to, ſhall be the ſame as thoſe in England. Other laws in Scotland to remain as before the union, but alterable by the parliament of Great Britain. Laws which concern public right, policy, and civil government, may be the ſame throughout the united kingdom, [but no alteration ſhall be made in the laws which concern private right, except for evident utility of the ſubjects of Scotland.]

XIX. The court of ſeſſion and other courts ſhall remain in Scotland the ſame as before the union, ſubject nevertheleſs to ſuch regulations, for the better adminiſtration of public juſtice, as ſhall be made by the parliament of Great Britain; [and that hereafter none ſhall be named by her majeſty and her royal ſucceſſors to be ordinary lords of ſeſſion, but ſuch who have ſerved in the college of juſtice as advocates or principal clerks of ſeſſion for the ſpace of five years, or as writers to the ſignet for the ſpace of ten years, with this proviſion, that no writer to the ſignet be capable to be admitted a lord of the ſeſſion, unleſs he undergo a private and public trial on the civil law, before the faculty of advocates, and be found by them qualified for the ſaid office two years before he be named to be a lord of the ſeſſion, yet ſo as the qualification made or to be made, for capacitating perſons to be named ordinary lords of the ſeſſion, may be altered by the parliament of Great Britain.] This is a very long article, and ſpecifies the ſeveral regulations to which theſe courts may be ſubjected, which are not ſufficiently intereſting to claim a place here.

XX. That all heritable offices, ſuperiorities, heritable juriſdictions, offices for life, and juriſdictions for life, be reſerved for the owners thereof as rights of property, in the ſame manner as they are now enjoyed by the laws of Scotland, this treaty in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

XXI. The rights and privileges of the royal boroughs in Scotland, as they now are, ſhall remain entire after the union, and notwithſtanding thereof.

XXII. That by virtue of this treaty, ſixteen of the peers of Scotland, at the time of the union, ſhall ſit and vote in the houſe of lords, and forty-five of the members of the repreſentatives of Scotland in the houſe of commons of the parliament of Great Britain, the choice whereof to be according to the act paſſed in Scotland for that purpoſe; [which act is hereby declared to be as valid as if it were a part of, and engroſſed in this treaty:] and in caſe her majeſty ſhall, on the firſt of May 1707, declare this preſent parliament to be the firſt parliament of Great Britain, the preſent parliament of England may be ſo on the part of England, and the ſixteen peers and the forty-five commoners for Scotland to ſit with them; ſuch parliament to continue no longer than the Engliſh parliament is by law allowed to continue.

XXIII. That the aforeſaid ſixteen peers of Scotland, mentioned in the laſt preceding article, to ſit in the houſe of lords of the parliament of Great Britain, ſhall have all the privileges of parliament which the peers of England now have, and which they or any peers of Great Britain ſhall have after the union, and particularly the right of ſitting upon the trials of peers; and that all peers of Scotland, and their ſucceſſors to their honours and dignities, ſhall, from and after the union, be peers of Great Britain, and have rank and precedency *next* and *immediately after* the peers of the orders and degrees in England at the time of the union, and *before* all peers of Great Britain of the like orders and degrees who may be created after the union.

XXIV. That from and after the union there ſhall be one great-ſeal for the united kingdom of Great Britain, which ſhall be different from the great-ſeal now uſed in either kingdom; and that the quarter of the arms [and the rank of the precedency of *Lyon* king at arms of the kingdom of Scotland] as may beſt ſuit the union, be left to her majeſty; and that in the privy-ſeal, ſigner, caſſet, &c. now uſed in Scotland, be continued; but that the ſaid ſeals be altered and adapted to the union, as her majeſty ſhall think fit: [that the crown, ſceptre, and ſword of ſtate, the records of parliament, and all other records, rolls, and registers whatſoever, both public and private, general and particular, and warrants thereof, continue to be kept as they are, within that part of the united kingdom called Scotland; and that they ſhall ſo remain in all time coming, notwithſtanding of the union.]

XXV. That all laws and ſtatutes in either kingdom, ſo far as they are contrary to, or inconſiſtent with the terms of theſe articles, or any of them, ſhall, from and after the union, cloſe and become void, and ſhall be ſo declared to be by the reſpective parliaments of the ſaid kingdoms.

There was no proviſion made in this treaty with reſpect to religion; for in the acts of parliament of both kingdoms, which empowered the queen to name commiſſioners for treating of an union, there was an expreſs reſtriction that they ſhould not treat of thoſe matters.

The above articles being agreed to, they were ſigned by the reſpective commiſſioners on the twenty-ſecond day of July 1706; and the next day the lords commiſſioners waited on the queen at St. James's with them, when the lord-keeper Cowper, in the name of the Engliſh commiſſioners, made a ſpeech, congratulating her majeſty on the concluſion of a treaty which ſo happily united the different parts of this iſland under the ſame monarchy. The earl of Seafield, lord-chancellor of Scotland, did the ſame on the part of the commiſſioners for that kingdom: to which her majeſty was pleaſed to return the following gracious anſwer:

" My lords,

" I give you many thanks for the great pains you have taken in this treaty, and am very well pleaſed to find your endeavours and applications

have brought it to ſo good a concluſion: the particulars of it ſeem ſo reaſonable, that I hope they will meet with approbation in the parliaments of both kingdoms. I wiſh therefore my ſervants of Scotland may loſe no time in going down to propoſe it to my ſubjects of that kingdom; and I ſhall always look upon it as a particular happineſs if this union (which will be ſo great a ſecurity and advantage to both kingdoms) can be accompliſhed in my reign."

From domeſtic affairs let us now direct our attention towards the field, in which reſpect this year may be juſtly ſtiled the year of wonders!

Lewis XIV. had determined to exert his utmoſt efforts in the courſe of this campaign; and indeed at the beginning of it his armies were very formidable: he hoped, that by the reduction of Turin and Barcelona, he ſhould put an end to the war in Italy and Catalonia: he knew that his forces on the Rhine were ſuperior to any body of troops the prince of Baden could aſſemble; and he reſolved to reinforce his army in Flanders, ſo as to be in a condition to act offenſively againſt the duke of Marlborough.

That general left England in the beginning of April, and repaired to the Hague, where, having concerted the operations of the campaign with the States, he took the field about a fortnight afterwards. The French, who made great advantages laſt war by early campaigns, had this ſpring formed a deſign to ſurprize the duke of Marlborough before the Danes and Pruſſians (whom he had engaged as auxiliaries laſt year) ſhould join him; and thereupon the elector of Bavaria and marſhal Villeroy paſſed the Dyle * in the beginning of May, and advanced directly towards the confederate army. The duke, who was ſeldom ſurprized for want of intelligence of the enemy's motions, being appriſed of their deſign, diſpatched an expreſs to the Daniſh troops to join him, and they arrived, under the duke of Wirtemberg their commander, within a league of the confederates camp (which was between Borchloen and Groes Waren) on the twenty-ſecond of May, when the duke, on reviewing his army, found it amounted to ſeventy-four battalions of foot, and one hundred and twenty-three ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, provided with an hundred pieces of cannon, twenty hawbitzers, and forty-two pontoons. About the ſame time that the Danes arrived in the confederate army, that of the French was joined by marſhal Marſin's horſe; ſo that their number amounted to ſeventy-ſix battalions, and one hundred and thirty two ſquadrons: confiding therefore in their ſuperiority, they came out of their lines, and encamped between Tirlemont and Judoigne.

Marlborough on his part was no leſs eager for a battle, relying on the goodneſs and known bravery of his troops. Accordingly, having conſulted with monſieur d'Auverquerque the Dutch general, it was reſolved to advance towards the enemy; and on Sunday the twelfth of May, (being Whitſunday) about three in the morning, the confederate army marched in eight columns towards Ramillies, a village where the Gheete takes its ſource, in order to avoid the inconvenience of paſſing that river. Being advanced near the ſaid village, the enemy were perceived getting into the ſtrong camp of Mont St. André, and placing their right towards the Mehaigne. This river flows about half a league from Ramillies †, the ground between them being upon a level. The Gheete runs from Ramillies to Anderkirk, through a marſhy ground; and beyond Anderkirk the river grows wide, and the ground is impaſſable. Their left extended to Anderkirk, while a good number of battalions were poſted in Offuz and Ramillies near their center. This precaution, though it might be prudent in the enemy, was a ſtrong indication that their courage was rather cooled. His grace judging, by the ſituation of the ground, that the ſtreſs of the action would be on our left, ordered that, beſides the number of horſe belonging to that wing, the Daniſh ſquadrons, being twenty in number, ſhould alſo be poſted there.

About two in the afternoon the allied army was drawn up in order of battle, with the right wing near Foltz, on the brook of Yauſe, and the left by the village of Franquennes, which the enemy had occupied. The action was begun on the left of our army by four battalions, which puſhed a brigade of foot from their poſt on the Mehaigne. Monſieur Auverquerque about the ſame time charged the troops of the French houſhold with the horſe of that wing. The ſucceſs was doubtful for about half an hour, which the duke of Marlborough perceiving, ordered the reſt of the horſe of the right wing, except the Engliſh, who were ſeventeen ſquadrons, to ſupport thoſe on the left. While the duke was in perſon rallying ſome of the broken ſquadrons, in order to renew the charge, he was in very great danger of being either killed or taken priſoner, by falling from his horſe; but was ſuccoured in time by a party of our horſe that came to his aſſiſtance. Colonel Bringfield, in re-mounting him, had his head ſtruck off by a cannon-ball. The duke then ordered lieutenant-general Schultz, with twelve battalions, twenty pieces of cannon, and ſome hawbitzers, to attack the village of Ramillies, which was ſtrongly fortified with artillery. The attack was made with great vigour and reſolution: the enemy was beat quite out of the village, and in endeavouring to make good their retreat, were moſt of them either killed or taken priſoners.

By this time the enemy's right wing of horſe being entirely defeated, the Dutch and Daniſh horſe of the left wing of the allied army fell upon the foot on their right, cut in pieces no leſs than

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* A river of the Auſtrian Netherlands, which riſes in Brabant, runs north by Louvain, and having received the Demer, runs weſt by Mechlin, and falls into the Schelde at Rupplemond.

† Ramillies is a village (ſurrounded with a ditch) in Brabant, in the diſtrict of Louvaine, by the ſkirts of the province of Namur, rendered famous to all poſterity by the glorious victory obtained there by the duke of Marlborough and monſieur d'Auverquerque over the elector of Bavaria and marſhal Villeroy, which was followed by the reduction of almoſt all the Netherlands in two months time. It lies at the head of the Gheet, about a mile and a half north from the ſide of the Mehaigne, that interval being the narrow aperture where that glorious battle was fought. It is eleven miles north from Namur.

twenty battalions, and made themſelves maſters of their colours and cannon. The reſt of the enemy's infantry began to retreat in tolerable order, under cover of the cavalry of their left wing, which formed themſelves in three lines, between Oſſuz and Anderkirk; but the Engliſh horſe having found means to croſs a rivulet which divided them from the enemy, attacked them ſo quick, and with ſo much bravery, that they entirely abandoned their foot; and our dragoons puſhing into the village of Anderkirk, made a terrible ſlaughter of them. The enemy now gave way on all ſides: the elector of Bavaria and marſhal Villeroy ſaved themſelves with the utmoſt difficulty. Several waggons of the enemy's vanguard breaking down in a narrow paſs, ſo obſtructed the way, that the baggage and artillery could not proceed, nor could their troops defile in order. The victorious horſe hearing of this accident, preſſed on them ſo vigorouſly, that the French king's own regiment of foot called for quarter, and delivered up their arms and colours. The allies continued the purſuit till two o'clock the next morning, by the way of Judoigne, as far as Melden, five leagues from the place of battle, and two leagues diſtant from Louvain.

In fine, never was victory more complete: all the enemy's cannon, a very few pieces excepted, fell into the hands of the confederates, with moſt of their baggage, about one hundred and twenty colours, and ſeveral pairs of kettle-drums. The French in this action, if we reckon the ſlain, wounded, and deſerters, whoſe numbers were very great, loſt forty thouſand men; near half their army. The perſons of note among the priſoners were, meſſieurs Palavicini and Mezieres, major-generals; the marquis de Bar, brigadier-general of horſe; the marquis de Nonant, brigadier-general of foot; the marquis de la Baume, ſon of the marſhal de Tallard; monſieur de Montmorency, nephew to the late duke of Luxemburgh; and ſeveral others. Thus did the army of the confederates, in the ſpace of little more than an hour, defeat an army of eighty thouſand men, while their own loſs did not amount to much more than two thouſand: of perſons of note, prince Lewis of Heſſe and M. Bentinck were the only ſlain, and none taken priſoners.

After this ſignal diſcomfiture of the French army, which is by all military writers agreed to have been owing to the injudicious manner in which marſhal Villeroy drew up his army, the allies met with no further interruption in their conqueſts. Louvain *, Mechlin †, Bruſſels ‡, Antwerp ‖, Ghent §, and Bruges ¶, all ſurrendered to the victors within a fortnight, without waiting for a ſiege. Oſtend ** indeed made ſome ſhew of a defence, but capitulated, after having been inveſted ten days only. Menin ††, reckoned the moſt finiſhed fortification in Europe, and ſupplied with a garriſon of ſix thouſand men, received the conquerors within their gates in eighteen days after opening the trenches. Dendermonde ‡‡ ſuſtained a blockade of ſome weeks, which the duke of Marlborough afterwards ordered to be turned into a regular ſiege, which terminated in the garriſon's ſurrendering themſelves priſoners of war. Aeth ‖‖ was next inveſted, and ſubmitted on the ſame terms, after twenty days reſiſtance.

The conqueſt of all thoſe places was compleated by the middle of September. Marſhal Villeroy,

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* Louvaine is a very large and pleaſant city of the Low Countries. It ſtands on the river Dyle, eleven miles ſouth-eaſt of Mechlin, fifteen north-eaſt of Bruſſels, twenty-ſeven north of Namur, and thirty-eight north-eaſt of Mons.

† Mechlin, or Malines, a large city on the Dyle and Demer, twelve miles north-weſt of Louvaine, fourteen north-eaſt of Bruſſels, and ſixteen ſouth-eaſt of Antwerp. It is a large and well-built place, conſiſting of ſeveral iſlands formed by the Dyle, or artificial canals, over which are ſeveral bridges. It is fortified, but of no conſiderable ſtrength, and is the ſee of an archbiſhop, who is primate of the Low Countries. The concurrence of this little lordſhip is neceſſary to the enacting of laws and raiſing of money, though belonging to Auſtria. Its principal manufacture is lace, the fineſt in Europe, and takes its name from it. Here alſo they have old ſtrong beer, with which they ſerve the other provinces of the Netherlands. Buſching.

‡ Bruſſels is a very fair, large, and noble city of the Low Countries, the marquiſate of the dukedom of Brabant, in the quarter of Bruſſels, ſubject to the queen of Hungary, and the ſeat of her chief governor for thoſe parts. It is pleaſantly ſeated on the river Senne, twenty-four miles ſouth of Antwerp, thirty ſouth-eaſt of Ghent, and ninety-ſix ſouth of Amſterdam. Salmon.

‖ Antwerp is a large and beautiful city, the capital of the marquiſate of the ſame name, in the Netherlands, with a citadel reckoned one of the ſtrongeſt in the Low Countries. It is ſurrounded by the province of Brabant, ſtands on the eaſt ſhore of the Scheld, twenty-five miles north of Bruſſels, and the ſame diſtance north-eaſt of Ghent. The city is built in the form of a creſcent on the river, which is here twenty-two feet deep, and four hundred yards in breadth; ſo that veſſels of burden can come up to the quay; and canals are cut through the town from the river, which bring up ſmall veſſels to their very doors. About two hundred years ago it was the greateſt trading port in Europe; but now the traffic is removed to Amſterdam, and other towns in Holland. It is the ſee of a biſhop, under the archbiſhop of Mechlin, and ſubject to the houſe of Auſtria. Salmon. Buſching.

§ Ghent is a very large city and caſtle, one of the principal of the Low Countries, the marquiſate of the earldom of Flanders, and territory of Ghent, a biſhopric under the archbiſhop of Mechlin. It ſtands on the rivers Scheld and Lys (which divide it into twenty-ſix iſlands) twenty-ſeven miles almoſt ſouth-weſt of Antwerp, thirty north-weſt of Bruſſels, ninety-four almoſt ſouth of Amſterdam, and one hundred and fifty-four north-eaſt of Paris. Salmon.

¶ Bruges is a fair, ſtrong, and noble city of the Low Countries, in the earldom of Flanders, the head of the territory of Bruges, a biſhopric, under the archbiſhop of Mechlin. It ſtands twenty-four miles north-weſt of Ghent, eleven eaſt of Oſtend, thirty-four north eaſt of Dunkirk, and forty weſt of Antwerp. Buſching.

** Oſtend is a very ſtrong and fine ſea-port of the Low Countries, in the earldom of Flanders, the marquiſate of the territory of Vianden-Urien. It ſtands about nine miles north-eaſt of Newport, eleven weſt of Bruges, twenty ſouth-weſt of Sluys, twenty-four north-eaſt of Dunkirk, and thirty-five almoſt weſt of Ghent. Salmon.

†† Menin, a town of the Low Countries, in the earldom of Flanders. It ſtands on the river Lys, five miles ſouth-weſt of Courtray, nine almoſt north of Liſle, and twelve almoſt ſouth-eaſt of Ypres.

‡‡ Dendermonde, a ſtrong town of the Low Countries, in the earldom of Flanders. It ſtands on the river Scheld and Dender, twelve miles eaſt of Ghent, fourteen ſouth-weſt of Antwerp, and ſeventeen north-weſt of Bruſſels.

‖‖ Aeth, a ſtrong frontier town of the Low Countries, in the earldom of Hainault, the marquiſate of the territory of Brabant. The French took it in 1697, but reſtored it to the Spaniards the ſame year, by the treaty of Ryſwick; and the confederates (under the command of monſieur d'Auverquerque) took poſſeſſion of it the preſent campaign. It ſtands on the river Dender, fourteen miles almoſt north-weſt of Mons, twenty-two almoſt ſouth-weſt of Bruſſels, and twenty-four ſouth of Ghent.

in deſpair, did not dare to acquaint the king with the defeat he had ſuſtained at Ramillies: he continued five days without diſpatching a courier. At length he wrote a confirmation of this news, which had already filled the court of France with conſternation. Lewis, however, affected to bear his misfortunes with calmneſs and compoſure; but the effect they had on his mind ſenſibly diſplayed itſelf in the altered ſtate of his health. He immediately ſent for the duke of Vendoſme out of Italy, where he thought his preſence not ſo neceſſary, to replace Villeroy, and repair, if poſſible, the diſgrace that had befallen the arms of France; but that general having fixed himſelf in a ſtrong camp that could not be forced, did not think fit to give the duke of Marlborough any diſturbance while he lay with the confederate army covering the ſieges. With that of Aeth the allies finiſhed their glorious campaign in Flanders, and ſoon after the army broke up and went into winter-quarters. The duke of Marlborough returned to the Hague, and M. Auverquerque being appointed to command in chief in the Netherlands, took up his reſidence at Bruſſels, while the ſtates of Flanders, having aſſembled at Ghent, formally recognized for their ſovereign Charles II. *.

I have already obſerved, that Lewis XIV. had entertained ſtrong hopes of making himſelf maſter of Turin, the capital of the duke of Savoy's dominions, and almoſt the only town that prince had left. The French indeed had met with ſome ſucceſs in the beginning of this year's campaign in Italy; having attacked the Imperialiſts at Calcinato, in the abſence of prince Eugene, drove them from their poſts, and obliged them to quit the territories of Breſciano, with the loſs of three thouſand men killed or taken priſoners, beſides their cannon and baggage. Upon this ſucceſs the French king ordered the duke de la Feuillade to inveſt Turin †. Prince Eugene was at too great a diſtance to come to its relief: he was on the other ſide of the Adigi ‡; and a long chain of entrenchments that lined the river on this ſide, ſeemed to make a paſſage impracticable. Fifty-ſix ſquadrons and one hundred battalions formed the ſiege of this great city, who began to batter the town and citadel on the eighth day of June, and on the fifteenth the beſiegers fired red-hot bullets, many of which fell near the duke's palace; whereupon his royal highneſs ſent the two ducheſſes (his wife and mother) with the young prince and princeſſes, to ſome diſtance from the town, and marched out himſelf on the ſeventeenth, leaving a numerous garriſon, under the command of count Thaun, general of the emperor's forces. His royal highneſs took this ſtep in order to amuſe the duke de la Feuillade. The latter immediately quitted the direction of the ſiege to purſue the prince, who being better acquainted with the ground, baffled his purſuit. Thus la Feuillade miſſed the duke, and the buſineſs of the ſiege ſuffered by it. At length, finding the duke of Savoy was not to be ſurprized, the French general returned to the camp before Turin, leaving the duke of Aubeterre with forty ſquadrons and five battalions to attend the duke of Savoy's motions.

The duke of Vendoſme had been poſted on the banks of the Adigi, from the thirteenth of May to the twentieth of June, to cover this ſiege, and thought himſelf certain, with ſeventy battalions and ſixty ſquadrons, to ſtop all the paſſages againſt prince Eugene; but that prince ſhewed himſelf a greater general than his adverſary: he croſſed the Adigi, and even the Po, a river larger, and in ſome places more difficult of paſſage than the Rhine; and before Vendoſme left Italy to take upon him the command of marſhal Villeroy's ſcattered forces in Flanders, he ſaw prince Eugene in a condition to advance to the relief of Turin.

Upon the recalling of Vendoſme, Lewis XIV. ſent his nephew the duke of Orleans to command his army in Italy, who found the troops in as much diſorder as if they had ſuffered a defeat. Eugene had paſſed the Po in ſight of Vendoſme; he now croſſed the Tanaro in view of the duke of Orleans, took Carpi, Corregio, and Reggio; ſtole a march upon the French, and joined the duke of Savoy with his whole army, near Aſti §, on Sept. 1.

The city of Turin was at this time reduced to great diſtreſs, moſt of the powder being ſpent, and the enemy having made a lodgment on the counterſcarpe, and carried ſeveral other parts of the works: they were indeed beaten out again by the garriſon; but it was thought impoſſible that the beſieged could reſiſt many more attacks. His royal highneſs and prince Eugene therefore found themſelves under a neceſſity of marching immediately to the relief of the place. Accordingly, they paſſed the Doria on September 6, and encamped with their right on the banks of that river before Pioneſſa, and with the left on the banks of the Stura. The next day the army moved by break of day towards the enemy, who were intrenched very deep, having the Stura on their right, the Doria on their left, and the convent of Capuchines of our Lady de la Campagna in their center, beſides Luſingua, and ſeveral other fortified caſſines which flanked their intrenchments. Never was a march more bold than that which the allied army made on this occaſion, having a continual fire to ſuſtain from forty pieces of cannon which the enemy had pointed to gall them. The duke of Orleans perceiving the intrepidity with which the duke and the prince advanced towards him, propoſed to quit the intrenchments, and march directly to the enemy. In this advice he was joined by almoſt all the general officers in the army; but marſhal Marſin producing an order from the French

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* Hiſtory of Europe. Tindal. Life of the duke of Marlborough. Feuquieres. Voltaire.

† Turin is a ſtrong and ſplendid city of Italy, with a fine caſtle, the marquiſate of the principality of Piedmont, in the territory of Turin, an archbiſhopric and univerſity, is ſubject to the duke of Savoy, and his ſeat. It ſtands in a very fruitful and pleaſant vale on the river Po, twenty miles nigh eaſt of Pignerol, ſeventy-eight miles weſt of Genoa and Milan, two hundred and fifty weſt of Venice, three hundred and ſixty north-eaſt of Paris, thirty-four north-weſt of Rome, and four hundred and ſixty ſouth-weſt of Vienna.

‡ The Adigi, or Etſch, is a large river in Italy, riſes in the Rhœtian Alps, runs near the cities of Trent and Verona, ſouth of the former, and eaſt of the latter. It is the only conſiderable ſtream in Lombardy which does not fall into the Po, and at laſt empties itſelf into the Adriatic.

§ Aſti, or Aſta, is the capital of a county of the ſame name in Piedmont in Italy, ſituate in a pleaſant fruitful valley, not far from the river Tanaro.

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king, which left every thing to his deciſion in caſe of an action; and giving it as his opinion to remain in the lines, the duke was forced to acquieſce.

When the army of the confederates came within half cannon-ſhot of the French lines, it drew up in order of battle, and began to fire the great guns: the whole army then moved in a moment; the infantry marched up with their muſkets to the foot of the intrenchments, and prince Eugene putting himſelf at the head of the left wing, began the attack, which was directed with ſuch amazing vigour and intrepidity, that in leſs than two hours he forced the enemy's entrenchments. The duke of Savoy did the like in the center and the right near Luſingua. By noon the allies were maſters of the French camp, and the defeat of the enemy was become general. The duke of Orleans behaved with great gallantry and courage, and received ſeveral wounds in the action. Marſhal de Marſin was taken priſoner, after having his thigh ſhattered by a cannon-ball, and died in a few hours after under the amputation. The French loſt in the action, near ſeven thouſand men killed, with three hundred officers and about eight thouſand private men taken priſoners; two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, one hundred and eight mortars, ſeven thouſand eight hundred bombs, thirty-two thouſand hand-granades, forty-eight thouſand cannon-balls, four thouſand cheſts of muſket-balls, eighty-ſix thouſand barrels of gun-powder, all their tents and baggage, five thouſand beaſts of burden, ten thouſand horſes belonging to thirteen regiments of dragoons, and the mules of the commiſſary-general, all fell into the hands of the victors: the latter of theſe were ſo richly laden, that this part of the booty alone was valued at three millions of livres, near one hundred and thirty thouſand pounds of our money. The loſs of the confederates did not amount to three thouſand men, killed, wounded, or diſabled, in the attack, beſides about two thouſand of the garriſon of Turin, who had fallen during the courſe of the ſiege.

The duke of Savoy now entered his capital in triumph, while the duke of Orleans, finding it impoſſible to procure ſubſiſtence for the troops he had with him, retired into Dauphiny with the ſhattered remains of his army.

While theſe great things were tranſacting at Turin, the count of Medavi-Grancei, who was at that time in the Mantuan with a body of troops, defeated the Imperialiſts at Caſtiglione, under the command of the prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, and obliged him to retreat to Adigi, with the loſs of two thouſand men: but this, though a complete, proved a fruitleſs victory; for the duchy of Milan, Mantua, Piedmont, and laſtly, the kingdom of Naples, were recovered from the French within a very ſhort time of one another *.

The affairs of France were as unſucceſsful in Spain as in Germany, Flanders, and Italy. In the beginning of April this year king Philip and the marſhal de Teſſe, the French general, at the head of a numerous army, undertook the ſiege of Barcelona, which was defended by his rival Charles in perſon: it was at the ſame time blocked up by ſea by the count de Thouloufe with a powerful ſquadron. The inhabitants, encouraged by the preſence of king Charles, defended the town with great bravery; nevertheleſs, the enemy's army being compoſed of veteran troops, carried on the ſiege very vigorouſly, and on the twenty-fourth made themſelves maſters of Montjuic, taking above four hundred of the garriſon, and moſt of the officers, priſoners. Lord Donnegal was ſlain in the attack, after having cut down ſeveral of the enemy's grenadiers with his own hand. About the ſame time the earl of Peterborough arrived in the neighbourhood of the place from Valencia with two thouſand men; and though he found it impoſſible to enter the city, yet he kept his poſt upon the hills with admirable courage and activity, and alarmed the beſiegers with frequent ſkirmiſhes. Barcelona, however, was at length ſo hard preſſed, that it was thought impoſſible to hold out many days longer, when, on the eighth of May, the drooping ſpirits of the garriſon were revived by obſerving the enemy's fleet getting under ſail in a great hurry, and ſeveral of their ſhips ſtanding out to ſea, which gave the beſieged aſſurance that an Engliſh fleet was coming to their relief.

This was really the fact: the confederate fleet, commanded by ſir George Byng, arrived from England, and joined the ſquadron under ſir John Leake on the firſt of May, in the bay of Altea, and were ſoon after farther reinforced by commodore Walker with ſeveral men of war; ſo that the fleet conſiſted of thirty-ſeven Engliſh, and thirteen Dutch ſhips; in all, fifty of the line of battle, beſides eight frigates, fire-ſhips, &c. The ſeventh the fleet came off Tarragona, when the earl of Peterborough joined them with ſeveral barks, on board of which were fourteen hundred land forces. His excellency went on board the prince George, and hoiſted the union flag at the main-top-maſt head †. The eighth, in the morning, they came off Cape Montjoy. The French admiral, upon news of the approach of the confederate fleet, had retired the night before; and taking advantage of a fair wind, made the beſt of his way to Toulon. In the afternoon the confederate fleet anchored in the bay of Barcelona, to the inexpreſſible joy of the inhabitants of that place. The enemy however ſtill made a ſhew of keeping up the ſiege; but on the twelfth of May, in the morning, king Philip marched off in a manner little expected, and in ſo great diſorder, that he left all his tents behind him, together with his ſick and wounded, whom the marſhal de Teſſe, by a letter, recommended to the earl of Peterborough's clemency, who behaved with the utmoſt tenderneſs and indulgence towards them. King Philip made all the haſte he could to Perpignan, but his army was almoſt entirely ruined before he got thither ‡.

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* Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV. Hiſtory of Europe. Broderick, &c.

† The earl of Peterborough was admiral of the fleet, as well as general of the land forces.

‡ There happened a total eclipſe of the ſun in thoſe parts that morning the French raiſed the ſiege: this was looked upon as very ominous by the lower kind of people; and marſhal Teſſe was much blamed even by his ſuperiors, for not having raiſed the ſiege a day ſooner, and the rather as the French king had made the ſun, with this motto, *Nec pluribus impar*, his device. Hiſtory of Europe. Burnet. Naval Hiſt. &c.

To theſe diſaſters was added yet another, which ſeemed to give the finiſhing ſtroke to the hopes of the Bourbon family. The earl of Galway, who commanded the forces in Portugal, took almoſt every place he preſented himſelf before, and had advanced even into the provice of Eſtremadura; while the duke of Berwick, who headed the troops of France and Spain, in vain attempted to ſtop his progreſs: he now penetrated as far as the bridge of Almaras. Philip V. uncertain of his fate, was in Perpignan: the court of Spain was filled with conſternation, not in the leaſt doubting but the victorious allies would immediately march to Madrid; but the overſight of the latter preſerved the crown on Philip's head: the Portugueze, conſidering only their own ſafety, refuſed to proceed any farther till they ſhould hear of the fate of Barcelona. In the interim, Philip's queen (a daughter of the duke of Savoy) who had gained the affections of the Spaniards by the pains ſhe took to pleaſe them, and by an intrepidity and fortitude above her ſex, ſummoned the grandees and magiſtrates of Madrid to attend her, when ſhe made the following ſpeech:

"I have ſent for you, to acquaint you what diſtreſs the ſtate is in; I cannot conceal it from you: while the king is expoſing his life in your defence, heaven bleſſes his arms in Catalonia, and we hope that rebellious province will ſhortly be reduced; but affairs do not go ſo well in Eſtremadura: the Portugueze advance. Will you tamely ſee ſuch enemies approach you? do you not think of exerting your utmoſt efforts to make them repent their audaciouſneſs? The preſervation of the monarchy is now the point in queſtion. You ought, in this preſſing neceſſity, to ſhew your loyalty and zeal, by ſacrificing your all for the king, for me, and for yourſelves. Powerful and ſpeedy ſuccours are neceſſary. I am the firſt queen who has appeared in this place on ſuch an occaſion. When I give you ſuch extraordinary marks of my affection, I well deſerve you ſhould do ſomething for me, and appear in my defence."

This pathetic diſcourſe, however, produced very little effect: the Spaniards appeared ſtruck with a panic that took from them all power of deliberating on the moſt proper means for oppoſing the victors, who proceeded in their march to Madrid. Philip hereupon poſted through France, and arrived in that city on the ſixth of June; but finding that moſt of the grandees were fled, and having no army he could truſt to; and ſeeing moreover that the Portugueze and Engliſh were almoſt at the gates, he ſent his queen to Burgos *, whither he followed her in a few days, having withdrawn the court and all the tribunals before the earl of Galway could reach the place; ſo that upon his arrival, about the latter end of June, he found Madrid an open village. But the troops having been extremely weakened by ſo long a march, and not being above four thouſand horſe, and eight or ten thouſand foot, the Portugueze generals and thoſe of the allies thought it highly neceſſary that Charles ſhould come to Madrid as ſoon as poſſible: for beſides the advantage his preſence might have been to his own affairs among the Spaniards, who retained all the pride, though they wanted the courage, of their anceſtors, and thought it beneath them to make their ſubmiſſion to any but king Charles himſelf; it was of the laſt importance to the allies to be immediately joined by the forces under the king and the earl of Peterborough's command, not being ſtrong enough without them to attack Philip, who had already received ſome ſuccours from France, beſides five thouſand four hundred horſe, and eight thouſand foot, under the duke of Berwick and the Conde de las Torres. Expreſs after expreſs was ſent to king Charles to haſten his march to his capital city, where the earl of Galway had cauſed him to be proclaimed on the twenty-eighth of June; but the province of Arragon declaring for Charles at the ſame time, he marched into Saragoſſa, where he unhappily ſpent ſo much time, that his rival Philip aſſembled an army ſuperior to that of the allies, and marched to give the earl of Galway battle, who, conſcious of his own inferiority, choſe to quit Madrid and retire; ſo that Philip V. in leſs than ſix weeks after leaving Madrid like a fugitive, entered it again in triumph. The conſequence of this turn of affairs was, that Toledo, Salamanca, and the reſt of the towns in Caſtile which had declared for the houſe of Auſtria, ſubmitted again to the yoke of the French.

At length, when it was too late, Charles joined the earl of Galway and the marquis das Minas, at Guadalaxara, in the beginning of Auguſt, with a ſmall body of troops, and was followed by the earl of Peterborough at the head of five hundred dragoons. By this junction the army of the allies became nearly equal in number to that of the enemy, and the event of a battle might have been finally deciſive; but as both ſides expected to be reinforced, neither ſide would put any thing to the hazard. So ſoon as the armies were joined, the earl of Galway waited upon lord Peterborough, offering him the command of the Engliſh, and to ſerve under him till he could have the queen's leave to return home (for which he had applied); but the marquis das Minas refuſing to do the like, the earl of Peterborough, who aſpired to the chief command, choſe not to ſtay with the army; and embarking in diſguſt on board an Engliſh ſhip, ſet ſail for Genoa †.

The confederates had formed a deſign this year of making a deſcent upon the coaſt of France by way of diverſion; and accordingly about eleven thouſand men were embarked, under the command of the earl of Rivers, with a large train of artillery; and the combined fleet, conſiſting of one hundred and fifty ſail, commanded by ſir Cloudeſley Shovel, ſet ſail from Plymouth on the 30th of Auguſt. The ſcheme for invading France had been propoſed by the marquis de Guiſcard, who from a motive of diſguſt had abandoned his country, and engaged in the ſervice of the allies. He

* Burgos is a large, but irregular city, and the capital of Old Caſtile in Spain. It ſtands on a mountain, from which it extends to the rapid little river Aranzon, over which is a good bridge. It was built in the ninth or tenth century, out of the ruins of the ancient city Auca; is the ſee of an archbiſhopric, and ſituated one hundred and ten miles north of Madrid.

† Burnet. Hiſtory of Europe. Voltaire.

obtained the rank of a lieutenant-general in the emperor's army, and afterwards coming over to London, inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of Mr. Henry St. John, and other perſons of diſtinction. His ſcheme of invading France was approved of by the miniſtry, and he was, by way of reward, promoted to the command of a regiment of dragoons, with which he embarked in the expedition. However, the fleet being driven into Torbay by contrary winds, where it was detained for a conſiderable time; in the interim a diſcovery was made that Guiſcard's plan was altogether romantic, or at leaſt built upon ſuch a precarious baſis as could not juſtify the attempting its execution; and letters having arrived from the earl of Galway, ſoliciting ſuccours with the moſt earneſt importunity, the expedition to France was poſtponed; and ſir Cloudeſley Shovel and the earl of Rivers, with the land forces on board, were ordered to make the beſt of their way to Liſbon, there to take ſuch meaſures as the ſituation of affairs ſhould indicate to be moſt expedient.

They arrived ſafe in the Tagus on the 18th of October, when lord Rivers, finding the communication between Portugal and the allies was cut off, ſailed round to Alicant in order to join the earl of Galway on that ſide; and having landed his troops, who were in a miſerable condition by being kept ſo long on board, he returned to England, together with the earl of Eſſex and brigadier Gorges, who embarked with thoſe troops in the firſt deſign, and ſir Cloudeſley ſailed back with the fleet to Liſbon *.

As to that part of the Engliſh fleet which had relieved Barcelona, under the command of ſir John Leake and ſir George Byng, it continued all the ſummer in the Mediterranean, and cooped up the French navy in the harbour of Toulon. They ſecured Carthagena, which had declared for king Charles, and took Alicant by aſſault. Sir John Leake next made the neceſſary diſpoſition for a winter ſquadron, to be commanded by ſir George Byng, and then proceeded to put in execution his laſt orders, which were to reduce the iſlands of Majorca † and Ivica ‡; both which ſurrendered, after little or no reſiſtance; and the admiral having cauſed king Charles III. to be proclaimed in each, and left garriſons to ſecure his conqueſts, he ſailed out of the Streights in the beginning of October, when he diſpatched a ſquadron under ſir John Jennings to the Weſt Indies, and another under ſir George Byng to lie at Liſbon: then proſecuting his voyage for England, he arrived ſafe at Spithead about the middle of the ſame month, with the reſt of the fleet, which was ſoon after laid up for the winter ſeaſon §.

Poland was this year delivered from the preſence of that hot-headed conqueror the king of Sweden, who, obſerving that he ſhould never be able effectually to dethrone king Auguſtus, unleſs he cut off the ſupplies which that monarch conſtantly received from Saxony, he marched through Sileſia and Luſatia into Saxony, plundered the open country through its whole extent, and obliged the rich city of Leipſick, and other towns, to pay him contributions. King Auguſtus ſeeing his hereditary dominions in the hands of his enemy, ſoon found he could no longer maintain the war in Poland, and therefore agreed to a treaty in the month of September, by which he reſigned the kingdom of Poland and the grand duchy of Lithuania, and acknowleged Staniſlaus Leczinſki as the true and rightful king of Poland, reſerving to himſelf only the empty title of ſovereign.

Charles of Sweden in the heart of Germany, was, however, an object of great diſcontent to the members of the grand alliance. Lewis XIV. who was redoubling all his efforts to retrieve his ſhattered affairs, ſpared no pains to ſollicit the young victor's alliance. Charles however rejected all offers of that nature. Lewis then implored his mediation for a peace: he replied, That he was very ready to interpoſe his good offices, whenever he ſhould find the allies willing to accept the ſame. Baffled in this application, the French king had recourſe to a method for bringing about a treaty, which could not but be very mortifying to one who aimed at univerſal monarchy. He employed the elector of Bavaria to write letters in his name to the duke of Marlborough and the deputies of the States-general (dated the twenty-firſt of October, ſoon after the battle of Ramillies) containing propoſals for opening a congreſs. He likewiſe ſollicited the pope to interpoſe in his favour: he offered to cede to king Charles the greater part of the eſtates that compoſe the Spaniſh monarchy, or elſe the Weſt Indies, or Milan, Naples, and Sicily, with a barrier for the Dutch, and a compenſation to the duke of Savoy for the devaſtation committed in his territories. But theſe offers were rejected, and the allies reſolved to proſecute the war with redoubled vigour.

It is not eaſy to aſſign a reaſon why the confederates would not liſten at this time to the propoſals of peace, ſince there is great room to believe that Lewis XIV. would have conſented to almoſt any that could have been demanded. Their refuſal was ſaid to be owing to the great influence of the duke of Marlborough, both at home, and with the emperor and the Dutch. The war proved at once too honourable and too lucrative for him to deſire ſo ſpeedy an end to it. Moſt of the leading

* Burchet. Compleat Hiſtory of Europe. Life of Queen Anne.

† Majorca, or Mallorca, is an iſland in the Mediterranean, belonging to Spain, and the principal of thoſe anciently called Baleares, or Inſulæ Balearicæ, famous for their ſlingers, ſixty miles in length, and forty five broad. Its four principal capes lying toward the four cardinal points, are Pedra, Groſſer, Salinas, and Formentor. Its north and weſt parts are mountainous, but fruitful; and thoſe to the eaſt and ſouth are level, producing corn, oil, wine, honey, ſaffron, great and ſmall cattle, with fruit and wild game. The whole iſland is ſurrounded with towers, from which an enemy can be ſeen at ſome diſtance off. It has ſeveral good harbours, lies eighty-ſix miles ſouth of the coaſt of Catalonia. Its capital is alſo named Majorca, anciently Palma, which contains ſix thouſand houſes, ſome of them large, and of ſtone; and the number of its inhabitants is reckoned at ten thouſand.

‡ Ivica, anciently Ebuſus, is a ſmall iſland in the Mediterranean, fifty-ſix miles ſouth-weſt of Majorca. It is about ſix miles long, and five broad, is mountainous, and its principal production is ſalt, of which large quantities are exported. Its capital has the ſame name, and is ſituated in a bay of the ſea, on the ſouth ſide of the iſland, very well fortified in the modern manner; but not ſo conſiderable now as it was in the time of the Carthaginians and Romans.

§ Burchet. Lediard. Life of Queen Anne.

men

men here in England were his friends and relations, and had gained titles and eſtates by the war. In Holland the penſionary Heinſius, who did all things there, was entirely under the direction of the duke and prince Eugene. As for the emperor, he had all things to hope from the continuance of the war, and nothing either to fear or pay. Whatever degree of truth might be in thoſe ſuggeſtions, it is certain they gained credit both at home and abroad, and occaſioned ſome diſturbances in Holland, and greater here *.

I ſhall cloſe my account of the military tranſactions of this year with obſerving, that little or nothing was done upon the Rhine, both ſides having drawn what troops they could from that quarter. Moreover, prince Lewis of Baden, from a very bad ſtate of health, was incapable of action: he died on the fourth of January in the following year, with the character of a great general, though his reputation in the latter part of his life was by no means equal to the beginning, at leaſt in ſucceſs.

While almoſt every kingdom in Europe was a ſcene of war, rapine, and bloodſhed, England and Scotland were engaged in treating of a union between the two kingdoms. I have already given the ſubſtance of this treaty as ſettled by the commiſſioners on each ſide in England; let us now ſee how the articles were received by our neighbours in the northern part of the iſland, by whom they were firſt taken into conſideration.

The Scottiſh parliament met on the third of October, when the duke of Queenſberry, as high-commiſſioner, produced the queen's letter, in which ſhe acquainted them of the commiſſioners appointed to treat of an union having brought that buſineſs to a happy concluſion, expreſſing her hopes that the terms would prove acceptable to her ſubjects of Scotland. An entire and perfect union, ſhe ſaid, would be the ſolid foundation of a laſting peace; it would ſecure their religion, liberties, and property; remove the animoſities that prevailed among themſelves, and the jealouſies that ſubſiſted between the two nations: ſhe expatiated on the other manifold advantages that would reſult therefrom: ſhe renewed her aſſurance of maintaining the government of the church, and told them they had an opportunity of taking ſuch ſteps as might be neceſſary for its ſecurity after the union: ſhe deſired the neceſſary ſupplies till the parliament of Great Britain could provide for thoſe matters: ſhe obſerved, that the great ſucceſs with which it had pleaſed Almighty God to bleſs her arms, afforded the nearer proſpect of a happy peace, with which they would enjoy the full advantages of this union: that they had no reaſon to doubt but the parliament of England would do all that ſhould be neceſſary on their part to confirm the union; and ſhe recommended calmneſs and unanimity in deliberating on this great and weighty affair, of ſuch conſequence to the whole iſland of Great Britain †.

The lord-commiſſioner and the lord-chancellor (the earl of Seafield) each of them enforced this letter in a ſeparate ſpeech, wherein they exerted all their talents in diſplaying the great advantages ariſing from the union of the two kingdoms: the treaty itſelf was then read, and ordered to be printed, with the proceedings of the lords commiſſioners of both kingdoms in relation thereto; after which the parliament was adjourned for a week.

No ſooner were the particulars of the intended treaty between the two kingdoms divulged, than the greateſt part of the Scottiſh nation kindled into a flame of reſentment, and gave ſuch intimations of a violent oppoſition, as convinced the queen's miniſters that they would have unſpeakable difficulties to encounter in bringing about an union; againſt which a powerful party was now formed, even in the parliament itſelf, headed by the dukes of Hamilton and Athol, the marquis of Annandale, the earls of Errol, Mareſchal, and Buchan, the lord Belhaven, that ſtaunch republican Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun, and ſome other noblemen and private gentlemen of great rank and influence. The Jacobites to a man declared againſt an union, well knowing that, ſhould it take place, it would for ever extinguiſh all their hopes of reſtoring the abdicated family: even the preſbyterians ſeemed averſe to the meaſure, from an apprehenſion that their mode of worſhip would ſuffer a change, and be ſwallowed up in the church of England. On the other hand, a great part of the gentry of Scotland, who were perſonally acquainted with the conſtitution of the Engliſh government, and ſenſible of the protection every good ſubject there enjoys under an houſe of commons, which ſecures them the uninterrupted enjoyment of all their lawful rights and privileges, heartily concurred in furthering the completion of this work. This party was headed by the dukes of Queenſberry and Argyle, the earl of Montroſe, Seafield, and Stair, and many other perſons of weight and abilities. Beſides theſe two parties, there was a third claſs, which I have already made mention of by the name *Squadrone Volante*, or Flying Squadron; the chief of which were, the marquis of Tweddale, the earls of Rothes, Roxburgh, Haddington, and Marchmont, who kept aloof, diſclaiming all connection with both parties, and refuſing to diſcover any part of their ſentiments in regard to this important affair; but as it was well known that they had many cauſes to be diſguſted with the court, it was univerſally thought they would oppoſe any ſcheme which proceeded from that quarter.

Such was the diſpoſition of minds and parties in Scotland, when the parliament reſumed its ſeſſion on the fifteenth of October, when the queſtion being put, Whether to proceed immediately to the conſideration of the articles of union, or refer the conſideration thereof till the firſt ſitting of the enſuing week? it was carried to proceed, one hundred and ſixteen voices againſt fifty-two. Here the ſtrength of the court party appeared; and indeed both ſides exerted themſelves with the utmoſt zeal in order to carry their favourite points; and the debates were agitated with all that warmth and eagerneſs which the importance of the ſubject naturally inſpired.

* Burnet. Lamberti. Military Hiſtory of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, vol. ii. Hare.
† Lockhart. Burnet.

It was aſſerted by the oppoſers of an union, that the devolving the power of the Scottiſh parliament into the hands of a ſmall number of lords, barons, and burgeſſes, allowed to ſit and vote with all the lords and commons of England, in a parliament to be called *The Parliament of Great Britain*, was diſhonourable and prejudicial to the kingdom of Scotland, tending to the deſtruction of their antient conſtitution, and all their rights and privileges as a free people in general, and to every individual perſon and ſociety within the kingdom: that they ſhould entirely loſe their ſovereignty and independency, and give up the birth-right of their peers, and the privileges of the barons and burghs: that the rights and intereſts reſerved to them by the articles of union were not in any degree ſecured, ſeeing that the plurality of voices in the parliament of Great Britain muſt determine whatever was brought before them; nor could it be expected that the members of Scotland in the Britiſh parliament would ever be able to carry any point that might be for the intereſt of Scotland, againſt ſo great a majority, who, though divided among themſelves about party-diſputes, would yet unite againſt the Scots, to whom they all bore a natural antipathy: that the being let into the trade of England would be of little or no advantage to them, under the reglations and reſtrictions the Engliſh trade was at preſent in the ſeveral companies. The preſbyterian kirk was alſo repreſented to be in great danger, from the twenty-ſix biſhops who were to ſit in the Britiſh parliament, whereas the kirk would have none to repreſent them. Great objections were alſo made to the ſacramental teſt, being the condition of acceſs to all places of profit or truſt. And it was repreſented as a farther grievance, that the ſovereign was obliged to be of the communion of the church of England *.

In anſwer to theſe objections it was urged, that the ſmall proportion which the Scottiſh would bear to the Engliſh members, could never be attended with thoſe dreadful conſequences which had been ſo artfully diſplayed: few points, if any, could occur, in which the intereſts of Scotland would interfere with thoſe of England: their intereſts were already in a great meaſure the ſame; it was a principal intention of the union to render them invariably and for ever ſuch; nor would ever any ſet of men go about to divide them, but thoſe who had ſome ſiniſter ends to anſwer, or who preferred their own private intereſts to thoſe of their country; and if ſuch perſons ſuffered by the deciſions of a Britiſh parliament, they had no reaſon to complain; they would have ſuffered, or at leaſt they ought to have ſuffered, by the deciſions of a Scottiſh parliament, as that kingdom was bound even more than Great Britain to puniſh the perfidy, treachery, or injuſtice of her own ſubjects: that to aſſert the Engliſh had a natural antipathy to the Scots was a cruel and invidious reflection, contrary to truth, refuted by daily experience, and could only be made with a view to excite animoſities between the two nations, in order perhaps to attain ſome end which could not otherwiſe be accompliſhed: that the union, inſtead of aboliſhing the parliament of Scotland, would rather eſtabliſh it upon a more ſolid foundation, by incorporating it with the parliament of England, which could not with any propriety be ſaid to be ſubſtituted in its place, the Britiſh parliament being ſubſtituted in the place of both; and in this ſenſe indeed the parliament of England, as well as that of Scotland, might be ſaid to be aboliſhed; that their fears therefore, with regard to the conduct of the Britiſh parliament, were entirely groundleſs, as it was not likely that aſſembly would ever take any ſtep prejudicial to the rights and privileges of the people, which they had hitherto defended, nor infringe the articles of the union, which they would make it their care regularly to obſerve: that the union beſides would be attended with many poſſible advantages; it would for ever deſtroy all difference of intereſt between the different parts of the iſland, which in the conteſt had always proved fatal to the Scots from the great ſuperiority of the Engliſh, &c. &c. †.

Theſe and many other arguments were uſed by both ſides; but they had no farther effect than to diſplay the learning or ingenuity of the ſpeakers, each party having already formed its reſolution; and as they were in point of ſtrength nearly equal, it was not eaſy to determine for ſome time what would be the iſſue, when the *Squadrone Volante*, already mentioned, ſuddenly declared themſelves for the union, which immediately turned the balance, and decided the controverſy.

The oppoſers of the union finding themſelves thus overpowered, raiſed a moſt terrible clamour all over the nation; they procured addreſſes from a number of counties, boroughs, and pariſhes, proteſting againſt the union. The aſſembly of the kirk alſo petitioned againſt the making the ſecurity of the church of England a fundamental article of the union; for hereby, they ſaid, they would involve the whole nation in great guilt, by conſenting to the eſtabliſhment of the hierarchy and ceremonies of a church which they held to be ſinful and abominable. The preſbyterian preachers at the ſame time employed all their power and credit in waking the reſentment of their hearers againſt the treaty, in which they laboured with ſuch ſucceſs, that the people were rouſed to tranſports of fury and revenge. At Dumfries the articles of union were publicly burnt; and the people declared that their commiſſioners muſt either be ſimple, ignorant, or treacherous, or all together; and that the ratification of the treaty would bring them and their poſterity to be tributary and bond-ſlaves to their neighbours. Even in Edinburgh the mob grew mutinous, and aſſaulted the houſe of ſir Patrick Johnſton, provoſt of Edinburgh, and one of the commiſſioners of the union: nor did the perſon of the high-commiſſioner eſcape inſult, the rabble throwing ſtones into the coach as he paſſed through the ſtreets, though ſurrounded by his guards; and on the thirtieth of November a great number of the rioters entered the parliament-cloſe, with loud outcries for rejecting the articles of union, which gave the miniſtry ſuch apprehenſion, that it was thought convenient to march ſeveral regiments of horſe and dragoons to the north of England, to be in readineſs if there

* Burnet. Lockhart. Tindal. † Ibid.

ſhould be a neceſſity for their acting. The tumults nevertheleſs continuing, the duke of Queenſberry wrote to the lord-treaſurer Godolphin, repreſenting the neceſſity of a ſhort adjournment until he ſhould be able to allay the ferment that prevailed among the people: but the treaſurer, who foreſaw that the meaſure would be entirely loſt by delay, regardleſs of the difficulties the commiſſioner had to encounter, inſiſted upon his proceeding; and beſides the precautions uſed to preſerve the public tranquility, and protect the friends of the court from the inſults of the malecontents, it was thought proper to remit conſiderable ſums of money to the Scots treaſury, to be diſtributed to the beſt advantage. Thoſe meaſures, together with the equal prudence and firmneſs ſhewn by the high-commiſſioner, and the other noblemen attached to the union, at length got the better of this national fury; and notwithſtanding all the clamour and oppoſition within and without doors, an act for the ratification of the union paſſed on the ſixteenth of January, 1707, by a majority of one hundred and ten voices, and was touched with the royal ſceptre. An act paſſed at the ſame time for the ſecurity of the preſbyterian kirk of Scotland, as a fundamental and eſſential condition of the union *.

The moſt conſiderable ſpeakers for the union were the earls of Seafield, Stair †, Roxburgh, and Marchmont; and thoſe againſt it, the dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and the marquis of Annandale.

As ſoon as the act for ratifying the treaty of union was paſſed, the parliament next proceeded to prepare an act for ſettling the manner of electing the ſixteen peers and forty-five commons to repreſent Scotland in the parliament of Great Britain, and the proportion the ſhires and boroughs ſhould have of the forty-five members; and it was agreed that thirty ſhould be the number for the ſhires, and fifteen the number for the boroughs. It was reſolved that the borough of Edinburgh ſhould have one repreſentative by itſelf; and then a ſcheme for dividing the boroughs into fifteen diſtricts, each of which was to have one repreſentative, was read and approved. This act being touched with the ſceptre, the three eſtates proceeded to elect their repreſentatives ‡.

The remaining part of the ſeſſion was employed in making regulations concerning the coin, in examining the accounts of their African company, and providing for the due application of the equivalent. On the twenty-fifth day of March the commiſſioner adjourned the parliament, after having in a ſhort ſpeech taken notice of the honour they had acquired in concluding an affair of ſuch importance to their country. His grace then ſet out for London, where he was received by the queen with great marks of pleaſure and approbation; and indeed hiſtory hardly furniſhes us with another inſtance of a miniſtry's having carried a point of ſuch importance, againſt ſuch a violent oppoſition, and contrary to the general ſenſe and inclination of a whole people, exaſperated to the higheſt degree by the apprehenſion of ſeeing their trade deſtroyed, their nation oppreſſed, and their country ruined by an union with their ſiſter kingdom. The majority of both nations expected no otherwiſe than that the treaty would occaſion the moſt violent convulſions, and at laſt prove ineffectual. The event, however, has happily demonſtrated the fallacy of thoſe apprehenſions and predictions: the union took place quietly, and has fully anſwered the ſalutary purpoſes for which it was intended. After this account of the reception the treaty of union met with in Scotland, it remains to ſee what entertainment it found in the parliament of England.

The parliament of England, which had been ſucceſſively prorogued to the third of December, aſſembled that day; and the queen, in her ſpeech to both houſes, congratulated them on the glorious

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* Burnet. Lockhart.

† This nobleman, who had all along exerted himſelf with great zeal in favour of the union, and who, though much indiſpoſed, came on the ſeventh of January to the parliament-houſe, and maintained the debate upon the twenty-ſecond article, died ſuddenly the next night, his ſpirits being quite exhauſted by the length and vehemence of the debates. He was ſon of ſir James Dalrymple, formerly preſident of the ſeſſion, and afterwards created viſcount and earl of Stair. He was ſucceeded in honour and eſtate by his ſon lord John Dalrymple.

‡ Theſe repreſentatives were, for the lords,
The duke of Queenſberry,
The earl of Seafield, chancellor.
The marquis of Montroſe, lord-keeper of the privy-ſeal.
The marquis of Tweddale.
The marquis of Lothian.

Earls.

Mar, Loudon, Crawford, Sutherland, Roxburgh, Wemyſs, Leven, Stair, Roſeberry, Glaſgow, Ilay.

For the barons.

W. Niſbet of Durletoun.
J. Cockburn, junior, of Ormiſtoun.
Sir W. Ker of Greenhead.
Sir J. Swintoun of that ilk.
W. Bennet of Grubbet.
Archibald Douglas of Cavers.
Mr. J. Murray of Bowhill.
M. J. Pringle of Haining.
W. Morleſon of Preſton-grange.
George Baillie of Jerviſwood.
Sir J. Johnſtoun of Weſterhall.
Mr. J. Stuart of Sorbie.
Mr. Francis Montgomery of Griſtan.
W. Dalrymple of Glenmure.
Sir R. Pollock of that ilk.
J. Halden of Glenargies.
Mungo Graham of Gorthy.
Sir D. Ramſay of Balmain.
Sir Thomas Burnet of Levs.
W. Seatoun, junior, of Pitmedden.
Alexander Grant, junior, of that ilk.
Hugh Roſs of Kilravock.
Sir K. Mackenzie of Cromarty.
Mr. J. Campbell of Mammore.
Sir J. Campbell of Auchinleck.
James Campbell of Arkinlaſs.
James Halyburton of Pitcurr.
A. Abercrombie of Glaſſock.
A. Douglas of Eagleſhaw.
John Bruce of Kinroſs.

For the boroughs.

Sir Patrick Johnſtoun.
Lieutenant-colonel J. Erſkine.
Hugh Montgomery.
James Scott.
Sir John Erſkine.
Mr. P. Moncreif of Ready.
Sir Andrew Home.
Sir Peter Halket.
Sir James Smollet.
Sir D. Dalrymple.
Mr. John Clerk.
Mr. Patrick Ogilvie.
George Allardice.
Daniel Campbell, eſq.
Mr. Alexander Maitland.

ſucceſs

ſucceſs of the Britiſh army: ſhe deſired the commons would grant ſuch ſupplies as might enable her to improve thoſe ſucceſſes: ſhe told them that the treaty of union, as concluded by the commiſſioners of both kingdoms, was at that time under the conſideration of the Scottiſh parliament; and ſhe recommended diſpatch in public affairs, as the ſureſt method to convince our friends and enemies of the vigour and firmneſs of our proceedings.

This ſpeech was highly pleaſing to the parliament, and both houſes anſwered it in very affectionate addreſſes: nor did they ſtop there; but as a convincing proof of the ſincerity of their expreſſions, they proceeded to the conſideration of the ſupply; and having examined the eſtimates, in leſs than a week they voted near ſix millions for the ſervice of the enſuing year *; and when the ſpeaker preſented the money-bills to her majeſty, he told her, that as the glorious victory obtained by the duke of Marlborough at Ramillies was fought before it could be ſuppoſed the armies were in the field, ſo the commons had granted ſupplies to her majeſty before the enemy could well know that the parliament was ſitting †.

Both houſes voted the duke of Marlborough their thanks for the eminent ſervices he had done her majeſty and the kingdom the laſt campaign: nor did they content themſelves with paying him this compliment; for the lords addreſſed her majeſty on the ſixteenth of December, that ſhe would permit them to bring in a bill to ſettle the titles and honours of the duke of Marlborough, with his right of precedence, on his poſterity, by act of parliament, in ſuch manner as would be acceptable to her majeſty ‡. This was readily complied with on the part of her majeſty; and an act accordingly paſſed to limit his titles and honours to his eldeſt daughter (married to the lord Godolphin's ſon) and her heirs-male, and then to all his other daughters ſucceſſively, according to their priority of birth; and that the royal honour and manor of Woodſtock, and the houſe of Blenheim, ſhould always go along with the titles. The commons alſo ſoon after, to ſhew their gratitude to the duke for the ſignal ſervices he had done his country, addreſſed her majeſty for leave to bring in a bill for ſettling the five thouſand pounds per annum which ſhe had already granted the duke (during her life) out of the Poſt-office, upon him and his poſterity, in like manner as his titles; and the honour and manor of Woodſtock, and houſe of Blenheim, were already limited and ſettled, and a bill was brought in accordingly, which received the royal aſſent.

The city of London having addreſſed her majeſty, that the colours taken at the battle of Ramillies might be put up at Guildhall, they were carried thither in great pomp, eſcorted by a detachment of the horſe and foot guards, being in all ſixty-three colours and twenty-four ſtandards. The ſame day his grace the duke of Marlborough, with the dukes of Ormond and Somerſet, and other great officers and miniſters of ſtate, went to an entertainment provided for them at Vintner's-Hall in the city, by the lord mayor and aldermen.

The lords and commons having adjourned themſelves to the laſt day of December, the queen cloſed the year 1706 with triumphal proceſſions, going in great ſtate to St. Paul's, attended by the great officers, and both houſes of parliament.

Her majeſty was pleaſed in this month of December to make the following promotions of nobility, viz. Henry de Grey, earl of Kent, created viſcount Gooderich, earl of Harold, and marquis of Kent; Robert Bertie, earl of Lindſey, was created marquis of Lindſey, in the county of Lincoln; Evelin Pierpoint, earl of Kingſton, marquis of Doncaſter, in the county of Dorſet; Thomas Wharton, lord Wharton, viſcount Winchindon, in the county of Bucks, and earl of Wharton in the county of Weſtmoreland; John Poulet, lord Poulet, of Hinton St. George, viſcount Hinton St. George, in the county of Somerſet, and earl of Poulet; Sidney Godolphin, lord Godolphin, viſcount Rialton, and earl of Godolphin, in the county of Cornwall; Hugh Cholmondley, lord Cholmondley, viſcount Malpas, and earl of Cholmondley, in the county of Cheſter; Henry Howard, lord Walden, ſon and heir of the earl of Suffolk, baron of Cheſterford, in the county of Eſſex, and earl of Bindon in the county of Dorſet. The lord-keeper Cowper was created lord Cowper and baron of Wingham, in the county of Kent; and ſir Thomas Pelham was made lord Pelham, and baron of Laughton, in the county of Suſſex. Some time before, her majeſty had been pleaſed to create the electoral prince of Hanover (afterwards king George I.) a peer of this kingdom, by the ſtile and title of baron of Tewkſbury, viſcount Northallerton, earl of Milford-Haven, and marquis and duke of Cambridge.

The parliament being re-aſſembled after their ſhort adjournment, the queen came to the houſe of peers on the twenty-eighth day of January, 1707, when ſhe told the parliament that the treaty of union, with ſome additions and alterations, was ratified by the Scottiſh parliament: that ſhe had ordered it to be laid before them, and hoped it would meet with their approbation and concurrence: ſhe deſired the commons would provide for the payment of the equivalent, in caſe the treaty ſhould take place: then addreſſing herſelf to both houſes, ſhe concluded thus:

"You have now an opportunity before you of putting the laſt hand to a happy union of the two kingdoms, which I hope will be a laſting bleſſing to the whole iſland, a great addition to its wealth and power, and a firm ſecurity to the proteſtant religion.

"The advantages that will accrue to us all from an union are ſo apparent, that I will add no more, but that I ſhall look upon it as a particular happi-

* To raiſe this money the parliament gave a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound, and the duty upon malt for one year; duties upon low wines, the ſtamp-duty, and that upon hawkers, which had been continued till 1710, were now continued for ninety-ſix years, to be a fund for one million one hundred and fifty-five thouſand pounds, to be taken in for annuities at ſixteen years purchaſe; the duty upon houſes was continued for circulating Exchequer-bills, whereby one million five hundred thouſand pounds were raiſed. The old tonnage and poundage, and ſeveral other duties at the cuſtom-houſe, which were already continued to 1710, for paying off deficiencies, were now continued for two years more, for a loan of eight hundred and twenty-two thouſand three hundred and eighty-one pounds, at ſix per cent. intereſt.

† Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 47.

‡ Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, ii. 165.

neſs if this ſo great work, which has been ſo often attempted without ſucceſs, can be brought to perfection in my reign."

On the third of February the commons formed themſelves into a committee of the whole houſe, to deliberate on the articles of the union, and the Scottiſh act of ratification. The Tory party in general were againſt the union, and therefore began without delay to open their batteries. Amongſt many ſevere things ſaid againſt this treaty and the promoters of it, ſir John Packington obſerved, that this incorporating union was like marrying a woman againſt her conſent: that it was an union carried on by corruption within doors, by force and violence without: that the promoters of it had baſely betrayed their truſt, in giving up the independency of their conſtitution; and he would leave it to the judgment of the houſe to conſider, whether men of ſuch principles were fit to be admitted into their houſe of repreſentatives. Her majeſty, he ſaid, by the coronation-oath, was obliged to maintain the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed; and likewiſe bound by the ſame oath to defend the preſbyterian kirk of Scotland in one and the ſame kingdom: Now (added he) after the union is in force, who ſhall adminiſter this oath to her majeſty? Not the Scots, certainly; for it is not their buſineſs: and beſides, they are no well-wiſhers to the church of England. It reſts then with the biſhops; and can it be ſuppoſed that thoſe reverend perſons will or can act a thing ſo contrary to their own order and inſtitution, as thus to promote the eſtabliſhment of the preſbyterian church government? He concluded with obſerving, that the church of England being eſtabliſhed *jure divino*, and the Scots pretending that the kirk was alſo *jure divino*, he could not conceive how two nations that claſhed in ſo eſſential a point, could unite; and therefore was for conſulting the convocation on this critical matter.

He was anſwered by colonel Henry Mordaunt, (brother to the earl of Peterborough) who ſaid, that for his part, he knew of no other *jure divino* than God Almighty's permiſſion: that in this ſenſe the church of England and the kirk of Scotland might both be ſaid to be *jure divino*, becauſe God had permitted that the former ſhould prevail in England, the other in Scotland. The member who ſpoke laſt (ſaid the colonel) may, if he pleaſes, conſult the convocation for his own particular information; but I believe the commons ſtand in need of no ſuch inſtruction: they are ſufficient judges of the propriety of their own meaſures; and in any event it would be derogatory to the rights of the commons of England to aſk on this occaſion the advice of any inferior aſſembly, who had no ſhare in the legiſlature *.

Many other members ſpoke for and againſt the union: at length a motion was made, that the firſt article of the treaty, which implies a peremptory agreement to an incorporating union, ſhould be poſtponed, and that the houſe ſhould proceed to the conſideration of the terms of the intended union contained in the other articles. This propoſal being rejected, ſeveral Tory members quitted the houſe; whereupon the firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth articles of the treaty were read and approved without oppoſition; and on the eighth of February the commons, in a committee of the whole houſe, went through and approved the remaining articles: in ſhort, ſuch was the diſpatch made by the party who favoured the union, and who had the majority in the houſe, that by the eleventh of February, a bare week only from the time this important matter was firſt taken into their conſideration, the commons had gone through and approved the whole treaty. This precipitation gave the enemies of the party in power too plauſible an handle to charge them with want of that coolneſs and deliberation which an affair of this importance required.

Before their lordſhips began to inveſtigate the articles of the union, they, at the inſtance of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, brought in a bill for the ſecurity of the church of England, to be inſerted as a fundamental and eſſential part of that treaty. This paſſed through both houſes without oppoſition, and received the royal aſſent. On the fifteenth of February the debates concerning the union were begun in the houſe of lords. The queen herſelf was preſent, and the debates were longer and more ſolemn than thoſe of the commons had been. The lords reſolved themſelves into a committee of the whole houſe, and made Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury, their chairman. The earls of Rocheſter, Angleſey, and Nottingham, with the biſhop of Bath and Wells, and the lords North and Grey, Stawel and Haverſham, were the principal ſpeakers againſt the union. The latter of theſe noblemen, who of late years had made himſelf famous by his ſet ſpeeches on ſeveral occaſions, could not be ſilent on this, and therefore ſpoke to the following purport. He obſerved, that the articles came to their lordſhips with the greateſt countenance of authority that it is poſſible any thing could have; but, ſaid he, notwithſtanding authority may be the ſtrongeſt motive to incline the will, it was certainly the weakeſt in the world to convince the underſtanding. He was not, he ſaid, againſt a fœderal union, a union in intereſt and in the ſucceſſion; but this was a matter of a different nature: the queſtion, he ſaid, was, Whether two nations, independent in their ſovereignties, that have their diſtinct laws and intereſts, and, which is not to be forgotten, their different forms of worſhip, church-government, and order, ſhall be united into one kingdom? That in his opinion, this was an union compoſed of ſo many miſmatched pieces, of ſuch jarring, incongruous ingredients, that he feared it would require a ſtanding force to keep us from falling aſunder and breaking to pieces every moment. He farther obſerved, that by this act, an hundred Scots peers, and as many commons, were excluded the Britiſh parliament; gentlemen who as little thought of being excluded a year or two before as any of their lordſhips did then: that their rights were as well and as ſtrongly ſecured to them as their lordſhips were at that time, by the fundamental laws of their kingdom, by the claim of right, and by act of parliament, whereby it was made high-treaſon to make any alteration in the conſtitution of the kingdom. He ſaid, that if the biſhops would weaken their own cauſe, ſo far as to give up the

* Chandler's Parliamentary Debates.

two great points of epiſcopal ordination and confirmation; if they would approve and ratify the act for ſecuring the preſbyterian church-government in Scotland "as the true proteſtant religion and purity of worſhip," (according to the words in the Scottiſh act) they gave up that which had been contended for between them and the preſbyterians many years, and been defended by the greateſt and moſt learned men of the church of England. He diſapproved of exempting articles, reſerving to the preſent poſſeſſors the heritable offices and ſuperiorities; both which, he ſaid, Cromwell had been ſo wiſe as by an act of ſtate to aboliſh. He ſaid that the union was contrary to the general ſenſe of the Scottiſh nation, ſufficiently manifeſted by the murmurs of all ranks of people in that kingdom, while the treaty was under conſideration of the parliament there; adding, That he ſaw no neceſſity for this incorporating union, ſince Scotland had offered to come into the ſucceſſion without it; and he thought it a very dangerous experiment to both nations: but the topic upon which he laid the chief ſtreſs, and which was enforced by the lords Guernſey, Granville, and Abingdon, who alſo ſpoke againſt the union, was, the injury the good old Engliſh conſtitution, juſtly allowed to be the moſt equal and beſt poiſed government in the world, might ſuffer by having the weight of ſixty-one Scottiſh members, and thoſe too returned by a Scottiſh privy-council, thrown into the ſcale.

The lord North and Grey complained of the ſmall and unequal proportion of the land-tax charged upon Scotland. His lordſhip alſo found great fault with the equivalent granted to that kingdom by the fifteenth article of the treaty, in which he was joined by the earl of Rocheſter, and the lords Guildford and Leigh, who ſaid they conceived nothing could have been more equal on this head of the treaty, than that neither of the kingdoms ſhould have been burthened with the debts of the other contracted before the union; but the revenues of Scotland might have been ſtrictly appropriated to diſcharge the debts of that kingdom, or to any other uſes within themſelves as ſhould have been judged requiſite; and there would have been no need of an equivalent of near four hundred thouſand pounds, to be raiſed in England within this year for the purchaſe of thoſe revenues in Scotland, at a time when this kingdom is already burthened with ſuch vaſt ſums for the neceſſary charges of the war. The earl of Nottingham, after having oppoſed every article of the treaty ſeparately, concluded with the following obſervation: "As ſir John Maynard ſaid to king William at the Revolution, that having buried all his cotemporaries in Weſtminſter-hall, he was afraid, if his majeſty had not come in that very juncture of time, he might likewiſe have out-lived the very laws; ſo if this union do paſs, as I have no reaſon to doubt but it will, I may affirm that I have outlived all the laws, and the very conſtitution of England: I therefore pray God to avert the dire effects which may probably enſue from ſuch an incorporating union."

Such were in ſubſtance the arguments made uſe of by thoſe who oppoſed the union. It may be ſufficient to obſerve, that to all the objections that were offered againſt that treaty taking place, this general anſwer was made, That ſo great a thing as the uniting the whole iſland into one government could not be compaſſed but with ſome inconveniencies; but if the advantage of ſafety and union was greater than thoſe inconveniencies, then a leſſer evil muſt be ſubmitted to: that with regard to matters of an eccleſiaſtical nature, all parties had been guilty of many inſtances of violence; but that the heats and animoſities between them might be allayed by ſoft and gentle management. It was obſerved, that the cantons of Switzerland, though they profeſſed different religions, were yet united in one general body, and the diet of Germany was compoſed of princes and ſtates, among whom three different perſuaſions prevailed; ſo that two different ſorts of diſcipline might very well ſubſiſt under one government: that if there was any danger on either ſide, it threatened the Scots much more than the Engliſh, as it was more likely the five hundred and thirteen members ſhould get the better of forty-five, than that forty-five ſhould overcome five hundred and thirteen; and in the houſe of lords twenty-ſix biſhops would always be an over-match for ſixteen Scots peers. The chief ſpeakers for the union were the earls of Godolphin, Sunderland, and Wharton, the lords Townſhend, Halifax, and Somers, the biſhops of Oxford, Norwich, and Sarum *.

Notwithſtanding all the oppoſition made by the lords of the Tory party, every article was approved by a great majority, though not without ſeveral proteſts. Hereupon a bill of ratification was prepared in the lower houſe by ſir Simon Harcourt the ſollicitor-general, in ſuch an artful manner as to prevent all debate; and the Whigs promoted it with ſuch zeal, that it paſſed by a majority of one hundred and fourteen voices. It made its way through the houſe of lords with equal diſpatch, and on the fourth of March received the royal aſſent, when the queen made the following ſpeech upon the occaſion:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It is with the greateſt ſatisfaction that I have given my aſſent to a bill for uniting England and Scotland into one kingdom.

"I conſider this union as a matter of the greateſt importance to the wealth, ſtrength, and ſafety of the whole iſland; and at the ſame time a work of ſo much difficulty and nicety in its own nature, that till now all attempts which have been made towards it, in the courſe of above one hundred years, have proved ineffectual; and therefore I make no doubt but it will be remembered and ſpoke of hereafter to the honour of thoſe who have been inſtrumental in bringing it to ſuch a happy concluſion. I deſire and expect from all my ſubjects of both nations, that from henceforth they act with all poſſible reſpect and kindneſs one to another, that ſo it may appear to all the world they have hearts diſpoſed to be one people.

"This will be a great pleaſure to me, and will make us all quickly ſenſible of the good effects of this union.

"And I cannot but look upon it as a particular happineſs, that in my reign ſo full a proviſion

* See Parliamentary Debates. Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, ii. 168. Burnet.

is made for the peace and quiet of my people, and for the ſecurity of our religion, by ſo firm an eſtabliſhment of the proteſtant ſucceſſion throughout Great Britain."

The reſt of the ſpeech contains only her deſire that the commons would provide for the equivalent for Scotland, and that the two houſes would uſe all poſſible diſpatch in the public buſineſs before them.

On the eleventh of March the two houſes attended her majeſty with addreſſes of congratulation on the union of the two kingdoms, which were moſt graciouſly received, and condeſcendingly anſwered.

I have already given an abſtract of the twenty-five articles of union, and ſhall in this place add an abſtract of the acts for the ſecurity of the reſpective churches of England and Scotland, which were made eſſential conditions of the union.

The tenor of the act for ſecuring the proteſtant religion and preſbyterian church-government in Scotland.

"Her majeſty, with the advice and conſent of the eſtates in parliament, doth hereby eſtabliſh the true proteſtant religion, worſhip, diſcipline, and government of this church, to continue without alteration to the people of this land to all generations; and confirms the fifth act of the firſt parliament of W. & M. entitled, "An act ratifying the confeſſion of faith, and ſettling the preſbyterian church-government, and other acts relating thereto, in proſecution of the declaration of the eſtates, containing the claim of right, dated the eleventh of April 1689:" and her majeſty, with the advice and conſent aforeſaid, declares that the government of the church by kirk-ſeſſions, preſbyteries, provincial ſynods, and general-aſſemblies eſtabliſhed, ſhall continue unalterable; and that the ſaid preſbyterian government ſhall be the only government of the church of Scotland.

"That the univerſities of St. Andrews, Glaſgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh, as now eſtabliſhed, ſhall continue for ever: that none bearing any office in any univerſity, college, or ſchool there, ſhall be admitted or continued in their office, but ſuch as ſhall acknowlege the civil government preſcribed, or to be preſcribed by parliament; and alſo at their admiſſions ſubſcribe the ſaid confeſſion of their faith; and that they will practiſe and conform themſelves to the worſhip in uſe in this church, ſubmit to the diſcipline, and never attempt the ſubverſion thereof.

"The ſubjects of this kingdom ſhall be free from any oath, teſt, or ſubſcription, within this kingdom, inconſiſtent with the ſaid true proteſtant religion, church-government, worſhip, and diſcipline.

"The ſovereign ſucceeding her majeſty ſhall, in all times coming, on acceſſion to the crown, ſwear and ſubſcribe that they ſhall preſerve the ſaid ſettlement of religion, government, worſhip, diſcipline, and privileges of this church.

"This act ſhall be held a fundamental and eſſential condition of any union to be concluded between the two kingdoms, without alteration, for ever.

"And her majeſty declares, that all laws and ſtatutes in this kingdom, inconſiſtent with the terms of theſe articles, ſhall after the union ceaſe and be void."

The tenor of an act for ſecuring of the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed.

"That an act made in the thirteenth of Elizabeth, cap. 12. for the miniſters of the church to be of a ſound religion; and an act made 13 Car. II. cap. 4. for the uniformity of public prayers, &c. (other than ſuch clauſes in the ſaid acts as have been repealed) and all other acts in force for the preſervation of the church of England, doctrine and government thereof, ſhall be in force for ever.

"Every king and queen ſucceeding her majeſty, at their coronation, ſhall, in the preſence of all perſons aſſiſting, or otherwiſe preſent, take and ſubſcribe an oath to preſerve the ſettlement of the church of England, and the doctrine, diſcipline, and government thereof, within the kingdoms of England and Scotland, and the territories thereunto belonging.

"This act ſhall be held a fundamental and eſſential part of any union between the two kingdoms.

"Then enacted, that the ſaid articles of union, and the ſaid act for the eſtabliſhing the proteſtant religion and the preſbyterian church-government in Scotland ſhall be, and are hereby ratified, approved, and confirmed.

"And that the act paſſed this preſent ſeſſion of parliament, cap. 5. for ſecuring the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed, and the ſaid act for ſecuring the proteſtant religion and the preſbyterian church-government, ſhall for ever be held fundamental and eſſential conditions of the ſaid union *."

Thus, after many vigorous, though ineffectual, attempts for the purpoſe, was at length happily accompliſhed an union between the kingdoms of England and Scotland, which took place on the firſt day of May, 1707. The great benefits accruing to both nations by this union do now daily appear more and more conſpicuous. From that country England has her American plantations very much increaſed in people; and from Scotland likewiſe not only the navy-royal, but our land-armies, have been ſupplied with many thouſands of ſtout and well-affected men, as has very lately and very effectually been experienced: and although the two rebellions ſince the union were both originally propagated from Scotland, through the violence of party-zeal, and of clanſhips and ſuperiorities, ſince wiſely aboliſhed; yet a peaceable, loyal, and induſtrious ſpirit have ſince univerſally prevailed in that country. By an union with Scotland, England has alſo the more abſolute uſe of many good ports, of a more extenſive fiſhery, of a ſupply of very good, though ſmall cattle, and of ſundry other benefits. SCOTLAND, on the other hand, receives ineſtimable advantages by her incorporating union with England; firſt, by gradually and very viſibly enriching herſelf, from a participation of commerce with England's foreign plantations,

* See Stat. v. Annæ Reginæ, cap. 5.

factories, &c. Secondly, by this connection with England, ſhe has gradually learnt the melioration of her ſoil, which in many parts is now known to be much more capable of improvement than was formerly imagined. Thirdly, by this union Scotland has procured a prodigious vent for coarſe woollen, ſtockings, and ſtuffs, and her more valuable linen manufactures, not only in England, but for the American plantations, as well as the conſumption of ſo many of her black cattle, peltry, &c. It affords equal matter of concern and ſurprize, that two nations, ſprung from the ſame original ſtock, ſpeaking the ſame language *eſſentially*, profeſſing the ſame religion, and whom nature ſeems to have deſigned for *one*, being ſeparated by the Great Ocean from the reſt of mankind, ſhould not have ſooner purſued their true and evident mutual intereſts, and thereby have much ſooner increaſed in wealth, ſecurity, and power.

On the twenty-fourth of April the queen prorogued the parliament, after having told them, in a ſhort ſpeech, that ſhe would continue by proclamation the lords and commons already aſſembled, as members in the firſt Britiſh parliament, purſuant to the power veſted in her by the acts of parliament of both kingdoms. The parliament was accordingly revived by a proclamation, and by another the firſt parliament of Great Britain was appointed to meet on the twentieth of October.

Mean while ſeveral of the Scottiſh lords repaired to London, where they were moſt graciouſly received by the queen, who beſtowed the title of duke on the earls of Roxburgh and Montroſe, who, with the earls of Seafield, Mar, and Loudon, were ſworn of the privy-council. The union taking place on the firſt of May, that day was obſerved as a day of public thankſgiving: congratulatory addreſſes were preſented by the different counties and corporations of England; but the univerſity of Oxford and the Scots were wholly ſilent on this occaſion, diſcovering thereby their diſlike of a meaſure which her majeſty had declared to be the greateſt glory of her reign, and of the benefits of which they enjoyed an equal, if not the greateſt ſhare.

In order to preſerve entire the chain of proceedings in the affair of the union, I purpoſely omitted to mention in their places the following particulars which happened during this ſeſſion of parliament.

The French having made great depredations upon the iſlands of Nevis and St. Kit's in the preceding year, 1706, and exerciſed great cruelty upon the inhabitants, the houſe of commons addreſſed her majeſty about reſettling thoſe iſlands: and the marquis of Caermarthen having offered to go with a ſquadron of men of war to Madagaſcar, to ſuppreſs a neſt of pirates who had become very troubleſome in thoſe parts; the houſe appointed a committee to conſider of that matter, and it was reſolved to preſent an addreſs to the queen, to take ſuch meaſures as in her wiſdom ſhould appear meet to ſuppreſs the ſaid pirates; as alſo that her majeſty would be pleaſed to uſe her endeavours to recover and preſerve the antient poſſeſſions, trade, and fiſhery in Newfoundland. The French refugees alſo, by private direction of biſhop Burnet, and ſome other perſons in power, addreſſed the queen in behalf of their proteſtant brethren labouring under perſecution in France. In this addreſs, which was preſented on the ſeventh of April, by ſome of the moſt eminent among the French refugees, they moſt humbly beſeech her majeſty, "That when her thoughts ſhould be employed in ſettling the great concerns of Europe in a treaty of peace, her majeſty would graciouſly vouchſafe to take into her royal care the intereſt of the poor diſtreſſed churches of France, which having been ruined by the ſuperſtitious vanity of the enemy, ſo it would add to the ſolid glory of her majeſty's reign to be inſtrumental in reſtoring the ſame." To which her majeſty was pleaſed to return a moſt gracious anſwer, promiſing to comply with their requeſt. A ſet of inflammatory writers having of late undertaken, at the inſtigation of the enemies of the union, to alarm the nation with apprehenſions of the church's danger, and to revile and traduce the conduct of the miniſters; and having carried their licentiouſneſs to an inſufferable height, the government thought it high time to take cognizance of theſe incendiaries. Proſecutions were commenced againſt Dr. Brown for a copy of verſes, entitled, "The country parſon's advice to the lord-keeper," and a letter which he wrote to Mr. ſecretary Harley. He was found guilty, and ſentenced to be twice pilloried. The ſame puniſhment was decreed againſt William Stephens, rector of Sutton in Surry, as author of a pamphlet called, "A letter to the author of the memorial of the church of England:" but, in conſideration of his being in holy orders, the execution of the ſentence was remitted. Edward Ward and William Pitts were ſet in the pillory for abuſive writings; and George Sawbridge, the publiſher of all of them, was fined ſix hundred pounds, and ordered to appear in the courts of Weſtminſter-Hall, with a paper on his breaſt denoting his offence *.

The convocation was aſſembled, as uſual, during the ſeſſion of the parliament, and both houſes preſented her majeſty with a very affectionate and loyal addreſs, declaring that the church was in no danger from her majeſty. The lower houſe, however, voted as if they imagined the church was in ſome danger from the terms of the union, and were actually employed in drawing up a remonſtrance to the commons againſt that treaty. On this ſuppoſition, which the court was apprized of, the queen ordered the archbiſhop to prorogue the convocation for three weeks, by which time it was preſumed the act for ratifying the union would have paſſed both houſes. The lower houſe complied with this prorogation, but at the ſame time delivered a repreſentation to the biſhops, in which they complained of the prorogation, as a thing that had never been ordered during the ſitting of the parliament ſince the Reformation. The biſhops however having proved to her majeſty, from the public records, that there were no leſs than ſeven or eight precedents of ſuch prorogation during the ſeſſion of parliament; the queen wrote a letter to the archbiſhop, ſeverely reflecting on the conduct of the lower houſe, which ſhe conſidered as an invaſion of her royal ſupremacy; and threatened, if any thing

* Burnet. Tindal.

of

of the like nature was attempted for the future, ſhe would uſe ſuch means as the law warranted for puniſhing offenders.

Soon after the breaking up of the parliament, ſome changes were made in ſeveral of the public offices, all of them in favour of the Whigs, by the intereſt of Mr. ſecretary Harley. Sir Simon Harcourt was conſtituted attorney-general, in the room of ſir Edward Northey; ſir James Montagu ſucceeded ſir Simon in the place of ſollicitor-general. In the beginning of May the queen declared the lord-keeper Cowper lord high-chancellor of Great Britain. Prince George of Denmark took the oaths in the court of Chancery as lord high-admiral of Great Britain; and in like manner the earl of Godolphin was re-appointed lord high-treaſurer of Great Britain: but the moſt conſiderable change had been made in the month of December, by the promotion of the earl of Sunderland to the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of ſir Charles Hedges. This was brought about, againſt the queen's inclination, by the preſſing inſtances of the Whigs, who, after the ſervices they had done, thought that one of the ſecretaries at leaſt ſhould be a man in whom they could place confidence. The republic of Venice having at laſt appointed ambaſſadors extraordinary to compliment the queen on her acceſſion to the throne, her majeſty in return nominated the earl of Mancheſter her ambaſſador-extraordinary to that republic, and in his journey thither he was to call at the courts of Vienna and Turin *.

The battle of Hochſtet, or Blenheim, had coſt Lewis XIV. a fine army, and the whole country from the Danube to the Rhine. The confederates had made themſelves maſters of all Flanders, to the very gates of Liſle, in conſequence of the glorious day of Ramillies; and the defeat at Turin, had drove the French out of Italy. They had, however, ſtill ſome troops left in the duchy of Milan, and the little victorious army under the count de Medavy. They were alſo ſtill in poſſeſſion of ſome ſtrong places. Lewis offered to give up all theſe to the emperor, provided he would permit thoſe troops, which amounted to about fifteen thouſand men, to retire unmoleſted. The emperor accepted of the propoſition, and the duke of Savoy gave his aſſent, without the Engliſh or Dutch being once conſulted about the matter. By this treaty, which was ſigned on the twelfth of March, 1707, the emperor Joſeph became peaceable poſſeſſor of Italy; the kingdom of Naples and Sicily was guarantied to him; and every thing which had formerly been feodal, was now treated as ſubject to a ſupreme power. He impoſed a tax of fifteen thouſand piſtoles upon Tuſcany, forty thouſand upon the duchy of Mantua; and Parma, Modena, Lucca, and Genoa, notwithſtanding they were free ſtates, were included in theſe impoſitions.

In the beginning of this campaign all the enemies of France ſeemed to have acquired new ſtrength, and that kingdom to be on the verge of ruin: ſhe was puſhed on all ſides, both by ſea and land. Of the formidable fleets with which Lewis XIV. had, till lately, domineered on the Ocean, ſcarcely thirty ſhips of the line were remaining. Straſburg ſtill continued to be the barrier town towards Germany; but by the loſs of Landau, all Alſace lay expoſed. A deſign had been formed for the following campaign to invade Provence by ſea and land. The duke of Savoy had undertook to march an army into that province, and to act there as ſhould be concerted by the allies. In a word, deſtruction ſeemed now hanging over the head of the Grand Monarch, who had ſo lately been the terror of all Europe, from which nothing could, in all probability, have ſaved him, but the miſconduct of the confederates. Lewis, by virtue of his capitulation with the emperor in Italy, was enabled to ſend ſuch reinforcements into Spain and the Netherlands, as rendered him capable of oppoſing the allies.

Hitherto the arms of the confederates had been attended with amazing ſucceſs in Spain; but this campaign Fortune ſeemed to abandon them all at once. The Spaniards appeared to be thoroughly reconciled to the government of Philip, and Charles was not in a condition to exert ſufficient force to make them acknowlege him as their ſovereign. His army was much inferior to that of the enemy: he had ſuſtained an almoſt irreparable loſs by the death of the brave prince of D'Armſtadt, who, as I have already related, was killed at the attack upon Barcelona; and the earl of Peterborough had retired into Italy. The earl of Galway, and brigadier-general Stanhope, who commanded in his abſence, were brave and gallant officers: they had the cauſe of the prince they were ſent to ſerve at heart; but they did not poſſeſs all thoſe qualifications which the ſituation of Charles's affairs required. The glory acquired by the duke of Marlborough, their friend and patron, had fired them with emulation, without imparting to them that great general's military capacity. They were eager to ſtrike ſome important blow; and they perſuaded Charles to ſecond their views, by penetrating once more to Madrid, and fighting the enemy wherever they ſhould appear, though much againſt his inclination, as he was very much averſe to engage in any hazardous enterprize. Not that this prince wanted courage; on the contrary, he poſſeſſed a great ſhare of it, joined to a clear head, and a ſolidity of judgment above his years. He repoſed a great confidence in the earl of Peterborough, and that nobleman declared againſt an offenſive war, on account of the difficulty of finding ſubſiſtence in Caſtile. He ſent his opinion from Italy, in which he adviſed Charles to avoid a deciſive action: he repreſented the fatal and irreparable conſequences that might enſue from a defeat: he demonſtrated that thoſe might eaſily be avoided, by remaining on the defenſive, and waiting the event of the intended expedition againſt Provence, which could not fail one way or another to oblige the French king to recal his troops out of Spain to protect his own dominions: he obſerved alſo, that as a fleet was daily expected from England with a powerful reinforcement of men and military ſtores, it would be time enough to attack the enemy when they arrived. This advice, however, prudent as it was, had no attention paid to it. The earl of Galway, brigadier Montroſe, and the marquis das Minas, the Portugueze general, were bent upon coming to ac-

* Tindal. Burnet. † Burnet. Hiſtory of Europe. Voltaire.

tion;

tion; and it was reſolved in a council of war to go in queſt of the enemy, and offer them battle wherever they ſhould appear; and, in order to provoke the Spaniards to the ſame reſolve, the army, to the number of fifteen thouſand men, was aſſembled at Caudela * on the firſt day of April, and on the ſeventh of the ſame month laid ſiege to the caſtle of Valencia, lying in the road between Valencia and Caſtile: but hearing that the duke of Berwick was in the neighbourhood, they advanced on the fourteenth of the ſame month towards the town of Almanza, where the enemy were drawn up in order of battle, their number, as I have before obſerved, being greatly ſuperior to that of the allies. The following is the account of this fatal day, as publiſhed by authority.

Our army entered the plain of Almanza about noon, and formed in the line of battle, and ſo marched till it came within a mile of the enemy. Lord Galway, to ſupply our want of cavalry, had interlined a brigade of foot with each wing of horſe: but the enemy having drawn from the left ſome ſquadrons to reinforce their right wing, lord Tyrawley, who commanded at the left wing, ordered the Portugueze horſe, of the left of the rear line, commanded by the count de Attalaya, to double into our firſt line, in order to make an equal front with the enemy.

About three o'clock in the afternoon the earl of Galway poſted himſelf at the head of the Engliſh dragoons, and marched to begin the battle with the enemy's right wing of horſe; the Portugueze being ordered to take the charge as it ſhould come to them from the left, but not before the Engliſh and Dutch were actually engaged. While we were marching on, the enemy began to play upon us from a battery on a riſing ground, a little in the front of their right: but our troops preſſing on to come to a cloſe engagement, the cannon on either ſide did little execution; and a detachment of dragoons being ſent under colonel Dormer to attack the enemy's battery, they retired with their guns in great precipitation. As ſoon as our left wing was advanced within an hundred paces of the enemy's horſe, they likewiſe advanced out of their line to meet our charge, and the engagement ſoon became very bloody and obſtinate on both ſides. The enemy, by the weight of their ſquadrons, forced ours to retreat ſome paces; but two regiments of foot, on the left of that brigade which was interlined with the horſe of the firſt line, coming up, threw in their fire upon the enemy's flank and rear, and our cavalry at the ſame time renewing their charge in front, drove them in diſorder through their own lines with a very great ſlaughter.

By this time the Engliſh and Dutch foot, who formed the center of our army, under the command of lieutenant-general Erle and baron Freyſheim, were ſharply engaged, and broke through the enemy's firſt and ſecond lines, bearing down all before them as far as the walls of Almanza: but this ſucceſs was not of long duration; for the enemy's ſquadrons of the ſecond line fell in upon their flank, and forced our infantry back with great loſs.

The enemy obſerving that the cavalry of our right did not advance with our left wing, detached ſome ſquadrons to fall upon the Portugueze, who formed the right line, under the command of the marquis das Minas. Theſe troops, in the moſt daſtardly manner, gave way upon the firſt charge, and the whole right wing made off and abandoned their infantry, who were moſt of them either killed or taken priſoners. The battle ſtill continued on our left wing, the enemy ſtill charging us with freſh ſquadrons, but without ſucceſs; which the duke of Berwick perceiving, he ſent nine battalions, moſt of them French, who drew up before the firſt line of the Spaniſh horſe, to oppoſe our brigade of foot, conſiſting of five regiments. At the ſame time they brought up ſeveral freſh ſquadrons, to make another charge upon our left wing of horſe. The count d'Attalaya, who commanded the Portugueze horſe that were mixed with our dragoons, was carried off wounded. Our troops were now attacked on every ſide; and being left naked in the flanks by the cowardly flight of the Portugueze wing, were ſurrounded and hemmed in on all ſides.

In this dreadful ſituation, they formed themſelves into a hollow ſquare, and retired from the field of battle. Had they been able to make their retreat good, the enemy would have had no great cauſe to boaſt of the victory, the loſs on both ſides being nearly equal; but the men, after marching nine hours without any refreſhment, and fighting about ſix, were fainting with fatigue: all their ammunition was gone; they ſaw themſelves abandoned by their own horſe, and in a country to which they were utter ſtrangers; deſtitute of proviſions, and cut off from all hopes of a ſupply. Upon theſe conſiderations, they reſolved to ſurrender themſelves (to the amount of thirteen battalions) as the French infantry had done at Blenheim, and to ſend to the duke of Berwick to deſire honourable terms, which were gladly granted; and the duke, who was at ſome diſtance, and indeed thought this body out of his reach, ſent count d'Aſfeldt to receive their ſurrender, on theſe conditions; That they ſhould be priſoners of war till they ſhould be exchanged; that they ſhould be all diſarmed but the officers, who ſhould keep their ſwords; and that they ſhould have liberty to ſend for their baggage before they marched any farther. The Portugueze, and part of the Engliſh horſe that guarded the baggage, retreated to Alcira.

In this fatal action the confederates loſt above ten thouſand men, two thouſand of whom were left dead on the field of battle, and among thoſe the following officers; brigadier Killegrew, the colonels Roper, Laurence, Dormer, Deloches, Green, Auſtin, MacNeal, Woolet, Withers, Ramſey, and Erſkine. The earl of Galway, who charged in perſon at the head of Guiſcard's dragoons, received a deep cut in his face, having before loſt his right hand, with which he might have parried the blow. The marquis das Minas was run through the arm, and ſaw his miſtreſs, who fought in the habit of an Amazon, killed by his ſide. The lord Mark Ker; Mr. O'Hara, ſon

* This is a ſmall town in the province of New Caſtile in Spain, about fifty miles diſtant from Valencia.

to the lord Tyrawley; and the colonels Clayton and Pierce were wounded. The loſs of the enemy was not much inferior to ours.

After this unfortunate battle lord Galway retired with the remains of the army to the frontiers of Catalonia, in order to join king Charles, who was purpoſing to march to the borders of Rouſſillon †.

Neither Philip nor Charles were preſent at this action. The duke of Orleans, who had been appointed to the command in Spain, did not arrive till the day after the battle: however, he made all the advantage he could of the victory, marching into Valencia, and reducing that whole province, with the capital city, before the middle of May. He afterwards continued his route to Saragoſſa, the capital of Arragon; whereupon that whole kingdom made their ſubmiſſion to king Philip, imploring his clemency. The duke, however, diſarmed them for the preſent, and they were obliged to buy their peace with great ſums of money, beſides ſubſiſting the French army with proviſions. King Philip afterwards thought fit to deprive them of their antient privileges for a time, and took ſuch other meaſures to mortify them as enraged princes generally exerciſe towards rebellious ſubjects. The duke of Orleans afterwards began a private negotiation with the earl of Galway, during which the two armies lay inactive; and he concluded the campaign with the ſiege of Lerida ‡, which was ſurrendered by capitulation on the ſecond day of November; then the troops on both ſides went into winter quarters. The earl of Galway and the marquis das Minas embarked at Barcelona for Liſbon; and general Carpenter remained commander of the Engliſh forces quartered in Catalonia, which was now the only part of Spain that remained to king Charles §.

The allies, glowing with indignation at the check their arms had received at Almanza, reſolved to put in execution, without delay, the ſcheme they had formed for an attack upon Toulon, hoping to make themſelves amends for the loſſes they had ſuffered in Spain, by over-running the fertile provinces of the ſouth of France, to which Toulon is the key, on the ſide of the Mediterranean. With this view, no expence was ſpared to fit out the moſt formidable armament that had been raiſed for ſome years. Queen Anne remitted a large ſum of money to the duke of Savoy, who, with prince Eugene, was to enter France on the ſide of Provence, at the head of thirty thouſand men, while the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of ſir Cloudeſley Shovel, were to aſſiſt their operations by ſea. Secrecy, however, the ſoul of every great enterprize, was wanting here; and the duke of Savoy embarraſſed the meaſures (that had been concerted with great ſagacity) by his irreſolution and delay. The Engliſh and Dutch, who looked upon the conqueſt of Toulon as certain, ſent a large body of troops to fill up the vacancies that had been occaſioned by the emperor's having drawn off conſiderable detachments to ſend through the eccleſiaſtical ſtate towards Naples, of which he had made himſelf maſter without any difficulty. The forces of the confederates were formed into three different armies, in order to amuſe the enemy, and more effectually to conceal their real intentions

It was about the month of June when the deſign upon Toulon firſt began to appear; whereupon the mareſchal de Teſſe, who commanded in Provence, made all the diſpoſitions that could be expected from an experienced and prudent general on ſuch an occaſion; notwithſtanding which the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene paſſed the Var on the eleventh day of July, with their whole army, and advanced directly towards Toulon ‖, whither the artillery and ammunition, which were very formidable, were tranſported on board of the combined ſquadrons. The confederate army being arrived before the place, prince Eugene went upon one of the heights in the neighbourhood, to obſerve the diſpoſition of the enemy, when he ſoon perceived the whole difficulty of the enterprize he had undertaken, and found that he muſt fight an army ſtrongly entrenched in the out-works, and on the heights that ſurrounded the place, and which were well furniſhed with a vaſt number of guns: in fine, that the town, ſo far from being unprovided for a ſiege, as the allies had been made to believe, was in a condition to bid defiance to their ſtrongeſt efforts; upon which the prince was for making a timely retreat, but the duke of Savoy was poſitive in his opinion for carrying on the enterprize. Accordingly a council of war being held, it was reſolved to begin their operations with the attack of the hill of St. Catherine, which the enemy had fortified; and in this firſt attempt the allies ſucceeded, though not without loſs. They now began to erect their batteries on this eminence, and to play with red-hot ſhot upon the town, accompanied by an inceſſant ſhower of bombs from the fleet, which did prodigious damage to the buildings and works of the place. They alſo attacked and carried Fort St. Louis, le Grand Tour, and Balaguier, three little forts in the harbour.

While the allies were thus employed, the enemy were not idle: they made ſeveral vigorous ſallies, in which they cut off a good number of our troops, and nailed up ſome cannon. Marſhal de Teſſe gathered in all the troops that were in the country, as well militia as regulars; and by the fifteenth of Auguſt found his numbers ſo increaſed, that he reſolved to attempt diſlodging the

† Rouſſillon, a government of France, anciently belonging to Spain, but ceded to the former by the treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659. It is bounded on the north by the little Pyrenean mountains, which divide it from Languedoc; on the eaſt by the Mediterranean ſea; and on the ſouth and weſt by the mountains of Catalonia and Cerdagne, and by a part of the great Pyrenees; ſo that it is one large plain, fifty-five miles long, and thirty-ſix broad, abounding in corn and wine, oranges and lemons, with ſome good paſture; but the olives are of the moſt value to the inhabitants. Its capital is Perpignan.

‡ Lerida, anciently Ilerida, is a well built and fortified city of Catalonia in Spain, ſituated on the river Segre, has a good citadel, is the ſee of a biſhop, under the archbiſhop of Tarragona, and has an univerſity.

§ Tindal. Burnet. Hiſtory of Europe.

‖ Thoulon, or Toulon, is a pretty large city of Provence in France, with one of the moſt ſpacious and ſecure ports of Europe, in a bay of the Mediterranean. Here the largeſt ſhips of the French navy are built and ſtationed: here is an arſenal, furniſhed with all ſorts of naval ſtores, alſo yards and docks, and the whole is well fortified. It lies twenty-five miles ſouth-eaſt of Marſeilles, and four hundred and ſixteen in the ſame direction from Paris.

allies from the poſt of St. Catherine, coſt what it might; and indeed he took his meaſures with great ſkill and ſagacity: he ordered two attacks to be made; the one feigned, the other true; but both ſo ordered as to co-operate with and mutually aſſiſt each other: that which was deſtined againſt the hill of St. Catherine he commanded in perſon, and the French attacked the confederates with a fury not to be withſtood. The duke and the prince ſent four battalions to their relief, but it was too late; the French had driven our men from the poſt with ſuch ſlaughter, that not above thirty were left out of a body of between eight and nine hundred. In this action the prince of Saxe-Gotha, one of the braveſt of the confederate generals, chuſing rather to die on the ſpot than abandon his poſt, put himſelf at the head of this ſmall remnant, crying out to them, "Courage, my brave friends, let us die like men of honour; it ſhall never be ſaid that a prince of Saxe-Gotha ſuffered himſelf to be driven from his poſt." He fell, however, the victim of his martial ardour: a muſket-ball entered his head under the left eye, and another pierced his left breaſt: he fell dead on the ſpot, infinitely regretted by the emperor and all the allies: he had not attained his thirtieth year. His little band ſeeing him fall, immediately laid down their arms. The four battalions, who were by this time come up, had not a better fate: the victorious enemy fell upon them ſword in hand, killing great numbers, and putting the reſt to flight; and then nailing up all the cannon of the confederates which they found in the place, they returned to their camp with very little loſs.

Prince Eugene was now more than ever convinced of the impoſſibility of taking Toulon: he repeated his inſtances to abandon the enterprize, which he ſaid might be done at preſent without hazarding any thing; but that the enemy were daily receiving reinforcements from all parts; that it appeared even now very difficult to be ſupplied from the fleet with proviſions and neceſſaries for the ſiege when the wind was contrary, and that in an advanced ſeaſon of the year it would be ſtill more ſo; and that the deſertion of the ſoldiers for want of proviſion, and the diſtempers among them, would daily thin their numbers, and reduce them to an inferiority with the enemy. The moſt prudent and experienced amongſt the commanders in the confederate army were fully ſenſible of the truth of prince Eugene's arguments. The duke of Savoy himſelf at length began to ſee the matter in its true light; and having received intelligence that the enemy had now ſixty battalions in their intrenchments, beſides a numerous cavalry, he agreed to deſiſt from this enterprize: but that they might not quit the place without leaving behind them evident marks of their viſit, directions were given for bombarding Toulon both by ſea and land with redoubled vigour; and the duke of Savoy, who in this took retaliation for his capital city of Turin, went to an eminence to enjoy the deſtructive blaze. The enemy were greatly diſtreſſed by this dreadful farewel: eight ſhips of the line were burned in the harbour; twenty were ſunk in the entrance to the mole, few of which could ever be recovered; ſeveral magazines, and above one hundred and ſixty horſes, were deſtroyed in the city; and the devaſtations committed in the adjacent country were eſtimated at no leſs than thirty millions of livres, or near five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

By this time the confederates received advice that the French king had recalled a good number of battalions from the army on the Rhine; that the duke of Burgundy was alſo at the head of a powerful army, advancing to the relief of Toulon; wherefore, on the twenty-fifth day of Auguſt, having embarked their guns and other implements of war, they decamped in the night, leaving their tents ſtanding to deceive the enemy, and on the thirty-firſt repaſſed the Var, having loſt, as appeared by a muſter of their troops, about ſix thouſand men, by ſickneſs, deſertion, or the ſword. But to cover in ſome meaſure the diſgrace of this diſappointment, and to make ſome amends for the loſſes he had ſuffered, the duke of Savoy ſoon after laid ſiege to Suza (the capital of the marquiſate of the ſame name in Piedmont) the garriſon of which ſubmitted at diſcretion. By this conqueſt he not only ſecured the entry into his own territories, but likewiſe opened to himſelf a free paſſage into Dauphiné*. After this the army went into winter-quarters †.

The Engliſh and Dutch, particularly the former, were grievouſly chagrined at the miſcarriage of this expedition, from which they had formed ſuch flattering proſpects of ſpeedily terminating the war with honour and advantage, and which they now ſaw vaniſh into air, after ſuch a mighty expence to inſure its ſucceſs. They accuſed the duke of Savoy of holding an intelligence with Lewis XIV. but ſtill we were obliged to ſubmit, and pay the greateſt part of the expence. The ill ſucceſs of this expedition was alſo attributed, as I have already obſerved, to the emperor's having weakened the army under the command of prince Eugene in Italy, in order to ſend troops to the conqueſt of Naples. Indeed the houſe of Auſtria ſeemed all along to have very little at heart the projects or intereſts of the reſt of the allies, or to regard the expences they were at, provided ſhe could anſwer her own private views. She had found out the ſecret to engage England and Holland warmly in her cauſe, and to draw immenſe ſums from thoſe two nations, of which ſhe made her own uſe. The kingdom of Naples was a conqueſt of greater importance to her than that of Toulon, which more immediately concerned the maritime powers, who would have reaped infinite advantages from the deſtruction of one of the fineſt ſeaports the enemy poſſeſſed in Europe.

The raiſing the ſiege of Toulon was followed by ſeveral other croſs accidents and loſſes to the allies. The very ſeaſons ſeemed to arm againſt them. Their fleets were greatly ſhattered by bad weather at ſea, by which ſeveral ſhips were loſt, or fell a prey to the enemy's cruizers. Great Britain in particular ſuffered a terrible diſaſter, in the unhappy fate of ſir Cloudeſley Shovel, who, on his

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* A government of France, terminated by la Breſſe, and the river Rhone on the north; by the Alps which divide it from Savoy and Piedmont) on the eaſt; by Provence on the ſouth; and by the Rhone on the weſt.

† Hiſtory of Europe. Burnet. Life of Prince Eugene.

return

return home with fifteen ſail of the line, and five of a leſſer rank, was loſt upon the rocks of Scilly, in his own ſhip the Aſſociation, and periſhed, with every perſon on board. This was likewiſe the fate of the Eagle, Romney, and Firebrand: the reſt of the fleet happily got ſafe into Spithead *. Nor was this the only misfortune that befel us at ſea this year; for though France was not in a condition to ſend out any fleet, yet the Britiſh nation never ſuffered greater loſſes on that element. The prince of Denmark's council was very unhappy in the whole conduct of the cruizers and convoys. The merchants made heavy complaints, and not without reaſon: five men of war (who were convoy to a great fleet of merchant-men and tranſports, laden with ſtores and horſes, bound for Liſbon) fell in with the Breſt and Dunkirk ſquadrons off the Lizard, to the number of fourteen ſail. The Cumberland, Cheſter, and Ruby, being diſabled, were forced to ſubmit; the Devonſhire maintained a running fight till night, when by ſome accident ſhe was blown up, and only two of her men ſaved: the Royal Oak was boarded by the French, but got clear, and with ſome veſſels made the harbour of Kinſale (in Ireland) and ſome others of the merchant-ſhips and tranſports bore away for, and got ſafe into Liſbon. Indeed, about this time the government received advice that captain Underdom, commander of the Falkland, had made a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the French fiſheries in North America, having taken two of their men of war, and burnt ſeveral fiſhing-veſſels and boats, deſtroyed their ſtages, carried off their fiſh, and made their fiſhermen priſoners: but this ſucceſs was too inconſiderable to alleviate the loſs of the men and ſhips that periſhed with ſir Cloudeſley Shovel, or fell a prey to the French cruizers in the Channel.

It is certain indeed that we ſtill continued to have the ſuperiority over the enemy; but commerce, which is the main ſinew of war, was greatly weakened. The party of Charles III. which he ſupported at ſuch an immenſe expence, was viſibly declining: nothing effectual could be done to retrieve it till the next year's campaign. The interval, however, ought to have been improved by every poſſible means; inſtead of which the operations were ſuffered to languiſh, and the enemy to gain a degree of ſtrength that it was not eaſy afterwards to withſtand. Eight or ten ſhips of force more in the Mediterranean would have obviated theſe inconveniencies, and have enabled Charles to keep his adherents together. Nothing could appear more ſimple and natural than ſuch a meaſure; and it is hardly conceivable how our miniſtry, while they were continually buſied in forming the moſt important projects, ſhould overlook the leſſer arrangement, which naturally led to the completion of the main deſign.

Upon the Upper Rhine the Germans ſeemed to be aſleep: they ſuffered marſhal Villars to paſs that river with very little oppoſition, to make himſelf maſter of their lines at Biehl and Stolhoffen, and lay the circles of Suabia and Franconia under contribution: and he had even penetrated into Bavaria, had he not been obliged to weaken his army, and ſend large detachments into Provence for the relief of Toulon. The imperial army was, as uſual, augmented the latter end of the ſummer, and the command of it was, at the preſſing inſtances of the allies, given to the elector of Hanover, who exerted himſelf with uncommon diligence in reſtoring military diſcipline; but the army was too weak, and the ſeaſon too far advanced, to enter on great deſigns. One conſiderable action happened at Offenburgh, which very much raiſed the elector's reputation. He ſurprized ſeven regiments of French horſe and dragoons encamped near that place, whom he attacked on the twenty-fourth of September, and entirely defeated them, killing ſeveral officers, and eight hundred private men. Soon after marſhal Villars repaſſed the Rhine; and the elector of Hanover ſeparated his army, and diſperſed them ſo conveniently in their winter-quarters, that they might be aſſembled upon any emergent occaſion in leſs than forty-eight hours †.

The conduct of Charles XII. of Sweden continued ſtill ſo myſterious, that the confederates were not a little alarmed at his being in the heart of Germany. It was therefore reſolved to ſend ſome perſon of ſagacity to dive into his real intentions, and the duke of Marlborough was accordingly diſpatched in the month of April, with a letter from the queen to that monarch, who then held his reſidence at Leipſick. His grace, who was no leſs able a negotiator than he was a ſucceſsful general, attacked Charles on the ſide of his vanity, the only part by which he was acceſſible. Being admitted to an audience, he is ſaid to have addreſſed him in the following terms:

"SIRE,

"I preſent to your majeſty a letter, not from the chancery, but from the heart of the queen my miſtreſs, and written with her own hand. Had not her ſex prevented her from taking ſo long a journey, ſhe would have croſſed the ſea to ſee a prince admired by the whole univerſe. I eſteem myſelf happy in having the honour of aſſuring your majeſty of my regard; and I ſhould think it a great happineſs if my affairs would allow me to learn, under ſo great a general as your majeſty, what I want to know in the art of war. §"

To this compliment his Swediſh majeſty returned the following anſwer; "That the queen of Great Britain's letter, and the perſon of her ambaſſador, were both very acceptable to him; that he ſhould always have the utmoſt regard for her Britannic majeſty, and the intereſts of the grand alliance; that it was much againſt his will that he had been obliged to give the leaſt umbrage to any of the parties engaged in the confederacy, but that his

* The admiral's body being caſt aſhore, was ſtripped by the country people, and buried in the ſand; but was afterwards diſcovered and brought into Plymouth, from whence it was conveyed to London, and interred in Weſtminſter-abbey, where a noble monument was erected to the memory of this gallant officer, as a mark of gratitude for the ſignal ſervices which he performed to his country. He was born of mean parentage in the county of Suffolk; and by the force of his perſonal merit alone, without any particular patron, raiſed himſelf to the higheſt ſtation in the navy. Hiſt. of Europe. Burchet.

† Broderick.

§ Lamberti, vol. iv. p. 434.

excellency could not but be convinced that he had juſt cauſe to bring his troops into that country; that nevertheleſs his grace might aſſure the queen his miſtreſs, that he intended to withdraw them as ſoon as he had obtained the ſatisfaction he demanded; and that in the mean time he ſhould carefully abſtain from doing any thing that might tend to the prejudice of the common cauſe in general, or of the proteſtant religion in particular, of which he ſhould always glory to be a zealous protector *."

This however was looked upon as nothing more than repaying words with words. It was well known that the French court had gained over count Piper, the chief miniſter and favourite of Charles, to their intereſt, who put his maſter upon ſeeking occaſion for a quarrel with the emperor, whom the Swediſh conqueror affected to treat with great haughtineſs, and had ſtarted ſome pretenſions which gave the court of Vienna great uneaſineſs.

Count Zobor, ſon-in-law to the prince of Lichtenſtein, and chamberlain to the emperor, had, at a public entertainment, made ſome indecent reflections on the character of Charles XII. in the preſence of baron de Strahlen, the Swediſh envoy, who ſo far reſented it, that he gave the count at once the lye, and a box on the ear; after which he peremptorily demanded reparation from the Imperial court. The emperor, afraid of diſpleaſing the king of Sweden, was obliged to baniſh the count. Charles, not ſatisfied even with this condeſcenſion, inſiſted that count Zobor ſhould be delivered up to him. The pride of the court of Vienna was forced to ſtoop. The count was put into the hands of the king, who ſent him back, after having kept him for ſome time as a priſoner at Stetin.

He further demanded, contrary to all the laws of nations, that the emperor ſhould deliver up to him one thouſand five hundred unhappy Muſcovites who had eſcaped the year before out of Saxony, and had been entertained in the imperial army on the Upper Rhine. The emperor was obliged to yield even to this unreaſonable demand; but the Muſcovites being informed of what was in agitation, diſbanded themſelves, and marched off in parties into Poland.

The third and laſt of his demands was the moſt daring. Having declared himſelf the protector of the emperor's proteſtant ſubjects in Sileſia, a province belonging to the houſe of Auſtria, and not to the empire; he inſiſted that the emperor ſhould grant them the liberties and privileges which had been eſtabliſhed by the treaties of Weſtphalia, but which were extinguiſhed, or at leaſt eluded, by thoſe of Ryſwick. The emperor, who wanted only to get rid of ſuch a dangerous neighbour, yielded once more, and granted all that he deſired. The Lutherans of Sileſia had one hundred churches, which the catholics were obliged to cede to them. All differences being thus compromiſed, a treaty was ſigned between the emperor and the king of Sweden at Leipſic, on the firſt of September, under the guaranty of the queen of Great Britain and the States-general: and now Charles having no pretext to remain in Germany, ſet out at the head of his army for Poland, to ſtop the progreſs of the czar of Muſcovy, who had by this time almoſt overrun that kingdom †.

Whilſt the houſe of Auſtria underwent humiliations on every ſide, two pieces of pomp and magnificence conſumed great part of their treaſure: an embaſſy was ſent from Liſbon to demand the emperor's ſiſter for the king of Portugal, which was effected at a very great expence. A wife alſo was to be ſought for king Charles: he had ſeen the princeſs Caroline of Anſpach, and was much pleaſed with her. Propoſals were made to her in his name, and great endeavours uſed to prevail on her to change her religion; but ſhe preferring the proteſtant faith to the ſplendor of a crown, refuſed to be a queen on thoſe terms. Her firmneſs met with a ſuitable reward; for being ſoon after married to the electoral prince of Brunſwick, ſhe ſhared with him the crown of Great Britain. The princeſs of Wolfenbuttle was not ſo firm: ſhe ſubſcribed to the conditions of the king of Spain, and was in a ſhort time married to him by proxy, and ſent to Barcelona. The queen of Portugal this ſame year came to Holland, to be carried to Liſbon by a ſquadron of the Engliſh fleet ‡.

The duke of Marlborough having finiſhed his negotiations with the king of Sweden by the latter end of April, left Saxony, and repaired to Flanders, where he aſſembled the allied army at Anderlach, near Bruſſels, about the middle of May, and advanced to Soignies, with a deſign to give battle to the elector of Bavaria and the duke of Vendôme, who commanded the French forces, and had encamped on the plain of Flerus. On his way, however, he received intelligence that the enemy's army had been ſtrongly reinforced by draughts from all their garriſons, inſomuch as to be greatly ſuperior to that of the allies. Upon this intelligence the duke, whoſe prudence was always equal to his valour, thought proper to reſume the road to Bruſſels, and encamped his army at Mildert, while the French advanced to Gemblours. The two dukes ſpent the reſt of the campaign in marches and counter-marches, endeavouring to gain ſome advantage of each other; but ſuch was the caution of each general, that no action happened between the two armies, nor was any town beſieged, but both ſides held their own, and about the latter end of October marched into the ſame quarters they had occupied the preceding winter §.

At the cloſe of the campaign the duke of Marlborough repaired to Frankfort, where he had a conference with the electors of Hanover, Mentz, and Palatine, about the operations of the enſuing year: then he returned to the Hague; and having ſettled the neceſſary meaſures with the deputies of the States-general, ſet ſail for England, where he landed on the ſecond day of November. It furniſhed matter of much ſpeculation to the politicians of thoſe days to account for the inactive conduct of his grace during this critical campaign, when he commanded a victorious army of one hundred

* Lamberti, vol. iv. p. 434.
† Burnet. Tindal. Hiſt. of Charles XII. of Sweden.
‡ Burnet. Tindal.
§ Hiſt. of Europe. Life of the duke of Marlborough.

thouſand veteran troops flushed with victory. His friends accounted for it, by alleging that he waited to ſee the ſucceſs of the grand expedition againſt Toulon.—It might be ſo.

The military tranſactions abroad being now at an end, we will return to thoſe of a domeſtic nature.

Affairs in the Engliſh council and adminiſtration began now to aſſume a new face, and the royal favour now ſeemed directed in a new channel. Mr. Harley, who had for ſome years been ſecretary of ſtate, had ingratiated himſelf greatly with his ſovereign, and in conſequence thereof began to act for himſelf, and in oppoſition to the lord-treaſurer. The ducheſs of Marlborough was alſo ſupplanted by Mrs. Maſham, her own kinſwoman, whom ſhe had formerly relieved from indigence, and placed about the perſon of the queen, in the nature of a bed-chamber woman. This perſon had, by ſtudying the temper of the queen, and meeting all her deſigns and little biaſſes with aſſent and approbation, abſolutely gained her affection. Her majeſty began now to be ſenſible that her old favourite the ducheſs of Marlborough had, during her reign of favour, played the tyrant; and the remonſtrances of that lady, as to ſtate affairs, which had hitherto been placed to the account of an honeſt bluntneſs and undiſguiſed affection, were now cenſured as inſolent attempts to thwart her majeſty in her moſt reſpected maxims, and make her the tool of an ambitious and deſigning family-party. Mrs. Maſham was a relation to Mr. Harley, as well as to the ducheſs, and ſhe acted under his directions in managing ſome of the private ſprings of political intrigues, which he now began to put in play, to form a party in conjunction with the Tories, to ſap the credit of the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin, and expel the Whigs from the advantages they poſſeſſed under the government. Harley's chief coadjutor in this ſcheme was Mr. Henry St. John (afterwards the famous lord Bolingbroke) who for the preſent was content to act in a ſubordinate capacity; but in a ſhort time, conſcious of his own parts and influence, raiſed himſelf to the character of that miniſter's rival. To theſe politicians ſir Simon Harcourt joined himſelf, a colleague of uncommon ability and credit; and they united their endeavours to rally and incorporate the diſunited Tories. It was ſaid that prince George was brought into the concert, by being made to apprehend that he was in a manner excluded from his due ſhare in the government, by the great power which the duke of Marlborough and the lord-treaſurer had acquired to themſelves and their friends. They aſſerted that the queen herſelf was little better than a cypher in the ſtate, being as much under the controul of the ducheſs of Marlborough as her affairs were by the duke. The queen about this time took ſome ſteps which plainly ſhewed her inclination towards the Tories: among others, ſhe beſtowed the biſhoprics of Chicheſter and Exeter upon ſir William Dawes and Dr. Blackall, who, tho' perſons of unblemiſhed character, were profeſſed anti-revolutioniſts.

The diſpoſition of the Tories ſeemed to concur with the views of the new-formed party: the nation in general expreſſed great diſcontent with the Whig miniſtry, on account of the many loſſes and diſgraces which had befallen our arms both by ſea and land in the courſe of this year. The Tories did not fail to feed their diſguſt, while the miniſtry ſeemed totally inattentive to the ſpreading murmurs which portended a ſtorm ready to fall upon their heads. By a ſtrange inſtance of miſmanagement, they treated their newly incorporated brethren the Scots in ſuch a manner as ſeemed to exaſperate that people more than ever againſt the union. A ſtop was put to their whole commerce for two months, before it was diverted into the new channel. Three months elapſed before the equivalent was remitted to that kingdom, and it was afterwards applied with the moſt ſhameful partiality. The Scottiſh nation now reſounded on all ſides with complaints: the Jacobites hailed the hapy omen, and began to ſtir in favour of their exiled prince. Conferences were held with the court of St. Germain's, and meaſures concerted for bringing about the deſired revolution: nay, ſo openly did they act, and with ſo little regard to decency towards the eſtabliſhed government, that the pretender's birth-day was publicly celebrated in many different parts of the kingdom: in a word, every thing in Scotland ſeemed ripe for a general revolt.

In Ireland, indeed, every thing wore the face of quiet and tranquility, under the adminiſtration of the earl of Pembroke. A parliament having met at Dublin, in the month of July, preſented addreſſes of congratulation to her majeſty on the late union of the two kingdoms: ſeveral laudable reſolutions were paſſed by the commons, in favour of their own manufactures: they granted the neceſſary ſupplies; and, having finiſhed ſeveral bills, were prorogued to the ſixth of May of the enſuing year; and the earl of Pembroke returned to England.

Such was the ſtate of our home affairs, when the time for convening the great aſſembly of the nation approached very near. The parliament had already ſat two years, and of courſe, according to the inſtitution of triennial parliaments, it had only another year to ſit; but as it had been revived on account of its being the firſt parliament of Great Britain, it was commonly ſuppoſed to be a new parliament. Mr. Secretary Harley and his friends, however, maintained, that it could not be a new parliament, ſince it was not ſummoned by a new writ, but only by virtue of a clauſe in an act of parliament. The Whigs, by their ſuperior intereſt, at length carried their point, and it was yielded to be a new parliament.

Accordingly, on the twenty-third of October, the firſt parliament of Great Britain met at Weſtminſter, when all the forms uſual at the beginning of a new parliament were obſerved: the queen came to the houſe of peers, and the commons being ſent for, they were directed by the lord-chancellor to return to their houſe and chuſe a ſpeaker, and preſent him that day ſevennight. They unanimouſly made choice of Mr. Smith, their former ſpeaker, and then adjourned to the thirtieth of the ſame month: the lords adjourned to the ſame day. At this firſt meeting thirteen of the Scottiſh peers returned for that part of Great Britain called Scotland, were admitted to their places in the Britiſh houſe of lords, each of them being introduced by two Engliſh peers of the ſame rank; and the commons of North Britain took their places in the lower houſe. On the thirtieth

the queen came again to the houſe of peers, and the commons, being ſent for, preſented their ſpeaker, who was approved by the queen: then the two houſes were again adjourned to the ſixth of November, on which day her majeſty made a ſpeech to the firſt Britiſh parliament, to the following purport.

She began with expreſſing "her humble thankfulneſs to God, and entire ſatisfaction to herſelf, that ſhe met them there in her firſt parliament of Great Britain, not doubting (ſhe ſaid) but they came with hearts prepared, as her's was, to make the union ſo proſperous, as it might anſwer the well-grounded hopes of all her good ſubjects, and the reaſonable apprehenſions of her enemies; and to that end, ſhe obſerved, nothing was ſo material to convince both friends and enemies, that the uniting their intereſts had not only improved their abilities, but alſo their reſolutions, as to proſecute the war till an honourable peace could be obtained."

Then, having ſpoken of the attempt upon Toulon, which, though it had not been attended with the deſired ſucceſs, had not, ſhe ſaid, wholly loſt its intended effect; having taken notice of our diſadvantages in Spain, and the expulſion of the enemy wholly out of Italy, as alſo of the conduct and authority of the elector of Hanover, who commanded as general of the empire that campaign on the Rhine; and after that, of the ſupplies neceſſary for carrying on the war with ſucceſs; ſhe came to the buſineſs of the late union, and ſaid, "it was impoſſible but ſome doubts and difficulties muſt have ariſen on account of that meaſure, which, however, ſhe hoped, were ſo far overcome as to have defeated the deſigns of thoſe, who would have made uſe of that handle to foment diſturbances." Then, having recommended to their conſideration ſeveral things, made liable by the articles of union to the conſideration of the parliament of Great Britain, ſhe concluded with aſſuring them, "that nothing ſhould be wanting on her part to procure her people all the bleſſings that could follow from that happy circumſtance of her reign, and to extinguiſh the leaſt occaſion of jealouſy, that either the civil or religious rights of any part of that her united kingdom could ſuffer by the conſequences of that union; hoping (ſhe ſaid) they would ſuffer nothing to prevail with them to diſunite among themſelves, or abate their zeal in oppoſing the common enemy *."

I ſhall not dwell on the addreſſes preſented to her majeſty on this occaſion, but only obſerve, that both houſes, having made ſome enquiries into the miſcarriages of the navy, and brought in a bill for the better ſecurity of the trade of the kingdom, the commons went roundly to work about the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſervice of the enſuing year, amounting in all to about ſix millions †. They introduced another bill, for repealing the Scottiſh act of ſecurity, and that about peace and war, which had excited ſuch jealouſy in the Engliſh nation: they likewiſe reſolved, that there ſhould be but one privy-council in the kingdom of Great Britain: that the militia of Scotland ſhould be put upon the ſame footing with that of England: that the powers of the juſtices of the peace ſhould be the ſame through the whole united kingdoms: that, for the better adminiſtration of juſtice in Scotland, the lords of juſticiary ſhould go circuits twice in the year: and that the writs for electing Scottiſh members to ſerve in parliament ſhould be directed, and returns made, in the ſame manner as was obſerved in England.

The queen came to the parliament houſe on the eighteenth of December, and gave the royal aſſent to thoſe bills; when, after thanking the commons for their readineſs and affection in providing ſo conſiderable a part of the ſupplies, ſhe hinted at the neceſſity there was of augmenting the forces in Spain, Portugal, and Savoy. This intimation produced a debate in the houſe of lords, on the affairs of Spain, the queen being preſent incognito. It began about returning thanks to the earl of Peterborough for his ſervices in that country, or elſe to call him to an account for his conduct if he had done amiſs. The ſervices of the earl of Peterborough were extolled by the earl of Rocheſter and lord Haverſham, and it was moved, that he might have the thanks of the houſe: this was oppoſed by the Whigs, who imagined it might imply a reflection on the conduct of the earl of Galway. The earl of Rocheſter obſerved on this occaſion, that it was a ſaying of old duke Schomberg's, that the attacking France in the Netherlands was like taking a bull by the horns; and therefore his lordſhip propoſed the ſtanding upon the defenſive in Flanders, and ſending from thence fifteen or twenty thouſand men to Catalonia. In this he was ſeconded by the earl of Nottingham and others, who took notice that Spain was in a manner abandoned to the enemy. This motion was ſtrongly oppoſed by the duke of Marlborough, who urged, that the great towns in Brabant, which he had conquered, could not be preſerved without a conſiderable number of men; and that if the French ſhould gain any advantage in Flanders, from their ſuperiority in point of numbers, the diſcontented party in Holland, which was very ſtrong, and bore with great impatience the burthen of the war, would immediately become clamorous for a peace. His grace on this occaſion diſcovered ſo much warmth, that the whole houſe took notice of it; and lord Rocheſter ſaid, he wondered that nobleman, who had always been ſo conſpicuous for his calmneſs and moderation, ſhould now be out of temper; at the ſame time he challenged his grace to ſhew how troops could be procured for the ſervice of Italy and Spain; to which the duke replied, that the ſubject was of too great concern to be ſpoken of without warmth, and aſſured the houſe, that meaſures had been already concerted for forming an army of forty thouſand men, under the duke of Savoy, after ſending powerful ſuccours to king Charles ‡.

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iv. 70.

† The ways and means for raiſing thoſe ſums were, the land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound; the malt duty; upon the ſeveral duties granted laſt year for annuities, a farther ſum was now enacted of ſix hundred and forty thouſand pounds for like annuities of forty thouſand pounds per annum, at the ſame price; cuſtoms laid for ninety-five years, on which one million was to be taken in for purchaſing more annuities at ſixteen years purchaſe. The Eaſt India company propoſed to advance one million two hundred thouſand pounds for the ſervice of the war, if they might have their term enlarged to the year 1726, contenting themſelves with the ſame intereſt they already received for the two millions they formerly advanced, which was complied with, and enacted accordingly; and the general mortgage as it was called (that is, divers duties at the cuſtom-houſe) was continued from 1712 to 1714, for a loan of ſeven hundred and twenty-nine thouſand and ſixty-ſeven pounds, which completed the ſums voted.

‡ Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, ii. 183.

How

How powerful theſe were, the event will ſhew.

This declaration of the duke's, however, put an end to the debates, and on the twenty-third of December the two houſes joined in an addreſs to the queen, againſt making any peace, which could not be ſafe and favourable for her and her allies, if Spain, the Weſt Indies, or any part of the Spaniſh monarchy, ſhould be ſuffered to remain under the power of the houſe of Bourbon. Her majeſty, in her anſwer, fully concurred with them in opinion, adding farther, that ſhe was very well pleaſed to find the meaſures ſhe had concerted for the ſuccour of the king of Spain, were ſo well approved by both houſes: ſhe ſaid, ſhe would continue her moſt preſſing inſtances with the emperor, for haſtening farther ſuccours, and that they might be commanded by prince Eugene, agreeable to the deſire of the two houſes in their addreſs. This requeſt ſhe accordingly made; the court of Vienna, however, did not chuſe to comply with it, but ſent thither the count Staremberg, who, of all the German generals, was next to the prince in military reputation.

The high degree of credit in which Mr. Harley now ſtood with the queen, filled the Whigs with very diſagreeable apprehenſions: they muſtered all their ſtrength, and, headed by the two great ſtateſmen, the duke and the treaſurer, who yet managed every thing, reſolved to be before-hand with the ſecretary, and, if poſſible, drive him from the court; which while they were meditating upon, an accident happened that gave them ſome colour for attacking their rival. One Gregg, an inferior clerk in Mr. Harley's office, was detected in holding a ſecret correſpondence with monſieur Chamillard, the French king's miniſter; whereupon he was apprehended, and brought to his trial, when he pleaded guilty, and was condemned; but he was reprieved from time to time, for ſeveral months, in hopes that he might make ſome diſcoveries of importance: but the fellow took the whole guilt upon himſelf, declaring at his execution, that neither his maſter Mr. Harley, nor any other perſon, had the leaſt knowlege of his treaſonable correſpondence, which, he ſaid, he had entered into merely to ſupply thoſe neceſſities which a life of extravagance and debauchery had run him into. The Whigs were in great hopes that this affair would have fixed an indelible ſtain upon the ſecretary's character; but the moſt that could be made out to the cenſure of Mr. Harley, was, that he ſuffered papers of a ſecret nature to be too much expoſed in his office, whereby Gregg and other clerks had it in their power to give intelligence to the enemy, if they ſhould be ſo diſpoſed. The peers thought proper to offer an addreſs to her majeſty upon this head, reflecting upon Mr. Harley's negligence in the diſcharge of his office (which was certainly reprehenſible.) The duke of Marlborough and the lord treaſurer Godolphin, laying hold of this favourable opportunity to overturn their tottering rival, declared they would lay down their commiſſions if the ſecretary was employed any longer. The queen, who in fact was little better than the tool of every miniſtry that was uppermoſt, was forced to acquieſce, and prevailed on Mr. Harley to make a voluntary reſignation of his poſt, and retire: with him went out ſir Thomas Manſell, comptroller of the houſhold, ſir Simon Harcourt, attorney-general, and Mr. St. John, ſecretary at war; leaving the Whigs to act without controul. Mr. Harley's place was beſtowed on Mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the Exchequer. The queen, however, retained ſo deep a reſentment of the behaviour of the duke of Marlborough and lord Godolphin on this occaſion, that ſhe entirely withdrew her confidence from them, though in appearance ſhe carried it towards them as formerly.

A few days after this breach at court, which happened about the latter end of February, 1708, the nation was alarmed with the ſudden news of an invaſion from France. Lewis XIV. after having tried every method to bring the allies to a compliance with his propoſals, reſolved to attempt an invaſion of Great Britain. The undertaking was certainly a very bold one, conſidering the weak ſtate of his maritime forces, and the powerful fleets with which we then covered the ſeas; but though the ſucceſs was doubtful, it was not quite deſtitute of probability: thoſe of the Scots who were averſe to the union, could not without indignation behold themſelves reduced to a ſtate of dependence on the Engliſh; and they thought no means ſo likely to ſhake off the yoke, as by bringing about a revolution in the government. With this view, they had propoſed an expedition in favour of the pretender, whom they ſtyled James III. and promiſed to join him with thirty thouſand men in arms, to fight his cauſe, if he would only land at Edinburgh, with ſome few ſuccours from France.

Lewis readily fell in with the propoſal, hoping, if he could excite a rebellion in England, it would prevent us from contributing our proportion towards the proſecution of the war; though he pretended that his ſole deſign was to make the ſame efforts in behalf of the pretender, who had now aſſumed the title of the Chevalier de St. George, which he had done for the father. Accordingly in the month of March, 1708, eight ſhips of the line and ſeventy tranſports were got ready at Dunkirk, and ſix thouſand men were embarked on board them. The count de Gacé had the command of the troops, and the chevalier de Fourbin Janſon, one of the beſt ſea-officers of his time, that of the fleet. Every thing ſeemed favourable for their deſign; there were not above three thouſand regular troops in Scotland: England was left defenceleſs, its ſoldiers being all engaged on the continent. This expedition was exactly like that in 1744, in favour of the grandſon of James II. It was impeded by ſeveral accidents, and diſcovered by the government; whereupon orders were given for aſſembling a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war, which were ſent under the command of ſir George Byng and the lord Durſley, to lie off Dunkirk, and wait the motions of the French: but the Engliſh admirals being driven off their ſtation by violent gales of wind, were forced to return into the Downs; and the French took the advantage of the very winds which drove them over to the Britiſh ſhore, to ſail out of their harbours, with the pretender and twelve French and Iriſh battalions on board, and proceeded for the coaſt of Scotland.

In the mean time both houſes of parliament (who had been made acquainted, by the queen's order, with what the enemy was meditating againſt her dominions) addreſſed her majeſty, beſeeching

her to take care of her royal perſon; promiſing to ſtand by her with their lives and fortunes, in maintenance of her own undoubted right and title, againſt the pretended prince of Wales and all her enemies. A bill was alſo brought in for ſuſpending the Habeas corpus act till October, with relation to perſons taken up by the government on ſuſpicion: a proclamation was iſſued, declaring the pretender, his accomplices and adherents, traitors and rebels, and for apprehending them; with ſuch other neceſſary precautions as the exigence of the circumſtance dictated.

On the other hand the fleet, under the command of ſir George Byng, which had put back to the Downs, being reinforced to forty ſhips of the line, ſet ſail for Dunkirk again; and on his way the admiral received intelligence, by an Oſtend ſhip, diſpatched by major-general Cadogan, who, upon the firſt news of the intended invaſion, had been diſpatched to Bruſſels, in order to ſhip off the Engliſh forces in garriſon in the Netherlands for England, that the Dunkirk ſquadron was ſailed northward. Whereupon a council of war was held, and it was reſolved to purſue the enemy, whoſe deſign they judged to be againſt Edinburgh: accordingly ſir George Byng, after having detached a ſquadron under admiral Baker, to convoy the troops from Oſtend to England, began to give chace to the enemy with the reſt of the fleet.

The queen having acquainted the parliament, in a ſpeech, of the French fleet being ſailed from Dunkirk, and of ſir George Byng's being ſent in purſuit of them; as alſo that ten battalions of her troops were coming over from Oſtend, for the protection of her dominions; both houſes preſented warm addreſſes, importing, that they would ſtand by and aſſiſt her majeſty againſt all her enemies: that the ſmall number of ſhips and troops employed in this projected invaſion, while it raiſed the contempt and indignation of all her majeſty's faithful and loyal ſubjects, ſhewed, at the ſame time, that the chief proſpect of ſucceſs, which the enemy entertained, depended on their hopes of aſſiſtance from ſome of her ſubjects, whoſe reſtleſs paſſions, and arbitrary principles, had for ſeveral years engaged them in laying deſigns to undermine and deſtroy the beſt form of government that ever was eſtabliſhed in this iſland; and that, as the preſent criſis would effectually diſtinguiſh her real from her pretended friends, they hoped ſhe would encourage the one, and diſcountenance the other, and would never liſten to the ſuggeſtions of any, who endeavoured to excite a jealouſy and diſtruſt of thoſe, who, ever ſince the Revolution, had been moſt ſteady and firm to the intereſt of the late king, and to that of her majeſty.

Addreſſes on the ſame occaſion were ſent up from different parts of the kingdom, all which the queen received with tokens of high ſatisfaction. In the mean time ſhe left no endeavours unexerted to defeat the deſigns of her enemies. Several regiments of foot, with ſome ſquadrons of cavalry, ſent from Flanders and other parts, were ſent towards Scotland; while the earl of Leven, commander in chief of the forces in that country, and governor of the caſtle of Edinburgh, put that fortreſs in a poſture of defence, and made the proper diſpoſitions to oppoſe the pretender at his landing.

The French fleet arrived at Edinburgh Frith the twenty-third of March, N. S and late the ſame night ſir George Byng came to the ſame place, ſo great had been his vigilance and diſpatch in purſuit of the enemy; who were ſo confounded at his ſudden appearance, that they immediately crowded all the ſail they could, and favoured by the darkneſs of the night and a land-breeze, ſtood out to ſea: as ſoon as the day broke, the Engliſh admiral deſcried them in the offing, upon which he made a ſignal for all the ſhips under his command to ſlip their cables, and give chaſe; but the enemy having got the ſtart of them by ſome miles, and their ſhips being cleaner than our's, ſir George could come up but with one of them, which was the Saliſbury, a prize the French had taken from us, on board of which were the lord Griffin, the lord Clermont, Mr. Middleton, the marquis de Levi a French lieutenant-general, with ſome other French and Iriſh officers, and five companies of French ſoldiers And ſir George having followed the reſt of the fleet till he loſt ſight of them, returned to Edinburgh Frith with his priſoners, who being afterwards brought to London, the lord Griffin was committed to the Tower, with the reſt of the priſoners of diſtinction; and his lordſhip having been attainted in the laſt reign for high-treaſon, execution was awarded againſt him by the court of Queen's Bench: but her majeſty being pleaſed to reprieve him from time to time, he died at length in the Tower ‖.

All the noblemen and perſons of diſtinction in Scotland, ſuſpected of diſaffection to the government, were apprehended, and either impriſoned in the caſtle of Edinburgh, or brought up to London, to be confined in the Tower or in Newgate. Among theſe was duke Hamilton, who, according to Lockhart, in his Memoirs, had ſolemnly promiſed to join the pretender at the inſtant he ſhould land. On the duke's being brought to London, he found means to make his court to the Whigs ſo effectually, by promiſing to join with them and their friends in Scotland, in the election of peers for the parliament of Great Britain, that he prevailed on them not only to procure his, but all the other priſoners liberty, upon bail, which was likewiſe ſoon remitted. This was a nice ſtep in the duke; and if he had not hit upon this favourable conjuncture, and managed it with great addreſs, fatal conſequences would probably have enſued to him and his friends. It is certain they were Whig lords who bailed the duke himſelf, three of which were the duke of Newcaſtle, the earl of Wharton, and the lord Halifax. Some writers, indeed, have affected to attribute the duke's releaſe to another cauſe, namely, that he was the perſon who firſt revealed the ſecret of the intended invaſion to the Engliſh court: this time alone muſt unriddle.

But of all the idle reports raiſed by the breath of faction to miſlead a weak and captious populace, no notion could certainly be more abſurd than that which ſome hiſtorians have endeavoured to propagate, who pretend that queen Anne herſelf was engaged in a correſpondence with her pretended brother in this affair. It is abſolute folly to ſuppoſe that ſhe ſhould invite her competitor to the crown to come and dethrone her. What

‖ Burnet. Lockhart's Memoirs. Hiſtory of Europe. Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV.

might have been the conſequences of this invaſion, had it actually taken effect, it is hard to determine; but as it was happily ſuppreſſed in embryo, the only inconvenience it produced, was, that it occaſioned a conſiderable run upon the Bank of England, which was like to have affected the credit of the nation. In order to prevent this publick calamity, the commons on the twentieth of March paſſed the following uſeful and ſeaſonable vote: "That whoever deſignedly endeavoured to deſtroy or leſſen the public credit, eſpecially at a time when the kingdom was in danger of an invaſion, was guilty of a high crime and miſdemeanor, and an enemy to her majeſty and the kingdom." The lord-treaſurer alſo ſignified to the directors of the Bank, that her majeſty would allow, for ſix months, an intereſt of ſix per cent. upon their bills; which was double the uſual rate; and conſiderable ſums of money were offered them by ſeveral opulent noblemen and gentlemen; and the directors, on their parts, having called in twenty per cent. upon their capital ſtock, they were ſoon in a condition to anſwer all demands made upon them by the timorous, the envious, or the diſaffected.

This ſeſſion of parliament, during its continuance, exerted itſelf in a very laudable manner for the ſervice of the public, by enquiring into every kind of miſmanagement, real or ſuppoſed, that fell within its cognizance. Both houſes took into conſideration the military proceedings and negotiations of the earl of Peterborough, together with his diſpoſal of the remittances during his having the command in Spain; when his lordſhip produced ſuch a number of witneſſes and original papers to juſtify his conduct, that his character triumphed in the enquiry: however, ſeeing that a party-ſpirit had been raiſed up againſt him, his lordſhip choſe to reſign all his employments. The parliament next took cognizance of the affairs of Spain, and found there had been a great deficiency in the Engliſh troops at the battle of Almanza; for out of near thirty thouſand men provided by parliament for the ſervice of Spain and Portugal in the year 1707, there were but eight thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-nine men, beſides officers and ſervants, at the time of that battle. This was repreſented to the queen in an addreſs, who returned an anſwer thereto ſo much to their ſatisfaction, that they voted another addreſs, in which they thanked her majeſty for the meaſures ſhe had taken to reſtore the affairs of Spain, and provide foreign troops for the ſervice. A bill was alſo brought in and paſſed both houſes for rendering the union of the two kingdoms more entire and compleat; whereby it was enacted, "That after the firſt of May, 1708, there ſhould be but one privy-council in the kingdom of Great Britain: that juſtices of the peace in Scotland ſhould have the ſame authority as thoſe in England: that circuit-courts ſhall be held twice a year in Scotland; and that the forty-five repreſentatives of Scotland in the Britiſh houſe of commons ſhall be choſen by virtue of writs under the great-ſeal of Great Britain, and returned as in England" A court of Exchequer was likewiſe erected in Scotland upon the model of that of England.

The parliament having at length gone through all the buſineſs before them, her majeſty came to the houſe of commons on the firſt of April, and prorogued the parliament to the thirtieth of the ſame month, and it was afterwards diſſolved by proclamation. The moſt material acts paſſed this ſeſſion, beſides thoſe already mentioned, were, "An act for the ſecurity of her majeſty's perſon and government, and of the ſucceſſion of the crown in the proteſtant line," which declares it to be treaſon in any one to impeach the act of ſettlement; enacts, that the parliament ſhall continue to ſit ſix months after the demiſe of the queen or her ſucceſſors; appoints a regency on ſuch demiſe; and empowers all officers and miniſters for the time being to continue to act ſix months after ſuch event, unleſs removed by the ſucceſſor, as in the former act of ſettlement. An act, declaring in what manner Scots peers were to be elected *. An act for the encouragement of the trade in America; by which, amongſt other things, it was enacted, That every ſeaman, being a foreigner, who ſhould faithfully ſerve on board any ſhip of war belonging to Great Britain, for two years, ſhould be deemed a natural-born ſubject.

After the diſſolution of the parliament, writs were iſſued out for new elections, together with a proclamation commanding all the peers of North Britain to aſſemble at Holy-rood-houſe in Edinburgh on the ſeventeenth day of June, to elect ſixteen peers to repreſent them in the enſuing Britiſh parliament, purſuant to the twenty-ſecond article of the treaty of union. The privy-council of Scotland was diſſolved, and a new one conſtituted for the whole united kingdom †. The duke of Queenſberry was created a Britiſh peer, by the

* By this act a proclamation is ordered to iſſue, commanding all the peers of Scotland to aſſemble at a certain place, for the election of the ſixteen peers to ſit in the houſe of peers of Great Britain, to be publiſhed in Edinburgh, and in all the country towns of Scotland, twenty five days at leaſt before the election; and all the ſaid peers are required to take the oaths, and to make the declaration againſt tranſubſtantiation mentioned in the act; and the peers are authorized to give their reſpective votes by proxy, but no peer capable of having more than two proxies at a time. The lord clerk-regiſter, or two or three of the principal clerks of the ſeſſion, to certify the names of the ſixteen peers elected into the court of Chancery, before the meeting of the parliament. The peers to come to ſuch elections with only their ordinary attendants, and to treat of no other matter but of the election, on pain of a premunire.

† Conſiſting of the lord archbiſhop of Canterbury; William lord Cowper, lord-chancellor; Sidney, earl of Godolphin, lord-treaſurer; the earl of Pembroke, lord-preſident; John duke of Newcaſtle, lord privy-ſeal; William duke of Devonſhire, lord-ſteward; James, duke of Ormond; Henry, marquis of Kent, lord-chamberlain; James, earl of Derby; Thomas, earl of Stamford; Charles, earl of Berkley; Francis, earl of Bradford; Hugh, earl of Cholmondley; Henry, lord biſhop of London; William, lord Dartmouth; Henry Boyle, eſq. ſecretary of ſtate; Thomas Coke, eſq. vice-chamberlain; ſir John Trevor, maſter of the Rolls; ſir Thomas Trevor, lord chief-juſtice of the Common-pleas; James Vernon, eſq. John Howe, eſq. Thomas Earl, eſq. Mainhard, duke of Schomberg; John Smith, eſq. late ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and chancellor of the Exchequer; ſir John Holt, chief-juſtice; Richard, earl of Scarborough; John, earl of Mar; Charles, lord viſcount Townſhend; James, duke of Queenſberry; James, earl of Seafield; Richard, earl of Ranelagh; Thomas, lord Coningſby; Thomas, earl of Wharton; John, lord archbiſhop of York; Ralph, duke of Montagu; James, duke of Montroſe; Robert, marquis of Lindſay, lord great-chamberlain; Hugh, earl of Loudon; Robert, lord Ferrers; Peregrine Bertie, eſq. Richard, earl of Rivers; Algernon, earl of Eſſex; Charles, earl of Mancheſter; John, earl of Pawlet; Robert, lord Lexington; John, duke of Argyle; and the dukes of Marlborough and Roxborough.

titles of baron of Rippon, marquis of Beverley, and duke of Dover; and the office of ſecretary of war, vacant by the reſignation of Mr. Henry St. John, was beſtowed upon Mr. Robert Walpole, a gentleman of very quick parts, maſterly elocution, and one who made a conſiderable figure in the two ſucceeding reigns.

About the ſame time a proclamation was iſſued for diſtributing prizes in certain proportions, amongſt the officers and ſeamen of the royal navy, a regulation that ſtill prevails. The capture was divided into eight equal ſhares, of which the captain, if not under the command of an admiral, or other ſuperior officer, was to have three ſhares; but in the latter caſe, the admiral or commodore was to have one of the three. The commiſſion-officers and maſter were to have one eighth divided amongſt them, the warrant-officers one, the petty-officers one, and the ſailors the other two ‡. I proceed now to the military operations of the year 1708.

Lewis XIV. who for ſome time had the mortification to ſee his affairs grow worſe and worſe, thought that by ſending the duke of Burgundy, his grandſon, to head the army in Flanders, the preſence of the heir-preſumptive of the crown would excite the emulation of the troops, which began to droop. Accordingly, a numerous army was aſſembled in the Netherlands, under the command of this prince, and they gave him the duke of Vendoſme as an aſſiſtant. It now happened, ſays M. de Voltaire, as it too frequently does, the experienced officer was not ſufficiently liſtened to, and the prince's council frequently carried it againſt the general's reaſons. The elector of Bavaria was appointed to the command of a ſeparate army on the Rhine, where he was ſeconded by the duke of Berwick; and marſhal Villeroy was ſent to conduct the forces in Dauphiné.

As ſoon as the ſtorm which had threatened Great Britain by the intended invaſion was blown over, the duke of Marlborough went over to the Hague, where he was met by prince Eugene; and thoſe two great generals conferred with the penſionary Heinſius and the deputies of the States-general: after which they repaired to the court of Hanover, where they perſuaded the elector to be ſatisfied with acting upon the defenſive in his command on the Rhine, and to part with ſome of his forces in order to enable the allies to make more vigorous efforts in the Netherlands.

The prince then repaired to the imperial court, and the duke returned to Flanders, where, about the latter end of May, he aſſembled the army, conſiſting of one hundred and fifty ſquadrons of horſe, and one hundred and twelve battalions of infantry. The French army under the duke of Burgundy amounted to one hundred and ninety-ſeven ſquadrons, and one hundred twenty-four battalions. Thus ſuperior to the allies in number, and headed by a prince of the blood, it was thought they would make ſome ſtriking effort: they opened the campaign indeed with a proſpect of great ſucceſs; for the Flemings being generally better affected to the French than to the Dutch, and having a very great reſpect for the elector of Bavaria, their late governor, that prince eaſily perſuaded them to take up arms againſt the confederates. Accordingly, the troops of the latter being marched from Ghent, Bruges, and the neighbouring garriſons, to the general rendezvous, leaving only the country militia, or the burghers, to guard the gates; on the appearance of a detachment of French troops, thoſe places ſurrendered without ſtriking a blow, and the French advanced to Dutch Flanders, and laid that country under contribution.

Upon the news of theſe ſucceſſes, the duke of Marlborough wrote to prince Eugene to haſten to him, determined to oblige the enemy to come to a battle, as the only means, in his opinion, to prevent their farther progreſs, which might end in cutting off the communication of the allies with Brabant. Hereupon prince Eugene began his march, with a conſiderable body of troops, towards the Moſelle; but this was only with a view to amuſe the French who were in thoſe parts, and give time to the elector of Hanover to advance towards the Rhine; after which prince Eugene quitted the banks of the Moſelle, where he had no magazines, and repaired to join the duke of Marlborough in Flanders; when a council of war being held, it was reſolved to paſs the Dender, and offer the enemy battle. In the mean time, the dukes of Burgundy and Berry, and the duke of Vendoſme, thinking themſelves an over-match for the confederates, reſolved upon the ſiege of Oudenarde §; and accordingly they cauſed that place to be inveſted on the ninth of July, hoping to ſubdue it before the allies could be reinforced.

The duke of Marlborough was immediately in motion, and marched with ſurprizing expedition to the relief of the place. On the approach of the allies the French thought fit to raiſe the ſiege, and began to croſs the Scheld at Gavre; which the duke of Marlborough perceiving, and being determined to bring them to a battle, detached general Cadogan with ſixteen battalions and eight ſquadrons over night to take poſt on the other ſide the Scheld, near Oudenarde, and to lay the bridges neceſſary for the paſſage of the reſt of the army, which began to march about eight in the morning, and proceeded with ſuch expedition, that by two in the afternoon the horſe had reached the bridges, and ſoon after the army began to paſs; but by this time the enemy, finding that we had taken poſt beyond the Scheld, reſolved to ſtrike off to the right towards Ghent. The duke of Vendoſme was for the army forming itſelf, but the duke of Burgundy would not hear of it for ſome time. At length he halted upon the Height of Gaveren, and made a ſhew of marching back, in order to diſpute the paſſage of the allies over the Scheld: he firſt ordered twenty ſquadrons of horſe into the plain, but he ſoon after recalled them again, reſolved to continue his march.

In the mean time, general Cadogan, with his detachment, fell upon ſeven battalions of foot,

‡ Burnet. Tindal. Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords. Naval Hiſtory, &c.

§ Oudenard is a rich and very ſtrong town in the Low Countries, in the earldom of Flanders, the marquiſate of the territory of Oudenard. It ſtands on the river Scheld, thirteen miles ſouth of Ghent, thirteen north-weſt of Aeth, thirty ſix weſt of Bruſſels, and thirty-ſeven almoſt north of Mons.

which

which the enemy had thrown into the hedges and into a village upon the Scheld, below Oudenard, called Heynem; and being afterwards reinforced by the foot, who now began to come up, the attack was made with ſo much vigour and ſucceſs, that the enemy was ſoon driven out of the village; and our troops purſuing them with a cloſe fire, a whole brigade, together with the brigadier, threw down their arms, and ſurrendered priſoners. The event of this ſkirmiſh convinced the duke of Burgundy that it would now be impoſſible to avoid a battle: he therefore endeavoured to diſengage his troops from the hollow ways and defiles through which they were marching, in order to bring them into the plain, where they might be properly formed; but the confederate generals were too experienced to give him leiſure to effect this purpoſe: their army was immediately formed in order of battle, and advanced to the charge. Hereupon the enemy faced about and formed alſo, but with great diſorder, owing to the miſunderſtanding which prevailed between their generals the duke of Burgundy and the duke of Vendoſme, the former continually countermanding what the other ordered.

At length the battle was begun about four o'clock in the afternoon, and laſted with great firmneſs till about ten at night. The fight was properly between the foot; but the confederates got ground, and drove the enemy from one poſt to another, till darkneſs put an end to the combat. The horſe, who by reaſon of the broken ground, could not act, were detached to the right and left wing, and advanced ſo far, that they attacked the enemy in flank and rear; which when they perceived, they fell into the utmoſt confuſion, and part of them retired with the baggage and artillery towards Deynſe and Ghent, and another part by the road to Courtray. The duke of Vendoſme ſeeing the French forces flying with the utmoſt precipitation, formed a rear-guard of about twenty-five ſquadrons and as many battalions, with which he ſecured his retreat. To this precaution was entirely owing the ſafety of their army; for the next morning at day-break the duke of Marlborough detached a large body of horſe and foot under the lieutenant-generals Bulau and Lumley, to purſue the fugitives; but the hedges and ditches which ſkirted the road were lined with the French grenadiers in ſuch a manner, that the cavalry could not form, and they were obliged to deſiſt. The French reached Ghent about nine in the morning, and marching through the city, encamped at Lovendegen on the canal: there they thought proper to caſt up intrenchments for their ſecurity, which they fortified with the artillery they had left at Gavre with their heavy baggage.

In this action, which was called the battle of Oudenarde, from the place near which it was fought, on the twelfth day of July, the electoral prince of Hanover (afterwards king George II.) gave early proofs of his martial diſpoſition. He charged at the head of the Hanoverian dragoons with great intrepidity: his horſe was ſhot under him, and one of his aids-de-camp killed by his ſide. About four thouſand of the enemy were left dead on the field of battle, two thouſand deſerted, and above eight thouſand were taken priſoners, including a great number of officers, together with ten pieces of cannon, above one hundred ſtandards, ſix colours, eight pair of kettle-drums, and four thouſand horſe. The loſs of the allies did not exceed two thouſand men, among whom were one major-general, and a few inferior officers.

The duke of Vendôme having reinforced the garriſons of Ypres, Liſle, and Tournay, remained quiet in his camp, to obſerve what enterprize the allies would next undertake, as he was pretty certain they would form the ſiege of ſome ſtrong place, as Ypres, Liſle, Mons, or Tournay; in which caſe he hoped to be able to return to Oudenarde, and make himſelf maſter of that town and of the Scheld, and ſo embarraſs them in their operations.

The allies remained two days encamped on the field of battle, when the duke of Marlborough ſent count Lottum with a detachment to level the French lines between Ypres and Warneton, and another was ſent to raiſe contributions as far as Arras, while the reſt of the army plundered the provinces of Picardy and Artois. All this was done with a view to draw Vendoſme out of the advantageous poſt he occupied; but that general underſtood the art of war too well to be thus caught; upon which the allies determined to lay ſiege to Liſle *.

To ſit down before ſo large and well fortified a town as Liſle without being maſter of Ghent, obliged to ſend for proviſions and ammunition as far as Oſtend, at the hazard of being every moment ſurpriſed, was what the French repreſented as an inſtance of the higheſt raſhneſs and preſumption, without reflecting that the miſunderſtanding and irreſolution that prevailed in their own army rendered this enterprize very excuſeable; and it was juſtified in the end by the ſucceſs. On the 13th of Auguſt the place was inveſted on one ſide by prince Eugene, and on the other by the prince of Orange Naſſau, ſtadtholder of Friſeland, while the duke of Marlborough encamped at Helchin to cover the ſiege. The town, the ſtrongeſt in all Flanders, was furniſhed with every kind of neceſſary, ſtore of ammunition, and the garriſon was reinforced by twenty-one battalions of the beſt troops in France, commanded by marechal Boufflers in perſon. The trenches were opened on the 22d day of Auguſt, and the attacks carried on with amazing vigour.

By this time the dukes of Burgundy and Berry being joined by the duke of Berwick with a powerful reinforcement, which augmented their army to twelve thouſand men, it was reſolved to try every effort to oblige the confederates to raiſe the ſiege. The duke of Vendoſme was of opinion to march without loſs of time and give battle to the allies. Indeed every one thought the duke of

* Liſle is a large, rich, and ſtrong city, the capital of French Flanders, and next to Paris, reckoned the chief place of the king of France's dominions. It ſtands among the pools and marſhes, fifteen miles weſt of Tournay, twenty-eight north of Doway, thirty-ſix ſouth-weſt of Ghent, thirty-ſeven ſouth-eaſt of Dunkirk, and thirty-eight almoſt weſt of Mons.

Burgundy rather in a condition to beſiege Marlborough and Eugene, than that general to beſiege Liſle. Vendoſme's advice, however, was not hearkened to, and ſuch were the altercations between the two generals, that the French king thought it neceſſary to diſpatch Mr. Chamillard, ſecretary of war, to examine whether it was proper to give the allies battle or not; the latter, it is certain, reſolved not to fight if they could poſſibly avoid it. The duke of Burgundy and Vendoſme marched towards the duke of Marlborough, and for ſeveral days cannonaded his camp; whereupon prince Eugene joined him with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot from the ſiege; but the allies finding the deſign of the enemy was only to retard the ſiege, the duke of Marlborough intrenched himſelf, and prince Eugene returned to Liſle, where the ſiege went on but ſlowly, the French diſputing every inch of ground with the moſt obſtinate bravery. The French generals finding all their endeavours to bring the confederates to an engagement prove fruitleſs, and not daring to attack the duke in his ſtrong camp, contented themſelves with diſpoſing of their troops in ſuch a manner as to cut off the convoys that might be coming with proviſions and ammunition to the beſiegers, as well as to cover thoſe provinces that lay expoſed to the incurſions of our army.

Accordingly, having received advice that the duke of Marlborough had ſent a detachment to cover the march of ſeven hundred waggons with ſupplies from Oſtend to prince Eugene's camp, the duke of Burgundy ſent an army of twenty-two thouſand men to make themſelves maſters of it; when, incredible to relate, the party which guarded it, tho' not exceeding ſix thouſand, made ſo gallant a defence under major-general Webb, that they compelled the enemy to retire with the loſs of upwards of ſeven thouſand men killed on the ſpot. This action, generally called the battle of Wynendale *, was one of the moſt glorious atchievements performed during the whole courſe of the war, and proved of infinite importance to the allies; ſince, if the convoy had been taken, the ſiege muſt have been raiſed. Much about the ſame time, the elector of Bavaria ſuffered a check before Bruſſels, which he had aſſaulted with a body of ten thouſand men; but was repulſed with great loſs by the garriſon; and hearing that the duke of Marlborough was marching towards him, he thought fit to retreat with great precipitation.

Mean while the beſiegers proſecuted their operations with ſuch incredible fury, that the garriſon was unable to reſiſt their attacks. All this, however, could not be done without a very conſiderable loſs on the ſide of the beſiegers; the allies themſelves acknowledged, that at the attack on the counterſcarp on the ſeventh of September, they loſt no leſs than two thouſand men, either killed or wounded, and amongſt them ſixteen engineers; and at the ſtorming the outworks, September the twenty-firſt, it is confeſſed they loſt one thouſand more. In this laſt affair prince Eugene was wounded in the head with a muſket-ball, which grazed upon his ſkull, and confined him to his tent for ſome days, during which time the duke of Marlborough commanded at the ſiege. On the thirtieth of September prince Eugene being recovered of his wound, viſited the trenches, and continued the operations with the uſual vigour. Marſhal de Boufflers did every thing that could be expected from a brave and experienced officer; but the allies having, after a moſt bloody and obſtinate action, made themſelves maſters of the covered way, prince Eugene cauſed a battery of fifty pieces of cannon to be raiſed thereon, which played with ſuch incredible fury upon the curtain, that in leſs than twelve hours a breach was made ſufficient for an aſſault. Every thing was accordingly prepared for beginning it, when, on the twenty-ſecond of October, marſhal Boufflers demanded a capitulation for the town. A mutual exchange of hoſtages were made, and prince Eugene, in conſideration of the gallant defence the French general had made, left it to him to propoſe his own terms. On this occaſion the prince wrote the marſhal the following letter:

"SIR,

"This is to congratulate you on the noble defence you have made, and at the ſame time to aſſure you how perfect an eſteem I entertain for your perſon, of which I am deſirous to give you a proof, by leaving it to yourſelf to draw up the articles of capitulation in ſuch manner as you ſhall think proper, proteſting to you that I will not make any alteration therein, unleſs I ſhould find any thing required contrary to my honour and duty; but this is what I can have no reaſon to apprehend from ſo brave a perſon."

The prince was as good as his promiſe, excepting in regard to one article only, whereby it was ſtipulated, that the citadel ſhould not be attacked from the town; he, however, gave a verbal promiſe to that effect, which he ſtrictly obſerved.

On the twenty-fifth of October prince Eugene entered the town in triumph, and the French garriſon marched into the caſtle, which ſtill continued to make a vigorous defence 'till a letter arrived from the French king to marſhal Boufflers, wherein he highly praiſed him for his gallant behaviour, and gave him permiſſion to ſurrender the citadel whenever he thought proper. Hereupon the marſhal beat a parley on the eighth of December, and on the tenth marched out at the head of his garriſon with the uſual marks of honour, and was conducted to Douay; and, which is very extraordinary, the detachment which eſcorted them thither, took up their quarters in the town on the faith of the marſhal's word, where they paſſed all the night, and met with all kind of civility and good treatment.

In the mean time the numerous army that had looked on under the dukes of Burgundy, Berwick, and Vendoſme, while Liſle was taken, began to diminiſh by little and little; and having ſuffered the duke of Marlborough to take Ghent, then Bruges, and all the poſts one after another, at laſt retreated to their own country; and the generals of the allies having ſettled

* From the name of a little village near which it was fought, adjoining to a wood called the Wood of Wynendale, eleven miles ſouth-weſt of Bruges, and twenty-eight north of Liſle.

the plan of winter quarters, repaired to the Hague, leaving the forces under the command of count Tilly. The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene were every-where received with the higheſt acclamations and the moſt diſtinguiſhed marks of honour. Medals were ſtruck repreſenting them under the characters of Caſtor and Pollux; the States-general had ordered moſt magnificent fire-works to be prepared to celebrate their arrival at the Hague; which being made known to the two generals, they requeſted that the money deſtined for that exhibition might be diſtributed amongſt the brave ſoldiers who had been maimed and wounded during this bloody campaign *.

Little was done on the Upper Rhine this campaign: the electors of Bavaria and Hanover were oppoſed to each other there; but ſuch large detachments had been made from both their armies, for Flanders, that neither ſide was in a condition to undertake any action of importance.

The duke of Savoy this year made himſelf maſter of Exilles and la Perouſe, and of the Valley of St. Martin and Feneſtrelles, which are looked upon as the keys of Italy on that ſide: he alſo made a diverſion in favour of king Charles, by obliging the enemy to abandon Pignerole; and ſent a large detachment from Rouſſillon, to the aſſiſtance of marſhal Villars, who was not able to make head againſt the duke.

The affairs of king Philip began to proſper after the battle of Almanza, on all ſides. The duke of Orleans commanded the beſt part of the year; and, after making himſelf maſter of Tortoſa, had certainly carried his conqueſts farther, if the French court had not thought proper to recall him; the reaſons of which extraordinary ſtep have been ſomewhat differently reported. It is alleged by ſome writers, that the princeſs of Urſini, who at that time entirely governed king Philip, fell into a correſpondence with the enemies of the duke of Orleans at the French court, and, by a multitude of intrigues, rendered him ſuſpected to his uncle, Lewis XIV. Others, again, as confidently affirm, that his royal highneſs held a ſecret correſpondence with the allies, and had actually formed a project for ſupplanting king Philip. Whatever his political ſcheme might be, he certainly ſhewed himſelf an able politician, ſince by keeping count Staremberg employed in Catalonia, he gave the chevalier d'Asfeldt time to conquer Valencia. On the other hand, our miniſtry applied themſelves in a particular manner, this year, to put his Catholic majeſty's affairs into better order, and to repair, if it was poſſible, the untoward conſequences of the fatal battle of Almanza. Sir John Leake, who commanded the grand fleet, was ſo early at ſea, that by the twenty-ſeventh of March he was in Liſbon harbour: on the twenty-third of April he ſailed from thence for Barcelona, with near twenty ſail of the line, beſides tranſports, where he arrived on the fifteenth of May. There was an abſolute neceſſity of ſending ſo ſtrong a fleet to the relief of king Charles, who was now in a manner ſhut up in his city of Barcelona, and had no other hopes of being delivered, but by our fleet's tranſporting the German troops, that lay ready for his ſervice in Italy. The firſt thing, therefore, that the admiral did, was to ſend the tranſports, under the protection of a ſtrong ſquadron, to waft over thoſe forces; after which it was determined to attempt the reduction of the iſland of Sardinia †. The conqueſt of this place was made almoſt as ſoon as projected: the admiral appeared before Cagliari, the capital town, on the firſt of Auguſt, O. S. After having bombarded it for a day and a night, general Wills landed, with about eight hundred men, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for an attack, when the Spaniſh garriſon ſaved his troops any farther trouble, by coming to a ſpeedy capitulation. The reduction of this iſland was of great advantage to king Charles's affairs, as it enabled him to ſupply himſelf, as often as he had occaſion, with corn and other proviſions; the greateſt part of the inhabitants alſo entered into his ſervice ‡.

Scarce had the Engliſh admiral completed this conqueſt, when his aſſiſtance was required towards another: general Stanhope (afterwards earl Stanhope and ſecretary of ſtate) having formed a plan for the reduction of the iſland of Minorca ¶, concerted with the admiral the meaſures neceſſary for carrying it into execution; when they obtained from count Staremberg, the commander in chief of the allied army in Spain, a few battalions of Engliſh, Spaniards, and Portugueſe, with which the admiral and general ſet ſail from Barcelona on the twenty-third of Auguſt, with a fine train of Britiſh artillery, and were accompanied by brigadier Webb and colonel Petit, an engineer of great reputation; and on the twenty-ſixth, landed about two miles from fort St. Philip, with about three thouſand men, and formed the ſiege of the town. The garriſon conſiſted of one thouſand Spaniards and ſix hundred French mariners: the ſiege was carried on with ſuch vigour, that by the end of September, the place ſurrendered, and the garriſon marched out, and were afterwards tranſported on board our veſſels, ſome to France and others to Spain, according to the articles of the capitulation. Fort St. Philip being thus reduced, with the loſs of only forty men, the reſt of the iſland gladly ſubmitted to the Engliſh government, and general Stanhope appointed colonel Petit governor of Fort St. Philip, and deputy-governor of the whole iſland. Being thus poſſeſſed of this important iſland, our government thought proper to keep it to themſelves, as we had thereby the advantage of an excellent harbour, which during the war, was exceeding uſeful to us in the clean-

* Burnet. Tindal. Broderick. Hiſtory of the Duke of Marlb. Hiſt. of Europe, &c.

† This iſland lies to the north of Corſica, from which it is divided by a ſmall and ſhallow arm of the ſea. It has, on the eaſt, the ſea of Sicily; on the weſt the Mediterranean; on the ſouth the coaſt of Africa, from which it is not diſtant above fifty leagues. It is divided into two parts by the rivers Credo and Lerſo, and is extremely fruitful in corn, oil, honey, and all the neceſſaries of life.

‡ Hiſt. of the Empire for 1708, p. 260, 261.

¶ Minorca (ſo called from being leſs than Majorca, another iſland about ſix leagues from it), lies in the Mediterranean. Its greateſt length is forty-five, and greateſt breadth twenty-four Engliſh miles. The chief places are, 1. Citadella on the ſouth-weſt ſide, about the middle of the iſland, in the bottom of a bay, thought to be the Samma of Ptolemy: 2. Fort Formelli, on the eaſt ſide, over againſt Citadella: 3. Port Mahon, at the bottom of a large bay which runs about three Spaniſh miles to the ſouth-eaſt. The harbour is guarded by Fort St. Philip, and is accounted the beſt and largeſt in the Mediterranean. Minorca lies in latitude thirty-nine degrees forty-five minutes.

ing and refitting ſuch of our ſhips as were employed in the Mediterranean. The poſſeſſion of this iſland was confirmed to the Engliſh by the treaty of Utrecht, and remained in our hands till the year 1756, when it was moſt ſtrangely ſuffered to be retaken by the French, after a forty-nine years poſſeſſion. After this important conqueſt, the general returned to the army in Spain, where an unſucceſsful attempt to ſurpriſe Tortoſa finiſhed the operations of the campaign. Admiral Leake ſet ſail, with the largeſt ſhips, for England, and arrived ſafely at St. Helen's on the nineteenth of October †.

Our trade was pretty well ſecured by ſea this year, ſo that our merchants ſuffered very few loſſes: the cruiſers were numerous and active; and convoys were regularly furniſhed, and of a proper ſtrength. In the Weſt Indies, commodore Wager had the good fortune to meet with a fleet of Spaniſh galleons off Carthagena; but, being ill ſeconded by ſome of his captains, moſt of the enemy's ſhips eſcaped; however, the Spaniſh admiral, computed to be worth three millions of pieces of eight, blew up in the engagement, and the commodore took the rear-admiral, which was very rich, the commodore's own ſhare amounting to one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. Two of the Engliſh captains, who had been wanting in their duty, were tried by a court martial, and degraded ‡. It was the misfortune of the naval adminiſtration, during the greateſt part of this reign, that men were preferred by intereſt rather than merit.

In the middle of the ſummer of this year, a reſolution was taken to make a deſcent on, or at leaſt to alarm, the coaſt of France; and ſir George Byng, as admiral, and lord Durſley, as vice-admiral of the blue, were appointed to command the fleet deſtined for that purpoſe; and lieutenant-general Erle had the command of the land-forces.

On the twenty-ninth of July the fleet, with the tranſports having the troops on board which were intended for the deſcent, ſailed from Spithead, and, after hovering ſome days upon the French coaſt, they anchored, on the eleventh of Auguſt, in the bay of La Hogue, with an intent to land the next day; but, upon reconnoitring the coaſt, they found ſo ſtrong a force collected to oppoſe the deſcent, and ſo many forts and batteries in a condition to defend the ſhore, that it was deemed impracticable; upon which the fleet returned to Spithead, on the twenty-eighth of Auguſt: after thus alarming the French coaſt, the troops on board were, at the deſire of the duke of Marlborough, landed at Oſtend, on the twenty-third of September, and proved greatly inſtrumental in the reduction of Liſle. Another ſquadron of the Britiſh fleet, under the command of ſir George Byng, carried over the archduchеſs Mary Anne, to be married to the king of Portugal, which ceremony was performed with great pomp and magnificence. She had a quick and eaſy paſſage, and arrived at Liſbon on the twenty-ſeventh of October ¶.

Before I proceed to relate the domeſtic tranſactions of our own country, I think it requiſite juſt to take notice that the elector-palatine was this year reſtored to the poſſeſſion of the Upper Palatinate, with the title and rank which had been veſted in the houſe of Bavaria by the treaty of Munſter: and George-Lewis of Hanover (afterwards king George I. of Great Britain) was at length acknowleged as elector of Brunſwick Lunenburg by the electoral college, to which dignity he had been raiſed by the intereſt of king William in the year 1692 *.

The court of England was this ſummer involved in a very diſagreeable altercation with the czar of Muſcovy, on account of an inſult offered to the perſon of his ambaſſador count Mattheoff, who was arreſted in the ſtreet at the ſuit of one Morton, a laceman, and inſolently treated by the bailiffs, who dragged him to a ſpunging-houſe, where he continued until he was bailed by the earl of Feverſham and a merchant in the city. Enraged at this inſult, he demanded redreſs of the government, and was ſeconded in his remonſtrance by the ambaſſadors of the emperor, the king of Pruſſia, and ſeveral other foreign potentates. Notwithſtanding all poſſible aſſurances were made him of ſatisfaction, and that the authors of this outrage were taken into cuſtody, Mattheof demanded a paſſport for himſelf and family, refuſed the preſents that are uſually made to ambaſſadors at their departure, and retired in diſguſt to Holland. The czar wrote a ſharp letter to the queen, inſiſting upon her puniſhing with death all the perſons concerned in offering this affront to the perſon of his ambaſſador; but as ſuch a ſatisfaction could not be granted him conſiſtent with the laws of England, the queen and her miniſtry were thrown into the utmoſt perplexity, and ſeveral councils were held to conſider how to proceed in this critical ſituation.

On the twenty-eighth of October, about ten in the forenoon, died his royal highneſs George prince of Denmark, lord high-admiral of Great Britain, and her majeſty's conſort, at Kenſington, of an aſthma, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age. He was married to her majeſty the twenty-eighth of July, 1683, and on the thirteenth of November, 1708, he was interred in the abbey-church of Weſtminſter, at ten in the evening. Biſhop Burnet gives us the following character of him: "This prince had ſhewn himſelf brave in war, both in Denmark and in Ireland: his temper was mild and gentle; he had made a good progreſs in mathematics; he had travelled through France, Italy, and Germany, and knew much more than he could well expreſs, for he ſpoke acquired languages ill and ungracefully. His royal highneſs was very much lamented by thoſe who knew him; and her majeſty, who had been, during the whole courſe of her marriage, an extraordinary tender and affectionate wife, was inconſolable for his loſs; they had indeed been the happieſt pair that ever adorned a court." Her majeſty was pleaſed to keep the admiralty in her own hands for about three weeks, and on the twenty-fifth of November ſhe appointed Thomas earl of Pembroke lord high admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, to the great ſatisfaction of the whole nation.

‖ Burnet. Burchet. Tindal.
§ Burchet. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, &c.
¶ Burnet. Burchet. Hiſt. of Europe.
* See page 40 of this volume.

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This event was followed by ſome changes in the miniſtry: the earl of Wharton was conſtituted lord-lieutenant of Ireland, the lord Somers appointed preſident of the council, and the earl of Dorſet was made conſtable of Dover caſtle, and lord-warden of the Cinque-ports. Notwithſtanding theſe promotions of Whig noblemen, the duke of Marlborough declined apace in his credit with the queen, who was privately under the direction of Mr. Harley and the Tory party.

The new parliament (being the ſecond of Great Britain) met the ſecond of November, when the Whigs appeared to have a great majority. The queen, not thinking it decent to appear in the houſe ſo ſoon after the death of her conſort, appointed, by a commiſſion under the great-ſeal, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the chancellor, the lord-ſteward, and the maſter of the horſe, to repreſent her royal perſon, and to open the ſeſſion. Sir Richard Onſlow being choſen ſpeaker of the lower houſe, received the queen's approbation. After which the lord chancellor made a ſpeech to both houſes, importing, "That the commiſſioners were appointed by her majeſty to acquaint them, that ſhe expected they would continue to proſecute the war with the ſame vigour and reſolution, with which it had hitherto been conducted: that ſhe hoped they would enable her to make ſuch augmentation of her forces as they ſhould judge neceſſary for preſerving and improving the advantages which the allies had gained in the Netherlands: that ſhe deſired they would prepare ſuch bills as might confirm and perfect the union: that, if they would propoſe means for the advancement of trade and manufactures, ſhe would take pleaſure in enacting ſuch proviſions; and that, as ſhe had the moſt ſincere regard for the preſervation of their liberties and the ſupport of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, ſhe would continue to exert her utmoſt endeavours to defeat the deſigns of the pretender, and of all his open and ſecret abettors †."

The addreſſes of condolance, both of lords and commons, to her majeſty, for the death of the prince her conſort, and thoſe of congratulation on the ſucceſs of her arms under the duke of Marlborough, being matters of form, I ſhall paſs them over, to come to other buſineſs of the parliament, the chief of which was concerning the ſupply, the Scots elections and invaſions, the naturalization of foreign proteſtants, and the trials of treaſon in Scotland.

Having conſidered the different branches of the ſupply, they approved of an augmentation of ten thouſand men as neceſſary for the more vigorous proſecution of the war; and they voted above ſeven millions for the ſervice of the enſuing year, which was to be raiſed by a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound, the duty on malt, and other articles: theſe funds however would have fallen very ſhort of the ſum voted, had not the bank of England agreed to circulate two millions five hundred thouſand pounds in Exchequer-bills for the government, on condition that the term of their continuance as a bank ſhould be prolonged for twenty-one years, from the firſt of Auguſt, 1711, and their ſtock of two millions two hundred and one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-one pounds ſhould be doubled by a new ſubſcription: the two-third ſubſidy was appropriated for the intereſt of the money raſed by this expedient.

The Scottiſh elections occaſioned great debates in both houſes; the queſtion chiefly turned upon this point, Whether the eldeſt ſons of Scottiſh peers were capable of ſitting in the Britiſh parliament? What was principally urged againſt them was, their incapacity to ſit in the parliament of Scotland before the union, and therefore ought to be ſo in reſpect to the parliament of Great Britain. Council was heard in behalf of the claimants; but little being offered on their ſide againſt this argument, the eldeſt ſons of the peers of Scotland were declared incapable to ſit in parliament. In conſequence of this deciſion, given in the month of December, the ſpeaker was ordered to iſſue writs for electing new members for the ſhires of Aberdeen and Linlithgow, in the room of William lord Haddo, and James lord Johnſton, the firſt eldeſt ſon to the earl of Aberdeen, and the other of the marquis of Annandale ‡. A petition, of a new nature, was much about the ſame time brought into the houſe of lords by ſome Scottiſh peers, claiming a right to vote and ſign proxies in the election of the ſixteen peers of Scotland. There were very warm debates in the houſe upon this ſubject; but at length, upon a diviſion, it was carried, "That a Scottiſh lord, created a peer of Great Britain, ſhould no longer retain his vote in Scotland; and that the noblemen who were under confinement in the caſtle of Edinburgh, under ſuſpicion of being concerned in the late invaſion, had a right to ſign proxies, after having taken the oaths to the government."

But the principal affair that came under parliamentary conſideration this ſeſſion was, the naturalization of foreign proteſtants. This point was debated with great vehemence in both houſes, and many ſhrewd arguments were advanced on both ſides of the queſtion. The Whigs ſpoke in favour of the bill; the Tories argued againſt it: the former affirmed that it would prove an effectual means to encourage induſtry, improve trade and manufactures, and repair the waſte of men which the war had occaſioned. They inſtanced the conduct of the king of Pruſſia, who by inviting the French refugees to ſettle in his dominions, had fertilized a barren and ill-peopled country, improved its trade and manufactures, augmented its revenues, and procured many other conſiderable benefits. But the chief motive of the Whigs in puſhing this bill, was to throw an addition of foreigners into the balance againſt the landed intereſt. The oppoſers of an act of naturalization objected thereto, that ſuch a ſwarm of aliens as ſuch a meaſure would neceſſarily bring over, might bring with them many dangerous conſequences to the conſtitution; that it was in fact inviting ſo many ſpies and informers amongſt us, ſince it could not be ſuppoſed that they would leave all affection for their mother-country behind them, though they might gladly embrace for the preſent the aſylum offered them here. It was ſaid, they would find means to inſinuate themſelves into many places of truſt and profit, and even to ſeats in the great aſſembly of the national repreſentatives, and by frequent intermarriages, contribute to the extinction of the Eng-

† Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iv. 98. ‡ Ibid. iv. 99.

liſh race. Laſtly, that they would greatly increaſe the number of our poor, already ſo great a burthen to this country, and take out of the mouths of Engliſh tradeſmen and labourers great part of the bread they now earned by their induſtry *. Cogent as theſe arguments appeared to be, the Whigs carried their point, and the bill, with ſome amendments, paſſed through both houſes, and was at laſt confirmed by the royal aſſent †, though not without a number of proteſts entered by the Tory members, particularly the duke of Buckingham, and the lords Nottingham, Guernſey, Scarſdale, North, Grey, Angleſey, and Guildford.

Part of the time of the lords, as well as of the commons, was taken up in examining papers about the pretender's invaſion. The Tories were for charging the miniſtry with great neglect of duty, in not providing timely and effectually againſt it. Thoſe attacks, however, ſerved only to betray the animoſity, as well as weakneſs, of their party; for the Whigs having the lead in parliament, it was reſolved by a great majority that the miniſtry had behaved with all the care and fidelity which could reaſonably be expected from men in their ſtation. This enquiry however gave riſe to a bill for regulating trials in caſes of high-treaſon in Scotland: it was brought in under the title of "An act for improving the union of the two kingdoms." By this law trials for treaſon in Scotland were to be conducted in the ſame manner as in England, with ſome ſmall variation. This bill was warmly oppoſed by the Scottiſh members; but maugre all their efforts, it paſſed rapidly thro' both houſes, and finally paſſed into a law; to render which the more palatable, her majeſty was pleaſed to grant an act of grace, by which all treaſons were pardoned, except thoſe committed on the high-ſeas; and an excepting clauſe was inforced againſt thoſe who had been aiding and aſſiſting to the pretender, in his embarkation for his laſt expedition againſt this country ‡.

On the firſt of March 1709, the duke of Marlborough came over from Flanders, when the lords gave him the thanks of their houſe for his great ſervices this campaign; and it being conjectured that he had brought over ſome propoſals of peace, both houſes addreſſed her majeſty on this ſubject, wherein they deſire her majeſty, that the French king may be obliged to own her title and the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and that the pretender may be removed out of his dominions, never to return again, and that the harbour of Dunkirk and its fortifications might be demoliſhed.

An order of council having been made about this time for leaving out the prayer for the queen's having iſſue, on preſumption that her majeſty would continue in the ſtate of widowhood; Mr. Watſon, ſon to lord Rockingham, moved in the lower houſe to addreſs her majeſty, "That ſhe would not ſuffer her juſt grief to prevail ſo far, but that ſhe would, in compliance with the earneſt wiſhes of her ſubjects, entertain thoughts of a ſecond marriage." This motion was carried, and the addreſs actually preſented to the queen, who returned for anſwer, "That the proviſion ſhe had made for the proteſtant ſucceſſion would always be a proof of her hearty concern for the happineſs of the nation; but that the ſubject of their addreſs was of ſuch a nature, that ſhe was perſuaded they did not expect a particular anſwer:" a moſt gracious and prudent reply to a very impertinent and ill-timed addreſs.

The affair of the Muſcovitiſh ambaſſador, which ſtill continued greatly to embarraſs the queen and council, gave occaſion to the bringing in and paſſing a bill in both houſes, for preſerving the privileges of ambaſſadors and other foreign miniſters. By this act the perſons of ambaſſadors, and thoſe of their ſervants, were effectually ſecured from the danger of arreſt; though with this reaſonable exception in favour of tradeſmen, that no perſon ſhould be proſecuted for arreſting the ſervant of an ambaſſador or public miniſter, unleſs the name of ſuch ſervant was firſt regiſtered in the office of one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, and by him tranſmitted to the ſheriffs of London and Middleſex, who ſhould hang it up in ſome conſpicuous place in their office. Her majeſty alſo thought proper ſome time after to make ſolemn excuſes by her ambaſſador at the Ruſſian court (Mr. Whitworth) to repair Mattheoff's honour by a letter, to order the offenders to be ſeverely proſecuted, and to indemnify the ambaſſador for all his coſts and damages, conceſſions with which the czar and his ambaſſador declared themſelves well ſatisfied; and thus this troubleſome affair ended.

Theſe were the tranſactions of this ſeſſion of parliament, which was prorogued on the firſt of April by the lord-chancellor, in virtue of a commiſſion from her majeſty, who ſtill continued indiſpoſed.

In conſequence of the naturalization act, there came over in the month of May this year near ſeven thouſand of the poor Palatines and Swabians from the borders of the Rhine in Germany, who had been utterly ruined, and driven from their habitations by the French. It was never known who encouraged them to this emigration. Certain it is, there was no ſettled or concerted plan for their eſtabliſhment any where. Had they been all ſent to ſome of our colonies on the continent of America, they would probably before now have raiſed a conſiderable addition to our ſtrength in thoſe parts. It was propoſed by ſome to ſettle them in the new foreſt of Hampſhire, where land might be parcelled out for them by ſhares or lots. Upon

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* See Parliamentary Debates by Chandler. Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iv. 100. Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, ii. 201.

† By this act it was provided, I. That all perſons born out of the liegeance of her majeſty, who ſhall take and ſubſcribe the oaths and the declaration of the ſixth of this reign, ſhall be deemed, adjudged, and taken to be her majeſty's natural-born ſubjects, provided they ſhall have received the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, in ſome proteſtant or reformed congregation within this kingdom of Great Britain, within three months before their taking the ſaid oaths; and ſhall produce a certificate, ſigned by the perſon adminiſtering the ſaid ſacrament, and atteſted by two credible witneſſes.

II. That the children of all natural-born ſubjects, though born out of the liegeance of her majeſty, her heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhall be deemed and adjudged to be natural-born ſubjects of this kingdom to all intents, conſtructions, and purpoſes whatſoever. And,

III. The like naturalization of foreign proteſtants ſhall take place in Ireland [this clauſe is farther explained by cap. xxi. of the fourth of king George II.] This law was ſaid to have been made with a view to the proteſtant Palatines brought this year into England.

‡ See Stat. 7. Annæ Reginæ. Tindal. Burnet.

the whole, it was an ill conducted, though it might be a well meant affair. Being however come, there was a neceſſity of keeping them from periſhing: a ſufficient number of tents was erected for them on Blackheath and near Camberwell, and a brief was granted throughout Great Britain for a collection for them. Some were taken into private houſes; 500 families of them were ſent into Ireland, where twenty-four thouſand pounds were granted by parliament for their ſupport. Three thouſand of them were at length ſent over to New-York, and ſettled upon Hudſon's river; but being badly received there, many of them removed to Penſylvania, where they were kindly entertained by the quakers, which afterwards proved the means of drawing thither many thouſands of German and Swiſs proteſtants, whereby Penſylvania is ſince become by far the moſt populous and flouriſhing colony for its ſtanding of any in Britiſh America *.

This year her majeſty thought proper, on account of the great multiplication of buſineſs, to appoint a third ſecretary of ſtate; and accordingly James duke of Queenſberry and Dover was ſworn into that office.

France was now not only compleatly humbled, but even trembled for its own ſafety. Reſources began to fail, credit was at a ſtand; and the people, who had idolized their monarch in his proſperity, began to murmur againſt him when he became unfortunate. The ſeverity of the winter compleated the deſpair of the nation. The olive trees, which bring in a great deal of money in the ſouth of France, were all deſtroyed; almoſt all the fruit-trees were killed by the froſt †: there were no hopes of an harveſt, and there was little corn in the granaries; and what could be brought at a very great diſtance from the ſea-port towns of the Levant and the coaſt of Barbary, was liable to be taken by the fleets of the confederates, to whom the French had hardly any ſhips to oppoſe. On the other hand, the allies were ſtill fruitful in reſources, eſpecially the Dutch, who had been ſo long the carriers of other nations, that they had magazines ſufficiently ſtored to ſupply the ſtrongeſt armies the allies could bring into the field in a plentiful manner, while the French troops, diminiſhed and diſheartened, ſeemed ready to periſh for want.

Under theſe fatal circumſtances, Lewis determined to ſacrifice all the conſiderations of pride and ambition, as well as the intereſt of his grandſon, to his deſire of peace, which was become ſo neceſſary and indiſpenſible. Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 1709, he diſpatched the preſident Rouillé privately to Holland with general propoſals of peace, and the offers of a good barrier to the States-general, in hopes by thoſe offers to detach them from the confederacy. This miniſter had a ſecret conference with Buys and Vanderduſſen, the penſionaries of Amſterdam and Gouda, at Mardyke; from whence he was permitted to proceed to Woerden, a place between Leyden and Utrecht. The ſtates, unwilling to take any ſteps in an affair of this nature without the participation of their allies, communicated the propoſals of France to the courts of Vienna and Great Britain; whereupon prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough went over to the Hague in the beginning of April, and conferred with the grand penſionary Heinſius, Buys, and Vanderduſſen, on the ſubject of the French propoſals, which were deemed unſatisfactory.

Lewis then ſent the marquis de Torcy, his ſecretary for foreign affairs, to the Hague, with freſh offers. By this time the queen had ſent over the lord viſcount Townſhend as her ambaſſador-extraordinary and joint plenipotentiary with his grace the duke of Marlborough. The conferences began about the middle of May; but, conſidering the diſpoſition of the victors, very little was to be expected from them. Prince Eugene, Marlborough, and the penſionary Heinſius, were all three for continuing the war: the prince, becauſe it at once gratified his glory and his revenge; Marlborough, becauſe he gained both reputation and immenſe riches, of which he was equally fond; the third, who was guided by the other two, took a ſecret pleaſure in returning upon the miniſter of the proudeſt of all princes, the arrogance with which his republic had been treated in 1672. The offers made by the French miniſter in his maſter's name were as follow; "That Lewis would conſent to the demolition of Dunkirk; that he would abandon the pretender, and diſmiſs him from his dominions; that he would acknowlege the queen's title and the proteſtant ſucceſſion; that he would renounce all pretenſions to the Spaniſh monarchy, and cede the places in the Netherlands which the States-general demanded for their barrier; that he would treat with the emperor on the footing of the treaty of Ryſwick, and even demoliſh the fortifications of Straſburgh." The miniſters of the allies ſpoke in the ſtile of conquerors; and without taking any notice of the French king's conditions, demanded the reſtitution of the Upper and Lower Alſace to the empire, and inſiſted upon Lewis reſtoring Straſburg in its preſent condition; upon his ceding the town and caſtellany of Liſle, demoliſhing Dunkirk, New Briſac, Fort Louis, and Hunningen: they even went ſo far as to require that he ſhould aſſiſt in driving his grandſon from the throne of Spain within two months; and that, as a ſurety for his performance of this treaty, he ſhould begin by ceding to the States-general for ever ten towns in Flanders, among which was Tournay, not yet taken. "Lewis little expected (ſays a celebrated French writer ‡) ſome years before, when he refuſed a company of horſe to prince Eugene ‖, when Churchill was only a colonel in the Engliſh army, and the name of Heinſius was hardly known, that one day theſe three men ſhould impoſe ſuch laws upon him." Indeed candour

* Anderſon's Treatiſe of Commerce, vol. ii. p. 248.

† The ſcourge of this dreadful winter was general all over Europe: with us it began to freeze the night before Chriſtmas-day, and was followed by great and heavy ſnows. The weather was moſtly dark and gloomy: the froſt laſted three months, during which time many cattle, eſpecially ſheep, and likewiſe birds, periſhed. The Thames was frozen over, and on the third of January people began to erect booths and ſet up tents on the ice. The ſummer which ſucceeded this froſt was very near as comfortleſs as the winter, by reaſon of the coldneſs and moiſture of the air, pouring almoſt continual rains on the earth, which, as it retarded the maturity of the fruits, ſo in many places it occaſioned a thin harveſt, and conſequently a ſcarcity of corn.

‡ M. de Voltaire, in his Age of Lewis XIV.

‖ See p. 115 of this volume.

obliges us to confeſs, however we may deteſt the artifice and duplicity of the French in moſt of their political dealings, that theſe were rather the demands of perſons rendered proud and wanton by ſucceſs, than the endeavours of patriots and friends to mankind, to remedy the evils and inconveniencies of a long, bloody, and expenſive war, by a juſt and equitable peace. In vain did Torcy make uſe of every argument to obtain leſs rigorous terms; in vain had he recourſe to ſoothing ſupplications and conceſſions in the name of his ſovereign: he found the plenipotentiaries implacable, and therefore pretended to ſubmit to theſe preliminaries, which were ſigned on the twenty-eighth of May, and Torcy returned to carry his maſter the orders of his enemies. Lewis XIV. received them with the mingled ſentiments of grief, ſhame, and indignation: he rejected them with diſdain, and now did what he had never before done towards his ſubjects: he expoſed the extravagance and unreaſonableneſs of the demands of the allies, in a circular letter addreſſed to his people; and after acquainting them with the farther burthens he was obliged to lay upon them, he endeavoured to excite their indignation, to rouſe their honour, and even to move their pity. This procedure had the deſired effect: the French, a people remarkable for their affection to their kings, though impoveriſhed and half-ſtarved by the war, reſolved to expend their whole ſubſtance in his ſupport, and rather to fight his battles without pay, than abandon him to the infamy of accepting ſuch diſhonourable terms ¶.

The preliminaries being thus rejected by the French king, the conferences were broken off, Rouillé was ordered to quit Holland in twenty-four hours, and the confederate generals reſolved to open the campaign without farther delay.

Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough repaired to Flanders, and on the twenty-ſecond of June the allied army was aſſembled on the plain of Liſle to the number of one hundred and ten thouſand men. Lewis, on his part, ſent the marſhal Villars, whom the French ſtiled the Fortunate General, to replace Vendôme, and make head againſt his enemies. Villars took poſſeſſion of a very advantageous camp on the plain of Lens, where he threw up ſuch intrenchments, that the allies did not think fit to attack him, but reſolved to open the campaign with the ſiege of Tournay *. Accordingly that place was inveſted by the confederate troops on the twenty-ſeventh of June, N. S. On the twenty-ſeventh of July the trenches were opened: the town itſelf was eaſily taken; but the citadel was ſo ſtrong, both by art and nature, and the governor, lieutenant-general Surville, ſuch an experienced officer, that, though he had a garriſon of four thouſand men only, and the place was ſcantily provided with proviſions, he continued to hold out for the ſpace of a month with incredible valour. As the beſiegers proceeded by the method of ſap, this ſiege proved extremely bloody, the miners on both ſides frequently meeting underground, in the midſt of mines and countermines, big with ruin and deſtruction. Of all the horrid ſcenes of war, this was the moſt dreadful: thoſe who had braved death in every ſhape aboveground, were ſhocked at theſe encounters, and dreaded entering thoſe diſmal caverns, where they were not only in danger of being choked by rubbiſh, and periſhing by the ſword of the enemy, but very often by their friends, who were not eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed from the foe. About four hundred of the confederates were blown into the air by the exploſion of one of theſe mines. At length the beſiegers having effected a breach, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a general aſſault on the ſecond of September, the governor ſurrendered, upon condition that all the officers and ſoldiers ſhould retain their ſwords and baggage, and be permitted to return into France, with this reſtriction, that they ſhould not ſerve until a like number of officers and ſoldiers of the allies that were priſoners, ſhould be exchanged for them, and that they ſhould leave their colours and firearms behind them †.

Tournay being reduced, the allies next reſolved upon the ſiege of Mons ‡. With this view prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough made the army paſs the Scheld, and diſpatched the prince of Heſſe Caſſel to attack the French lines from the Haiſne to the Sombre, which were abandoned at his approach. On the ſeventh of September, marſhal Boufflers arrived in the French camp, and joined Villars, who, after making ſeveral motions, in order to cover Mons, poſted himſelf behind the woods of la Merte and Trainiere, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet. On the ninth the allies made a motion to the left, by which the two armies approached ſo near, that they began to cannonade each other. The French army amounted to one hundred and twenty thouſand men, that of the confederates was nearly the ſame number: it being found impracticable to form the ſiege of Mons until the French were driven from their poſt, which they had fortified in the ſtrongeſt manner, it was reſolved to attack them at all events. This occaſioned the bloodieſt battle that ever was fought in Flanders. Accordingly, on the eleventh of September, in the morning, the duke ordered

¶ Hiſtory of Europe. Annals of the Abbot St. Pierre. Voltaire. Burnet. Lamberti.

* Tournay is one of the moſt ancient cities of Flanders; it had belonged, time out of mind, to France, till, in 1513, it was taken by king Henry VIII. of England. It was ſoon after reſtored by the intrigues of cardinal Woolſey. The Spaniards took it in 1618, and kept it till 1667, when it was retaken by Lewis XIV. This prince had ſpared no coſt to fortify it, and had made it one of the ſtrongeſt places in the Netherlands. It is very advantageouſly ſituated, of a great compaſs, and is divided by the Scheld, as the army that beſieges it muſt alſo be, which is always very incommodious and dangerous. Tournay is a biſhopric, under the archbiſhop of Cambray; about fifteen miles eaſt of Liſle, twenty north-eaſt of Douay, thirty-two almoſt weſt of Mons, and thirty ſouth of Ghent.

† Hiſtory of Europe. Burnet. Tindal.

‡ Mons, or Bergen, a very large, fine, ſtrong, and rich city of the Auſtrian Netherlands, and the capital of Hainault, ſituated on a hill, at the junction of the Haine and Trouille. The country round it may be ſo overflowed as to render an enemy's approaches very difficult. The French took it in 1691, but ceded it to Spain by the treaty of Ryſwick, in 1697; it was confirmed to the houſe of Auſtria by the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, and made part of the barrier. The French, under count Saxe, took this city in the late war; but it was reſtored by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748, after demoliſhing its fortifications. It lies twenty-four miles ſouth-ſouth-eaſt of Tournay, and thirty ſouth-weſt of Bruſſels; latitude fifty degrees thirty minutes north, longitude three degrees thirty-ſix minutes eaſt.

batteries

batteries to be erected on the wings and in the center, and prepared for the attack.

The duke of Marlborough commanded the right wing, compoſed of the Engliſh and German troops in Engliſh pay; prince Eugene was in the center, and baron Fagel and the prince of Orange on the left, with the Dutch. Marſhal Villars took the command of the left wing of his army, and left the right to marſhal Boufflers, who was his ſenior officer.

About eight o'clock in the morning the attack was began by general Schuylemberg and the duke of Argyll, from the right, at the head of eighty ſix battalions, ſupported by twenty-two battalions under count Lottum: theſe fell upon the left of the enemy with ſuch fury, that in ſpite of all the reſiſtance they could make, which was indeed extremely obſtinate and well maintained, they were, in leſs than an hour, driven from their entrenchments into the woods of Sart and Trainiere. The prince of Orange and baron Fagel, with thirty-ſix Dutch battalions, advanced againſt the right of the enemy, who were poſted in the wood of la Merte, and had ſecured themſelves in ſuch a manner, by triple entrenchments, with lines, cannon, and trees laid acroſs, that they ſeemed to be quite inacceſſible. The battle was here fought with the moſt deſperate courage on both ſides: the Dutch obliged the French to quit the firſt entrenchment, but were repulſed from the ſecond with great ſlaughter: the prince of Orange, in order to encourage his men, took a ſtandard and planted it on the entrenchments, but not a man was found hardy enough to follow him. This gallant prince had two horſes killed under him, moſt of his officers were either ſlain or diſabled, and it is hard to ſay which ſide victory would have taken, had not marſhal Villars, who had quitted his ſtation to come and oppoſe the prince of Orange, received a wound in his knee, which obliged him to quit the field of battle, in order to have it dreſſed. The French, ſtruck with this news, abated conſiderably in the vigour of their reſiſtance; the prince of Orange returned to the charge with double fury, and at length forced the enemy's entrenchments, and drove them out of the wood into the plain, where their horſe was all drawn up; and ours advancing upon them, the whole army engaged, and fought with great fury till three in the afternoon, when the French cavalry began to give way and retire. The allies purſued them to the defile of Bavay with great ſlaughter. Marſhal Boufflers, who had taken the command upon the accident which had befallen marſhal Villars, made a retreat in as good order as poſſible, with the aſſiſtance of the prince of Montmorenci, afterwards marſhal Luxemburg. The French army reſted between Queſnoi and Valenciennes: ours encamped upon the field of battle *.

It muſt be readily believed that the loſs muſt have been very great on both ſides, from ſo bloody a conflict. This was, indeed, the deareſt victory the confederates had ever purchaſed, above eighteen thouſand of them being either killed or wounded in the action, and among the former ſeveral officers of diſtinction: nevertheleſs the enemy had little reaſon to boaſt of their ſucceſs; for, although they did not loſe above eight or nine thouſand men, they ſuffered the diſgrace of a total defeat, and were ſo ſeverely handled, that they were not able to make any other attempt to relieve Mons, which ſurrendered about the end of October; and the French not caring to hazard another battle, remained inactive during the reſt of the campaign, which was cloſed about the middle of November, when both armies retired to winter-quarters. If the glory of a victory conſiſts in the number of lives ſacrificed to gain it, the allies had, indeed, great reaſon to plume themſelves upon this: the greateſt maſters in the military art were, however, very liberal of their cenſures on the duke of Marlborough's conduct, for not attacking the enemy before they began to form their intrenchments: the battle would certainly have been leſs bloody, and the proſpect of victory was far more favourable, than after the French had ſo far fortified their camp as to render it almoſt impregnable. It muſt, however, be acknowleged, that few generals were leſs guilty of raſh actions than the duke of Marlborough; and it was generally believed he had ſuffered himſelf to be over-perſuaded by the Dutch generals, who were ever remarkably ſlow, and ridiculouſly cautious in all their motions †.

This year's campaign on the Rhine proved very inconſiderable: the court of Vienna had taken ſo little care to provide for its army there, that it was ſome time before the elector of Brunſwick could be prevailed on to aſſume the command of them: at length, however, he put himſelf at their head; but the whole of the operations was confined to one ſharp action between a detachment of the French army commanded by the count de Borgh, and a body of Germans under count Merci, on the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, N. S. in which about two thouſand men were ſlain on each ſide, but without any manifeſt advantage to either party, farther than that the French obliged the count to abandon an enterprize he had formed upon the Franche Compté, and to repaſs the Rhine ‡.

The campaign in Piedmont was equally inactive. Field-marſhal count Thaun commanded the confederates in that quarter, the duke of Savoy having refuſed to take the field, on account of ſome differences between him and the emperor, occaſioned by the latter's refuſing to confirm Vigevano, and other dependencies in the Milaneſe, which had by agreement been made over to the duke. Count Thaun had formed the deſign of beſieging Briançon; but the duke of Berwick, who commanded for the French, took ſuch precautions, as effectually diſconcerted the count's enterprize, who found himſelf obliged to repaſs the Alps, which he had croſſed, and marched his troops into winter-quarters in Piedmont, towards the latter end of September §.

The moſt important tranſaction relating to Italy, this year, was the emperor's obliging the pope (Clement XI.) to acknowlege the archduke for king of Spain, which his holineſs had hitherto delayed to do, under various pretexts, until he ſhould ſee what turn the affairs of the houſe of Bourbon might take during this campaign. This Clement had,

* Broderick. Life of the Duke of Marlb. Burnet. † Kane's Memoirs. ‡ Hiſtory of Europe.
§ Idem. Lamberti.

at the inſtigation of France, ventured to unſheathe the ſword laſt year for a ſhort time; but he had no ſooner taken up arms, than he repented of it. He perceived the Romans were incapable of wielding the ſword under a ſacerdotal government; he therefore put Commachio (a ſmall city and imperial fief in the duchy of Ferrara) into the emperor's hands, as a pledge of his future peaceable conduct, and acknowleged Charles as king of Spain, Naples, and Sicily *.

The military operations in Spain and Portugal were not by much ſo favourable to the allies, as thoſe in Flanders. The caſtle of Alicant, garriſoned by two Engliſh regiments, had been beſieged, and held out during the whole winter againſt a very numerous army of the enemy under count d'Asfeldt, with a very large train of heavy artillery, excellently ſupplied with ammunition: at length the city being abſolutely untenable, colonel Richards, the commander, retired with his garriſon into the caſtle, which had hitherto been deemed impregnable. There colonel Sibourg, a French refugee officer, took the command, determined to hold it out to the laſt extremity. At length d'Asfeldt, who conducted the ſiege, cauſed the ſolid rock on which the caſtle ſtands to be undermined, and having lodged fifteen hundred barrels of gunpowder therein, on the thirtieth of March ſummoned the caſtle to ſurrender on the moſt honourable terms; threatening however, if theſe were neglected, to ſhew no mercy to thoſe who might fall into his hands; at the ſame time he deſired the governor, Sibourg, to depute ſome of his moſt experienced engineers to examine the condition of the works. This offer was accepted, and the officers, at their return, aſſured the governor that nothing could preſerve the whole caſtle from being carried up by the exploſion, unleſs it took vent in their own counter-mines. D'Asfeldt had allowed Sibourg twenty-four hours to conſider what he would do; the other remained firm to his purpoſe, and with an obſtinacy which ſurpriſed the enemy, reſolved to ſtand the exploſion. The beſiegers finding him immoveable, ſet fire to the mine at the appointed hour. The centinels on the ramparts obſerving ſome ſmoke from the lighted matches and other combuſtible matter near the train, gave the alarm, upon which the governor ordered the guard to retire, and walked out to the parade, attended by ſeveral officers: the mine at laſt blew up, the whole rock felt the concuſſion, and opening ſuddenly under their feet, and cloſing ſuddenly again, buried them in the abyſs; about fifty other perſons were ſwallowed up in different quarters. After the loſs of the governor and chief officers, the command fell to lieutenant-colonel d'Albeaume, of Sibourg's regiment, who immediately drew out a detachment of the whole garriſon, and with it made a deſperate ſally upon the enemy, who thought hardly a man was alive within the place; as would in all probability have been the caſe, had not the force of the exploſion forced a vent through the veins of the rock and the counter-mine. D'Albeaume ſtill continued to defend the caſtle †.

At length, a ſquadron of eighteen Engliſh men of war, under the command of ſir Edward Whitaker, ſailed from Barcelona to the relief of the place, and came into Alicant road on the ſeventeenth of April, from whence they made a furious fire upon the town, and endeavoured to land ſome forces, to throw into the caſtle; but don Pedro de Ronquillo, who had taken the command thereof, on its being ſurrendered, had taken ſuch meaſures to prevent their landing, that the Engliſh thought proper to deſiſt from the deſign. General Stanhope, who commanded the land-forces on board the fleet, ſeeing the impoſſibility of relieving the place, ſent a boat aſhore with a flag of truce, and an officer with a letter to the Spaniſh governor, wherein he offered to ſurrender the caſtle of Alicant upon honourable terms, which was done accordingly; and thus Alicant was reduced, the only ſtrong place that king Charles had in Valencia ‡.

On the frontiers of Catalonia, general Staremberg not only maintained his ground, but even embarraſſed the enemy. Having paſſed the river Segra in ſpite of all the oppoſition they could make, he reduced the fortreſs of Balaguer; and having left a ſtrong garriſon to keep poſſeſſion thereof, repaſſed the river, and ſent the forces into winter-quarters.

In Portugal, the earl of Galway, to whom the late defeat at Almanza does not appear to have taught more prudence and circumſpection, ventured upon a ſecond battle, in which he was as unſucceſsful as in the former: the Portugueſe, who compoſed the major part of his army, according to their uſual behaviour, left the Engliſh to encounter the whole ſtreſs of the fight, who, notwithſtanding their inferiority in numbers, ſuſtained with an amazing intrepidity the charge of the Spaniſh army, under marſhal de Bay, who defeated them with great ſlaughter, obliging them to retreat with great precipitation, leaving behind them their colours, cannon, and a great number of priſoners. This unfortunate action happened on the ſeventeenth of May, N. S. on the banks of the Caya, a river in the province of Eſtremadura, not many miles from Badajox ‖.

A fatal cataſtrophe befel the affairs of that martial and reſtleſs prince the king of Sweden, this ſummer: he attacked the czar of Muſcovy at Pultowa, on the thirty-firſt of July, N. S. and received ſuch a total defeat, that he loſt his camp, artillery, and baggage: Charles himſelf, with a ſmall number of attendants, paſſed the Nieper, and with great difficulty ſheltered himſelf in the Turkiſh dominions, and ſettled at Bender, a town in Moldavia. A confederacy was now entered into by king Auguſtus, the kings of Denmark and Pruſſia, and the czar of Muſcovy, to wreſt from him his paternal dominions; which they would certainly have effected, had not the emperor, the Engliſh, and the Dutch prevented it, by entering into a guaranty for preſerving the peace of the empire, by which means the Swediſh dominions in Germany were ſecured §.

Nothing of importance paſſed at ſea this year. Towards the end of it, the earl of Pembroke, finding the management of naval affairs a load too heavy for him to bear, though he had diſcharged the office of lord high-admiral with univerſal approbation, reſolved to lay it down. This high office

* Lamberti. Voltaire.

† Taubman's Memoirs of the Britiſh Arms in the Mediterranean.

‡ Hiſt. of Europe. Taubman. Burnet.

‖ Hiſt. of Europe.

§ Voltaire's Life of Charles XII. of Sweden.

was offered to the earl of Oxford, who abſolutely refuſed it, though he declared himſelf at the ſame time ready to accept a ſhare in the direction of the admiralty. The queen thought proper therefore to iſſue a commiſſion, appointing the ſaid earl of Oxford with ſir John Leake, ſir George Byng, George Doddington, and Paul Methuen, eſquires, commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, in the room of the earl of Pembroke, on whom her majeſty ſettled a yearly penſion of three thouſand pounds, payable out of the revenue of the poſt-office, in conſideration of his great and faithful ſervices. Soon after, Mathew Aylmer, eſq. was appointed admiral and commander in chief of her majeſty's navy; the lord Durſley, vice-admiral; and Charles Wager, eſq. rear-admiral of the red; ſir John Jennings admiral, and ſir Edward Whitaker vice-admiral of the white; ſir John Norris, admiral, and John Baker, eſq. vice-admiral of the blue ¶.

Though the events of this ſummer had been more favourable to France than Lewis had reaſon to expect, yet the domeſtic affairs of that kingdom were ſtill in ſo languid a ſtate, that he once more ſolicited peace at the cloſe of the campaign; but not in ſo ſuppliant a manner as before. His miniſter, Torcy, maintained a correſpondence with Mr. Petkum, the duke of Holſtein's reſident at the Hague, and through him propoſed to the States-general a renewal of the negociation. Their High Mightineſſes could not well help taking ſome notice of theſe overtures; however, they refuſed to grant paſſes for the French plenipotentiaries to come to the Hague, but permitted Petkum to make a journey to Verſailles. In the mean time, Lewis, to inſpire the allies with a good opinion of his ſincerity, withdrew his troops from Spain, as if he meant to leave his grand-ſon to take care of his own intereſts. This ſtep might poſſibly have wrought the effect upon the minds of the confederated powers which was intended by it, had not Philip, at the ſame time, publiſhed a manifeſto, proteſting againſt all that ſhould be tranſacted at the Hague to his prejudice: he named the duke of Alva and count Bergheyc for his plenipotentiaries, and ordered them to notify their credentials in form to the maritime powers; but no regard was ſhewn to their intimation. Petkum, after a ſhort ſtay at Verſailles, returned to the Hague on the ſeventh of December, bringing with him a memorial, importing, that the French king was ready to acknowlege the archduke Charles for king of Spain; to withdraw all aſſiſtance from his grandſon and leave him to his fate; to deliver up four towns as cautionary places; to reſtore Straſburgh and Briſac; to reſign the ſovereignty of Alſace; to demoliſh all the fortified places between Baſil and Philipſburgh; to fill up the long formidable harbour of Dunkirk, and demoliſh its fortifications; and to leave Liſle, Tournay, Ypres, Menin, Furnes, Condé, and Maubeuge in the hands of the States general. Theſe were in part the articles propoſed to ſerve as a baſis for the peace which he ſolicited; for the perfecting which, he declared himſelf ready to ſend plenipotentiaries to begin the conferences with thoſe of the allies, on the firſt of January enſuing. The States-general treated theſe offers as evaſive and inſincere, and came to a reſolution, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to proſecute the war with vigour; and they wrote preſſing letters on that ſubject to all their allies *.

On the fifteenth of November, the parliament of Great Britain met. The queen, who had not been in perſon there the whole ſeſſion before, was pleaſed to go that day to the houſe of peers, and in her ſpeech to both houſes told them, "That the enemy had, in the beginning of the year, endeavoured, by falſe appearances, and deceitful inſinuations of a deſire after peace, to create jealouſies and diviſions among the allies; but they had been diſappointed in their expectations; and ſuch meaſures had been taken as made it impoſſible for them to diſguiſe their inſincerity: that God Almighty had been pleaſed to bleſs the arms of the confederates with a moſt remarkable victory, and other ſucceſſes, which had laid France open to the impreſſion of the allied arms, and conſequently rendered peace more neceſſary to that kingdom than it was at the beginning of the campaign; that ſhe hoped they would enable her to proſecute the advantages ſhe had gained, by reducing within proper limits that exorbitant and oppreſſive power, which had ſo long threatened the liberties of Chriſtendom."

The parliament appeared to fall in entirely with the queen's opinion: they preſented addreſſes of thanks for her ſpeech, congratulated her on the ſucceſs of her arms this campaign, and thanked the duke of Marlborough for his ſignal ſervices; and ſo eager did they ſhew themſelves for the continuation of the war, that in leſs than a month the commons granted upwards of ſix millions for the ſervice of the enſuing year, and provided funds to anſwer the ſame. Theſe immenſe grants of parliament ſtruck the French prodigiouſly; for they demonſtrated our credit to be in full vigour, while theirs was at its loweſt ebb; and likewiſe ſhewed the diſpoſition of our government to continue the war till the Grand Monarque was compleatly humbled.

The affair of Dr. Sacheverel made the principal buſineſs of this ſeſſion. There were many reaſons to believe that the queen had for ſome time been much diſpoſed to change her miniſtry; and it is probable the ſame would have been effected, tho' perhaps not quite ſo ſoon, nor with ſo much noiſe, animoſity, and violence. It happened, however, that Dr. Henry Sacheverel, rector of St. Saviour's, Southwark, preached a ſermon on the fifth of November, at St. Paul's cathedral, before ſir Samuel Garrard, lord-mayor, which he afterwards printed under the odd title of "The Perils of falſe Brethren in Church and State." In this ſermon he ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the high notions of hereditary indefeaſible right, paſſive obedience, and non-reſiſtance; and made uſe of ſome expreſſions that ſeemed to reflect againſt the Revolution, the proteſtant ſucceſſion, the union, and the toleration granted to the diſſenters; and inſinuating the church to be in danger under the preſent adminiſtration. Complaint was made of this ſermon in the houſe of commons, who impeached the doctor before the lords for high crimes and miſdemeanors, upon four ſeveral articles; to which he put in his

¶ Burchet. Pointer's Chronological Hiſt. Campbell.

* Hare. Burnet.

anſwers

anſwers about the end of the old year. To this the commons made their reply. A day of trial was appointed by the lords, which came on at Weſtminſter-hall on the twenty-ſeventh of February, 1710. Twenty managers were appointed by the commons, who were preſent in a grand committee at the trial, and the articles were opened againſt him by the attorney-general and Mr. Lechmere. The queen herſelf went *incog.* every day during the trial, which laſted till the tenth of March, when the doctor was at laſt ſentenced "not to preach for three years, and his ſermon to be burnt by the common hangman."

It would ſwell this part of my hiſtory to an unreaſonable bulk, was I to relate the ſeveral arguments uſed as well at the bar as in both houſes of parliament, in arraignment or ſupport of this man, and the doctrine contained in his ſermon: they may be found at large in Tindal, and ſome other of our voluminous writers; as alſo in the printed trial of Sacheverel, and the collection of Parliamentary Debates. I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that nothing could equal the ferment this affair raiſed in the nation. The enemies of the miniſtry ſeized this occaſion to inflame the minds of the populace, by repreſenting both in their converſation and writings, that the Whigs had formed a deſign to pull down the church, and that this proſecution was intended to try their ſtrength before they would proceed openly to the execution of their project. Theſe aſſertions had ſuch an effect, that as the doctor paſſed to and from Weſtminſter-hall the ſeveral days of his trial, he was attended by vaſt multitudes of people, who abuſed all that would not pull off their hats to him, and cry out, "God bleſs the church and Sacheverel!" Nay, they proceeded ſo far as to demoliſh ſeveral diſſenting meeting-houſes, and make bonfires of the materials, with loud huzzas of "High-church and Sacheverel!" In ſhort, he was cried up as the patron of the church, and as perſecuted for its ſake; and the queen herſelf ſeemed to be not a little affected by it. If Mr. Harley and the Tory party were not at the bottom of this, they certainly made their advantage of it, to haſten the change they were aiming at; but it was ſome time before they could bring their matters to bear. However, the lenity of the ſentence paſſed upon Sacheverel, which was in great meaſure owing to the dread of popular reſentment, was conſidered by them as a victory obtained over their adverſaries the Whigs, and celebrated as ſuch by bonfires and illuminations.

This remarkable trial over, and ſuch other buſineſs as came before the parliament being diſpatched, the queen ordered it to be prorogued on the fifth day of April, 1710, after having in her ſpeech to both houſes, expreſſed her concern for the neceſſary cauſe which had taken up the greateſt part of their time towards the latter end of the ſeſſion: ſhe declared that no prince could have a more true and tender concern for the welfare and proſperity of the church than herſelf; and therefore it was very injurious, ſhe ſaid, to take a pretence from wicked and malicious libels, to inſinuate that the church was in danger under her adminiſtration *

Lewis XIV. ſtill continued to ſollicit peace, and to defend himſelf. His miniſters ſtill kept up a correſpondence with Petkum, and by means of that envoy obtained of the States-general a renewal of the negotiation. In order the more eaſily to obtain their conſent, he diſpatched a new plan of pacification, in which he promiſed to renounce his grandſon, and to comply with all their other demands, provided the electors of Cologne and Bavaria ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in their eſtates and dignities.

The allies, determined to have the triumph of diſcuſſing the ſubmiſſive propoſals of the French monarch, permitted his plenipotentiaries to come to the little town of Gertruydenberg, in the beginning of the year 1710, to preſent their maſter's ſupplications. Lewis made choice of the marquis d'Uxelles, a man of great coolneſs and compoſure of temper: with him he joined the abbé, afterwards cardinal, Polignac, one of the brighteſt wits and moſt eloquent orators of his age; but wit, prudence, and eloquence, are of no ſervice in a miniſter, when the maſter is unſucceſsful. The ambaſſadors of Lewis were rather confined in Gertruydenberg than received there. Buys and Vanderduſſen, the deputies of the ſtates, came to hear their propoſals, which they communicated to prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and count Zinzendorf, the imperial plenipotentiary then at the Hague. Though the French plenipotentiaries carried their ſubmiſſion ſo far as to promiſe for their king, that he ſhould furniſh money to dethrone Philip V. they were not liſtened to: the Dutch deputies inſiſted upon his effecting the ceſſion of Spain and the Indies to the houſe of Auſtria; and in caſe his grandſon ſhould refuſe to grant the ſame to his requiſition, that he ſhould engage alone to drive him out of Spain by force of arms. The negotiation laſted from the nineteenth day of March to the twenty-fifth day of July, during which time the conferences were frequently interrupted, and a great many diſpatches went to and from the court of Verſailles. At length the French plenipotentiaries, wearied out with the abſurd inſolence of the Dutch negotiators, returned to Paris, after having wrote a letter to the penſionary Heinſius, importing, that the demands of the allies could not be granted.

The States-general, to give ſome colour of juſtice to their proceedings, came to a reſolution, "That the enemy had departed from the foundation on which the negotiation had begun; had ſtudied pretences to evade the execution of the capital points, the reſtitution of Spain and the Indies; and, in a word, that France had no other view than to ſow jealouſies and diſſenſions among the allies." This reſolution was tranſmitted to the ſeveral powers in the grand alliance. The court of Great Britain anſwered it by another memorial, in which the queen was made to declare, that ſhe entirely approved of their reſolution, and all the ſteps they had taken in the courſe of the negotiation; and that ſhe was fully determined to proſecute the war with all poſſible vigour, until the

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iv.

enemy

enemy ſhould be compelled to accept ſuch terms of peace as might ſecure the tranquility of the Chriſtian world.

While the allies were thus treating Lewis XIV. in the cabinet like maſters irritated againſt his pride and grandeur, the operations of the field were not ſuffered to languiſh. On the fifteenth of April prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough ſet out from the Hague for Tournay, in order to aſſemble the forces which were quartered on the Maeſe, in Flanders, and Brabant. Their firſt operation was the ſiege of Doway *, which they carried, after a reſiſtance of two months, in which the allies, by their own computation, loſt eight thouſand men killed and wounded, with upwards of fifty officers of diſtinction. The place ſurrendered on the twenty-ninth of June. As ſoon as the trenches and other works before the place were levelled, and the breaches repaired, the confederate army, by ſeveral detachments, advanced towards Arras †, near which marſhal Villars, who ſtill commanded in Flanders, was ſtrongly encamped, deſigning to bring that general to a battle, or lay ſiege to the laſt-named town, the poſſeſſion of which would have laid all Picardy open to them; but Villars acted with ſuch precaution, that the allies could bring neither the one nor the other of theſe projects to bear; they therefore turned their arms againſt Bethune ‡, which was inveſted on the fifteenth of July, and on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt was ſurrendered by the governor. During the ſiege of this latter place Villars quitted his intrenchments, with a deſign to oblige the allies to raiſe it; but upon viewing their ſituation, he thought the attempt too hazardous, and returned to cover Picardy, leaving the prince and the duke to make themſelves maſters of St. Venant ‖ and Aire §, places of leſs conſequence. St. Venant ſurrendered the thirtieth of September, and Aire the ninth of November; and then the confederate army broke up, and marched into winter-quarters ¶.

The campaign on the Rhine this year afforded no tranſaction worthy notice, both ſides being equally incapable of entering upon action. The elector of Brunſwick, who commanded the Imperial army, not brooking ſo inactive a life, thought proper to reſign a command, from which he ſaw neither honour to himſelf, nor advantage to the general cauſe, was to be expected: his ſerene highneſs's place was ſupplied by count Gronsfelt. The military operations were equally languid on the ſide of Piedmont: the duke of Savoy being indiſpoſed, the command of the forces ſtill remained veſted in count Thaun, who attempted to croſs the Alps, and force his way into Dauphiné; but the duke of Berwick, who commanded on the frontiers of that country, had ſecured the paſſes by ſuch ſtrong intrenchments, that the Imperial general found himſelf obliged to deſiſt from his enterprize, and march his army back to their quarters.

In Spain the war was carried on with more ſpirit, and each party experienced ſucceſs and diſgrace in its turn. Count Staremberg, whom the court of Vienna had ſent to retrieve the honour of king Charles's arms, was one of the moſt accompliſhed captains of his time: he had for colleague in the command, general Stanhope, an officer of unqueſtioned courage, but too fiery and impetuous. Lewis XIV. had been obliged to do that out of neceſſity, which the allies had exacted of him at Gertruydenberg, to abandon the cauſe of Philip, by ſending for thoſe troops that were yet in Spain, for his own defence. This, with a conſiderable reinforcement of troops which the allies had received out of Germany, had made them more than a match for Philip's army in Spain; upon which conſideration it was reſolved to come to a deciſive action as ſoon as poſſible. General Stanhope, at the head of the horſe and dragoons, attacked the whole cavalry of the enemy at Almennara, on the ſeventeenth of July, O. S. Stanhope charged in perſon, and with his own hand ſlew general Ameſſaga, who commanded the body-guards of Philip: the Spaniſh horſe were entirely defeated, together with nine battalions of foot, that eſcaped by favour of the night; and the main body of the army, which was encamped at ſome diſtance from the place of action, retreated with great precipitation to Lerida. General Staremberg purſued them to Saragoſſa, where he found them drawn up in order of battle; and an engagement enſuing on the nineteenth of Auguſt, O. S. the Imperialiſts gained a complete victory over that army, in which Philip and his adherents had placed their chief hopes, and which was commanded by the marquis de Bay, an unfortunate general. On this occaſion the enemy loſt five thouſand men killed, ſeven thouſand taken, together with all their artillery, and a great number of colours and ſtandards. It is obſervable, that though the two rival kings were both within reach of their armies, and had actually reviewed them ſome few days before, yet neither were preſent at this battle: of all the princes for whom Europe was up in arms, the duke of Savoy was the only one who fought his own battles. In conſequence of this victory, king Charles entered Saragoſſa ** in triumph; while Philip retired with the remains of his army to Madrid, from whence having

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* Doway, or Douay, is a ſtrong city of the Low Countries, in the earldom of Flanders, the marquiſate of the territory of Doway; an univerſity, ſubject to the French, and taken by them in 1667. It ſtands on the river Scarp, between Artois and Hainault, thirteen miles almoſt north of Cambray, fifteen almoſt eaſt of Arras, and thirty-five weſt of Mons.

† Arras is the capital of Artois, in the French Netherlands, a regular fortified town, with a ſtrong citadel on the river Scarpe. It is the ſee of a biſhop, under the archbiſhop of Cambray. The tapeſtry made here, which from the town was firſt called Arras, is indeed beautiful, but comes ſhort of that of Paris, Bruſſels, or Antwerp. It lies twelve miles ſouth-weſt of Doway.

‡ Bethune is a fortified town of French Flanders in Artois, and in a diſtrict bearing its name, with a ſtrong caſtle. The town is meanly built, but has a large and fine ſquare for a market-place. It lies thirteen miles north of Arras.

‖ St. Venant is a town of the Low Countries, in the earldom of Artois. It ſtands by the borders of Flanders, about four miles eaſt of Aire, twenty-ſix ſouth of Dunkirk, and as many north of Arras.

§ Aire is a large and handſome city of France; it ſtands upon the Lys, twenty-five miles ſouth of Dunkirk, twenty-eight north-weſt of Arras, and twenty-ſix eaſt of Boulogne.

¶ Broderick. Hiſt. of Europe. Voltaire.

** Saragoſſa is a fine large city, and the capital of Arragon, in Spain, ſurrounded with old walls and other antique fortifications, at the confluence of the rivers Ebro, Galleyo, and Guerva, which run in a ſerpentine manner through the neighbourhood, rendering the country very fruitful. It lies one hundred and fifty-ſix miles weſt of Barcelona, and one hundred and eighty north-eaſt of Madrid. The ſtreets are broad and long, adorned on both ſides with ſtately palaces, belonging to the grandees of the kingdom of Arragon. This city was the de-

having ſent his queen and ſon to a place of greater ſafety, he repaired to Valladolid *, in order to aſſemble his ſcattered troops, and compoſe another army.

It is acknowleged on all hands, that Charles was indebted for this victory to the bravery of the Engliſh troops, who, in this action, ſurpaſſed their uſual proweſs: his triumph, however, proved but ſhort-lived. A council was held at Saragoſſa, to deliberate on the moſt effectual means for improving the late ſucceſs, when general Staremberg propoſed remaining in Arragon and Catalonia, and for the army to form the ſiege of Lerida; but general Stanhope ſtrongly inſiſted on the expediency of marching immediately to Madrid, alleging, that the city was altogether defenceleſs; that the ſoldiers would have an opportunity greatly to enrich themſelves; that the army might be refreſhed with all kind of proviſions; and laſtly, that king Charles being in poſſeſſion of the capital of the kingdom, would have a great influence in bringing the Spaniards over to his ſide. Unfortunately this advice prevailed; and, after ſtaying ſome time at Saragoſſa, to refreſh his troops, Charles ſet out for Madrid, into which city he made his entry on the twenty-eighth of September, from whence he ſent a detachment to take poſſeſſion of Toledo, which, lying upon the Tagus, was looked upon as an advantageous poſt for facilitating a conjunction with the Portugueſe, under the earl of Galway. But that people having had ſuch ill ſucceſs in their former march to Madrid, could never be brought to attempt that route again.

The day that Charles entered Madrid proved the moſt diſgraceful of his life; he found the city abandoned by all the grandees, and had the additional mortification to perceive that the Caſtilians were to a man attached to his competitor. Hardly would the people deign to look upon him, the citizens ſhut up their ſhops, and kept themſelves cloſe within their houſes; the money which he ordered to be thrown to the populace in the ſtreets, was left untouched; a company of players having acted a piece compoſed in honour of him and his ſucceſſes, many of them were knocked on the head, and the author who had written it was found murdered in the ſtreets the next day. Charles, a day or two after his entry, had ſent to the marquis de Manſera to come to kiſs his hand: this nobleman, deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious families in Spain, and preſident of the council of Caſtile, was near an hundred years of age, and it was thought that his ſubmiſſion would have great weight in determining the reſt of the nobility, as well as the people, in favour of the Auſtrian prince; but the marquis was not to be ſhaken: he ſent by the perſon who came to him from Charles, the following remarkable anſwer; "I have but one faith, and one king, who is Philip V. to whom I have ſworn allegiance. I reſpect the archduke as a great prince, but can never acknowlege him as my ſovereign. I have lived near an hundred years, and have never done any thing contrary to my duty, and I am determined not to bring diſhonour upon myſelf during the little time I have to live."

Theſe were not the only mortifications Charles had to encounter: his rival, Philip, was ſoon in a condition to face him again in the field. The king of France, at the earneſt requeſt of his grand-ſon, ſent the duke of Vendoſme to take the command of the Spaniſh army, which was at the ſame time reinforced by detachments of French troops. Vendoſme's reputation was alone worth an army; the Caſtilians flocked in crowds to his ſtandard; in fine, within three months after his fatal defeat at Saragoſſa, Philip found himſelf at the head of thirty thouſand men, and now marched in queſt of thoſe before whom he had formerly fled.

Charles III. was by no means in a condition to keep the field againſt ſo powerful an enemy: he had been neglected by thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to ſupport him; the Engliſh government, under the influence of a great general, had all along ſlighted the war in Spain, to laviſh millions in the Netherlands; Charles therefore, about the middle of November, found himſelf under the diſagreeable neceſſity of marching back to Saragoſſa, and cantoned his troops in the neighbourhood of Cifuentes, where general Staremberg fixed his head-quarters. Vendoſme, well knowing the weakneſs of the allies, immediately marched in purſuit of them, in order to force them to an engagement before they ſhould be able to reach Catalonia: he came up with their rear at Brihuega, on the twenty-ſixth of November, where he ſurpriſed general Stanhope, with a body of two thouſand men, who, with the general and all their officers †, were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

General Stanhope, upon the firſt approach of the enemy, had ſent an account of his ſituation to Staremberg, who immediately aſſembled the troops, and ſet out to his relief; but all was over before he arrived, and he had the additional misfortune to find himſelf compelled to come to action near Villa Vicioſa ‡, with an enemy near double his number. They fell upon his left wing, but this gallant officer made ſuch a noble defence, that, though he had only ſeven hundred horſe to oppoſe againſt a body of ſix thouſand horſe and foot, the enemy were conſtrained to bring up their whole army to the charge: then, overpowered by numbers, courage could no longer avail, and the left wing of the allies was entirely routed; but the victors, inſtead of purſuing their blow, began to plunder the baggage, which Staremberg perceiving, brought up his right wing, and charged the enemy with ſuch bravery and conduct, that he put them to the rout, retook the cannon which had fallen into their hands, toge-

light of Julius Cæſar, who erected here a very magnificent palace for himſelf (now inhabited by the archbiſhop), and built a large ſtone bridge over the Ebro, oppoſite to the middle of the town, conſiſting of a great number of arches, which is now as firm and ſtrong as if it was a modern ſtructure. To perpetuate his munificence to this city, he called it after his own name, Cæſaris Auguſta, which we eaſily trace in the name Saragoſſa.

* Valladolid is an ancient city of Old Caſtile, in Spain, on the banks of the Piſuerga, in a moſt delightful ſituation on a fertile plain. The inhabitants make up about four thouſand families, among whom whom is a great number of nobility and gentry. It is the ſee of a biſhop, has an univerſity, and a conſiderable trade. Among the other ſtately buildings, the Great Piazza is one of the nobleſt, being the model of that of Madrid, conſiſting of five hundred arches, with gilded balconies. The city is encircled with a wall, but is not a place of ſtrength. Here are about ſeventy convents, for both ſexes. It lies eighty-ſix miles north-weſt of Madrid.

† Among whom were three lieutenant-generals, one major-general, and one brigadier.

‡ A town of New Caſtile, forty-ſeven miles north-eaſt of Madrid.

ther with the Spaniſh artillery, and remained maſter of the field, where he continued till eight o'clock next day, the enemy retiring in diſorder: but the allied army had ſuffered ſo ſeverely in the action, that the general found he could not maintain his ground, and therefore, having cauſed the cannon to be nailed up, he returned to Saragoſſa, from whence he marched into Catalonia, whither he was followed by Vendoſme, who obliged him to take refuge under the walls of Barcelona. In the mean time the duke de Noailles, another French general, laid ſiege to Gironne, which he took, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the ſeaſon (it being now the month of December); ſo that Charles was now confined to the ſingle province of Catalonia, and even that lay open to the incurſions of the enemy ‖

After the battle of Villa Vicioſa, Charles's affairs became every day more and more deſperate. The Portugueſe were ſo far from being in a condition to afford him any ſuccours, that it was with difficulty they could defend their own country againſt the encroachments of the enemy. The earl of Galway had returned to England, to ſolicit ſupplies of men and money from the miniſtry, but they were too much taken up with party diſtractions at home to attend to foreign affairs; or, indeed, the Engliſh were now almoſt weary of laviſhing their treaſures, and draining the veins of their brave countrymen, without any proſpect of advantage to themſelves. They began to feel the evils of ſo long and burdenſome a war, and a ſudden revolution of affairs at length put an end to the public calamities, and to the triumphs of thoſe who had alone profited by them. This great change ſeems to have been chiefly brought about by the affair of Dr. Sacheverel. In the courſe of that gentleman's trial, and in the debates in parliament conſequent thereupon, the Whig party had declaimed againſt monarchical power in ſuch indecent terms as had given great offence to the queen, who had aſſiſted at them all incognita, and found herſelf, by their doctrine, reduced to a mere creature of the people's, and that ſhe had in effect given her confidence to a ſet of people who were, by their very principles, the profeſſed enemies to monarchy. Her majeſty, however, did not ſuffer herſelf to be carried away by theſe firſt impreſſions; ſhe reſolved to examine the matter more cloſely. She had for ſome time been cooled in her affection towards the ducheſs of Marlborough, who had hitherto governed her in the moſt abſolute manner: this change of diſpoſition towards the favourite was not occaſioned by caprice or inconſtancy, but was the pure reſult of reaſon, repeatedly offended by the inſupportable haughtineſs with which that lady had treated her royal miſtreſs.

I have already obſerved, that the queen had taken into her favour Mrs. Maſham, a lady poſſeſſed of every requiſite to make her the agreeable companion and confidante. The ducheſs became extravagantly jealous: ſhe reproached the queen with her coolneſs towards her, in terms that would hardly be ſupportable from an equal. This naturally widened the breach; her majeſty languiſhed for want of that liberty which the meaneſt of her ſubjects enjoyed, that of thinking and chuſing for themſelves. Whilſt the ducheſs thus governed the queen, her huſband governed the ſtate; he had the Treaſury at his command, through the means of the lord-treaſurer Godolphin, his ſon-in law; Sunderland, who had married another of his daughters, and was ſecretary of ſtate, ſubmitted every thing in the cabinet to him; and the queen's houſhold, where his wife had unlimited controul, was at his devotion: he was maſter of the army, and had the diſpoſal of all military poſts.

It happened, about the beginning of this year, that Mrs. Maſham, the queen's new favourite, aſked a vacant regiment for her brother, Mr. Hill. The queen wrote to the duke, deſiring him to beſtow it upon Mr. Hill; the duke refuſed it, upon which ſhe gave it to him herſelf. Matters grew warm between both parties; his grace affected to think himſelf ill uſed, and refuſed to come to council; but the queen was ſo ſurrounded by his partiſans, that, finding they were determined to clog the wheels of government, rather than their patron ſhould be thwarted in any of his meaſures, ſhe was forced to write to the duke, to diſpoſe of the regiment as he ſhould think proper, and to deſire he would appear as uſual in the cabinet.

It was at this juncture that a certain ſet of men, called Tories, reſolved to reſcue their ſovereign from the domeſtic ſlavery in which ſhe was held, and to give peace to their country, exhauſted by a war, in which it had been made the tool of half Europe. I am well aware that it has been alleged by a great number of writers, copying the one after the other, that this was the laſt effort of a party, determined, if poſſible, to place the pretender on the throne of England; but there appears no juſt foundation for charging the Tories with harbouring any ſuch deſign: it is, indeed, very probable there might be ſome Jacobites among them, who ſecretly wiſhed for ſuch a revolution; nay, who would, perhaps, have ventured a great deal to effect it; but it is certain they carefully concealed their deſigns from the party with whom they aſſociated, well knowing that the Tories could never be brought to alter that ſucceſſion which they themſelves had eſtabliſhed.

The Tories made uſe of Mrs. Maſham's intereſt with the queen to operate the change they meditated. That lady, as I have elſewhere obſerved, was intimately connected with Mr. Harley, the late ſecretary of ſtate, who, from time to time, directed her in what manner ſhe was to carry it with the queen, and what ſprings to put in motion, in order to effect the deſired purpoſe. Maſham, agreeable to her inſtructions, left no one winning art untried to fix herſelf in the eſteem of her royal miſtreſs. She ſucceeded to the height of her wiſhes: ſhe then ventured to engage her majeſty in converſations of a political turn, in the courſe of which ſhe took opportunities of acquainting her with many things to which ſhe had hitherto been kept an utter ſtranger; and when ſhe found ſhe had awakened her curioſity, ſhe referred her for farther ſatisfaction to her relation Mr. Harley, of whom the queen had entertained an high opinion. That ſtateſman was admitted to ſeveral private conferences with the queen, to which he was introduced by Mrs. Maſham, at certain appointed hours: by him her majeſty was informed of the general diſcontent which prevailed throughout the kingdom, at ſeeing its moſt eſſential intereſts ſacrificed to gratify the ambitious and

‖ Burnet. Tindal. Hiſt. of Europe, 1710.

greedy views of a private family, who lorded it even over majeſty itſelf. He aſſured her, that the majority of the kingdom were inſpired with principles of true loyalty, and entirely devoted to her ſervice; and engaged, if ſhe would remove from about her perſon the petty tyrants who kept her enſlaved, and call a new parliament, ſuch repreſentatives would be ſent up as were the trueſt friends to monarchy and the eſtabliſhed church, as well as to the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

Won by theſe arguments, the queen reſolved upon a total change of the miniſtry. It was, however, ſome time before ſhe declared herſelf, for theſe matters were agitated as early as the ſpring of this year. In the mean time the ducheſs of Marlborough, finding a viſible alteration in her majeſty's behaviour towards her, deſired an audience, in order to juſtify herſelf of any thing that might be laid to her charge: ſhe hoped to work upon the queen's tenderneſs, and retrieve the influence ſhe had loſt; ſhe had recourſe to tears and ſupplications, but they proved in vain; the queen began to taſte the ſweets of acting independent of the haughty will of an inferior, and diſmiſſed her with this reply, "You deſired no anſwer, and none you ſhall have;" alluding to an expreſſion the ducheſs had uſed in one of her letters to her majeſty *. After this interview, which happened on the ſixth of April, the queen never ſaw the ducheſs, nor had any correſpondence with her, except twice on public occaſions; for ſhe was not yet diveſted of her employments, it being, perhaps, not yet determined who ſhould ſucceed her.

At length the queen reſolved to break through all obſtacles, which that family and its numerous friends and adherents had laid in her way, and ſhew the Whigs ſhe could reign without them. In the firſt place, about the beginning of June, ſhe removed the earl of Sunderland from his office of ſecretary of ſtate, and gave the ſeals to the earl of Dartmouth, one of the lords commiſſioners of trade, and ſon-in-law to the earl of Nottingham; when the moneymongers, who had fattened on the public taxes, fearing that another miniſtry might not be for keeping up the war ſo warmly as the preſent, tried every expedient to ſupport the tottering intereſt of the Whigs: ſeveral rich citizens, as well in private life as in public offices, waited on the queen with an addreſs, repreſenting, that the public credit could not be ſupported but by the preſent miniſtry. The city of London have, indeed, more than once affected to make the intereſt of a party that of the nation, and to dictate to their ſovereign in the choice of miniſters. But the moſt aſtoniſhing piece of inſolence was that offered by the Dutch, who ſeeing that they could never find a miniſtry and a general more completely their friends than thoſe who had now the management of the cabinet and the field, commiſſioned their envoy, Mr. Vryberge, to preſent a memorial to her majeſty, repreſenting the diſmal effects a change in her miniſtry would produce abroad. The queen with great juſtice highly reſented this procedure, and returned for anſwer, "that ſhe was ſurpriſed a matter of this kind ſhould come from the States; that it was the greateſt inſult that was ever offered to the crown of England: however, it ſhould not leſſen the eſteem ſhe had of her allies, or alter her reſolution in her own affairs."

Accordingly her majeſty proceeded to make other changes. On the eighth of Auguſt, the treaſurer's ſtaff was taken from the earl of Godolphin; and John, earl Powlett, Robert Harley, eſq. ſir Thomas Manſel, baronet, and Robert Benſon, eſq. were made commiſſioners of the treaſury; and at the ſame time Mr. Harley was appointed chancellor of the Exchequer and under-treaſurer, in the room of Mr. Smith: Mr. St. John was made ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of Mr. Boyle; ſir Simon Harcourt lord-keeper, in the room of lord chancellor Cowper, who reſigned; the earl of Rocheſter preſident of the council, in the room of lord Somers; the duke of Buckingham ſteward of the houſhold, in the room of the duke of Devonſhire; the earl of Portmore was appointed general of the forces in Portugal, in the room of lord Galway; and the duke of Ormond was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in the room of the earl of Wharton: an alteration was alſo made in the lieutenancy of London. All theſe changes were in favour of the Tories, and were ſoon followed by others; and finally, in favour of them, the parliament was diſſolved in September, and a proclamation iſſued for calling a new one, in which, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the Whigs, they were able to carry the elections of a very few members only. Before theſe changes, upon the death of lord chief-juſtice Holt, ſir Thomas Parker, a famous manager againſt Dr. Sacheverel, was made lord chief-juſtice of the Queen's Bench.

The new parliament met on the twenty-fifth of November, when Mr. Bromley was choſen ſpeaker without oppoſition, and approved by the queen, who, on the twenty-ſeventh, made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which ſhe recommended proſecuting the war with vigour, eſpecially in Spain; ſhe declared herſelf reſolved to ſupport the church of England, to preſerve the Britiſh conſtitution agreeable to the Union, to maintain the indulgence allowed by law to ſcrupulous conſciences, and to employ none but ſuch as were heartily attached to the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover. The lords and commons, in their reſpective addreſſes, at preſent concurred with her majeſty's ſentiments of carrying on the war vigorouſly, eſpecially in Spain, and in embracing all reaſonable meaſures towards procuring an honourable peace. The commons were particularly warm and hearty in their aſſurances, exhorting her majeſty to diſcountenance all ſuch principles and meaſures as had lately threatened her royal crown and dignity; "meaſures which (ſay they), whenever they might prevail, will prove fatal to the whole conſtitution, both in church and ſtate †." By this, perhaps, they would be underſtood to mean the antimonarchical and levelling principles ſo freely broached by the Whigs in Sacheverel's affair, who, in their proceedings in relation to that madman (for he was little better), ſeemed rather to aim at caſting an odium on the clergy in general, and on the friends of kingly government, than to correct him for his private errors or miſtaken zeal. But to return.

The commons ſet about granting the ſupplies for the enſuing year ſo heartily, that the queen, by the

* Conduct of the Ducheſs of Marlborough.

† Burnet. Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iv.

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twenty third of December, paſſed the land-tax bill, of four ſhillings in the pound. In the houſe of peers, the earl of Scarborough moved, that the thanks of the houſe ſhould be returned to the duke of Marlborough; but ſome objections being ſtarted thereto, that general's friends did not think proper to puſh it, for fear of meeting with a rebuff, that would ſtill leſſen his and their credit.

About the beginning of December the earl of Peterborough was nominated to go ambaſſador extraordinary to the court of Vienna, as was the earl of Rivers to that of Hanover, and Mr. Hill was appointed envoy extraordinary to the States-general, in the room of lieutenant-general Cadogan. About the ſame time lieutenant-general Meredith, major-general M'Cartney, and brigadier Honeywood, on information laid and proved againſt them for having drank "damnation to the new miniſtry and the enemies of the duke of Marlborough," were deprived of their regiments, as an example to deter other officers of the army, many of whom had let fallen expreſſions that favoured ſtrongly of ſupporting their general in an unwarrantable manner. Indeed, this period of the Engliſh hiſtory appears diſgraced by the violent and rancorous conduct of two turbulent factions; for when the duke of Marlborough arrived in England, towards the latter end of December this year, the party in power, not contented with humbling him by the diſmiſſion of all his friends, ſuffered him to be inſulted and reviled in the groſſeſt manner by their underſtrappers and hirelings; while his grace, in juſtice be it acknowleged, acquieſced in his ſovereign's will with a moderation that did him great honour: he avoided all ſhew of popularity, he attended his duty at the council-board, nor did he take the leaſt notice of the rancorous libels in which he was every day traduced: however, perceiving the queen's affection was wholly alienated from his ducheſs, he carried to her majeſty a reſignation of her places, which were thoſe of groom of the ſtole, miſtreſs of the robes, and keeper of the privy-purſe: the two firſt the queen beſtowed on the ducheſs of Somerſet, and the laſt upon the new favourite, Mrs. Maſham.

News being arrived at court of the ill ſucceſs of our affairs in Spain, her majeſty, on the third of January, 1711, ſent a meſſage to the two houſes to impart to them the ſubſtance of the diſpatches ſhe had received; upon which they returned an addreſs, by way of anſwer, importing, "that as the misfortune in Spain might have been occaſioned by ſome preceding miſmanagement, they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to diſcover it, ſo as to prevent the like for the future." Some attempts had been made before, in the houſe of lords, to procure the thanks of that houſe to the earl of Peterborough, for his ſervices in that country, but the ſame had been eluded by the Whigs, under various pretences; but now, upon the duke of Beaufort's motion, their lordſhips made application to the queen, to ſtay for ſome days the earl's journey to Vienna, that they might make uſe of ſuch lights and informations as he was able to give them, concerning the affairs in Spain: and having taken thoſe affairs into conſideration on the fifth of January, in a committee of the whole houſe, his lordſhip was examined by them, when he gave a full relation of all facts and tranſactions in the courſe of the war, in which he obliquely charged the earl of Galway, lord Tyrawley, and general Stanhope, with all the miſcarriages which had happened therein. The lords, either being, or affecting to be perfectly ſatisfied with this nobleman's teſtimony, came to the following reſolution: "That the earl of Peterborough had given a faithful account of the councils of war in Valencia." Several lords, indeed, entered their diſſent againſt this vote After this the lords ordered the earl of Galway and lord Tyrawley to appear before them the next day, which they did accordingly; when the firſt of theſe noblemen gave their lordſhips an account of his conduct, from his firſt ſetting out for Portugal till the time he was recalled; but deſired, as he ſaid his memory might fail him, that he might be allowed to give in writing what he had delivered by word of mouth, which was granted. The lord Tyrawley was more upon the reſerve, ſaying, "He kept no diary, and always carried a ſword, which he uſed the beſt he could, upon occaſion."

On the ninth, the lords entered into a very memorable debate upon this affair, at which the queen was preſent, and heard it all. Upon ſumming up the matter, it was thought by all impartial perſons, that if the earl of Peterborough's advice had been followed, both before, at, and after the council of war in Valencia, things would have ſucceeded better in Spain. Be that as it may, it having been carried, upon the queſtion, to give the earl the thanks of the houſe, it was accordingly done by the lord-keeper Harcourt, who could not help taking this opportunity to reflect obliquely on the great rewards that had been beſtowed on the duke of Marlborough. The houſe alſo came to the following reſolutions: "That the earl of Galway, lord Tyrawley, and general Stanhope, by adviſing an offenſive war in Spain, had been the unhappy occaſion of the battle of Almanza, and one great cauſe of our misfortunes in Spain, and of the diſappointment of the expedition againſt Toulon. They farther voted, "That the proſecution of an offenſive war in Spain, was approved and directed by the miniſters, who were therefore juſtly blameable, as having contributed to our misfortunes in that kingdom, and to the diſappointment of the expedition againſt Toulon: that the earl of Peterborough, during his command in Spain, had performed many great and eminent ſervices; and if his opinion had been followed, it would have prevented the misfortunes that ſucceeded."

Finding alſo that the earl of Galway had given the right of the combined army (which is the poſt of honour) to the Portugeſe, at the battle of Almanza, they reſolved, "That the earl, in yielding that point, had acted contrary to the honour of the imperial crown of Great Britain." The earl had alleged in his defence, that, by the treaty with Portugal, the troops of that crown were to have the right in their own country, and that, in order to engage them to march to Madrid, he was obliged to allow them the ſame honour, without which they would not have ſtirred out of Portugal. Though this apology carried great reaſon with it, yet, leſt ſuch a condeſcenſion ſhould be drawn into precedent, they thought fit to paſs the above reſolution, which was carried by a majority of ſixty-four againſt forty-four. The ſeveral reſolutions above recited were included in an addreſs to the queen, and to every ſeparate vote was attached a

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ſevere proteſt*. In ſhort, both ſides ſeemed to be leſs actuated with a regard for candour and national juſtice, than with the venom of party zeal and rancorous animoſity.

While the lords were employed in this enquiry, the commons examined certain abuſes which had crept into the management of the navy; and ſome cenſures were paſſed upon certain perſons concerned in contracts for victualling the ſeamen. An enquiry was alſo made upon what invitation or encouragement the poor Palatines had come to England; and ſeveral votes were paſſed againſt the adviſer of that meaſure. This enquiry begat ſuch an heat in the houſe, that they paſſed a bill to repeal the act for a general naturalization of all proteſtants; but this was rejected by the houſe of lords. Another bill was enacted into a law, importing, that no perſon ſhould be capable of repreſenting a county in parliament, unleſs he poſſeſſed an eſtate of ſix hundred pounds a year; and that every burgeſs ſhould have an annual income of half that ſum. The deſign of this bill was to exclude trading people from the houſe of commons, and to lodge the legiſlative power with the landed gentlemen †.

About the latter end of January the duke of Argyll was appointed ambaſſador extraordinary to king Charles III. and commander in chief of her majeſty's forces in Spain. In the ſame month, ſir John Leake was made admiral and commander in chief of the fleet, in the room of Matthew Aylmer, eſq. and ſir Thomas Hardy was made rear-admiral of the blue. Not long after, the lord viſcount Townſhend, her majeſty's ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States general was recalled, and the lord Raby was appointed to ſucceed him.

On the eighth of March, being the day of her majeſty's acceſſion to the throne, the marquis de Guiſcard, a French refugee, was apprehended for high-treaſon, by virtue of a warrant from Mr. Secretary St. John. This was the ſame perſon, of whoſe project for the invaſion of France I have already taken notice. The late miniſtry had ſuch a confidence in him, that they had procured him a penſion, for which it may be juſtly ſuppoſed he was to act the part of a ſpy for them; but inſtead of that he played the counterpart, which was diſcovered by Mr. Harley, who got poſſeſſion of ſome letters he was ſending to the court of France, upon which he was ſeized.

While he was under examination at the council-board, the deſperate villain took an opportunity to ſtab Mr. Harley in two places in the breaſt, with a pen-knife he had concealed about him. One or two of the lords preſent ſeeing Mr. Harley fall, drew their ſwords, and wounded the aſſaſſin in ſeveral places: the door-keeper, alarmed with the noiſe, ruſhed in and ſecured him, though with difficulty (for he made a deſperate reſiſtance), and conveyed him to Newgate, where he ſoon after died of the wounds he had received. Mr. Harley continued for ſome time in a dangerous way, but at length happily recovered This attempt upon his life, however, by an emiſſary of France, did great ſervice to his political character. The two houſes, in addreſſes to the queen, declared their belief that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her majeſty, and his zeal for her ſervice, had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery: they entreated her to take all poſſible care of her ſacred perſon. A proclamation was accordingly iſſued, commanding all papiſts to remove a certain diſtance from the metropolis; and the queen returned a very affectionate anſwer to the addreſſes of her parliament. At the ſame time, in order to prevent the like deſperate attempts for the future, an act was paſſed, making it felony without benefit of clergy, to attempt the life of a privy-counſellor, in the execution of his office.

On the ſeventeenth of April, 1711, an expreſs arrived at court, with the news that the emperor Joſeph I. died of the ſmall-pox, at Vienna, on the ſeventeenth of April, N. S. He left the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria and the German empire, together with the pretenſions to Spain and the Weſt Indies, to his brother Charles, who was elected emperor, ſome months afterwards.

The earl of Rocheſter dying this ſpring, who was the only competitor in the royal favour with Mr. Harley, that gentleman ſoon became ſole miniſter; and on the fourteenth of May was created baron of Wigmore, in the county of Hereford, and raiſed to the rank of earl by the ancient and noble titles of Oxford and Mortimer; and, as a farther inſtance of her regard towards him, her majeſty was pleaſed to appoint him lord high-treaſurer of Great Britain. The new prime miniſter, upon his acceſſion to power, ſaw it to be his intereſt, as well as that of his country, to put an end to the war with France and Spain as ſoon as poſſible: yet, as he could not avoid carrying on the war at leaſt for this year, and until he could more firmly fix himſelf in power, he judged it principally neceſſary to find means to quiet the minds of the moneyed people, and reſtore the public credit, which the Whig party, on their diſmiſſion, had uſed all their endeavours to impair; and to bring all parties into good humour, he this ſeſſion introduced the great project of paying the public debts, by incorporating a trading company to the South Seas: upon this plan, however, more was built than the foundation would bear. The original deſign of allowing ſix per cent. to people who had truſted the government with their money, was certainly a very commendable ſcheme, and an eaſy method of liquidating that great debt; though poſſibly the giving out, that the ſtock would produce fifty or ſixty per cent. might do more miſchief than all the other projects for raiſing money, whether by lottery or otherwiſe, ſince the war commenced.

Before the ſeſſion broke up, the commons, in conſequence of an addreſs from the houſe of convocation, then ſitting, and a meſſage from the queen, enforcing the ſame, paſſed a bill for building fifty new churches in the ſuburbs of London and Weſtminſter, and allotted for this purpoſe a duty upon coals, which had been granted for the rebuilding the cathedral of St. Paul, now finiſhed. Towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion, the commons preſented a very ſevere remonſtrance, or repreſentation to the queen, charging the late miniſtry with great malverſation in the management of the treaſury, the navy, and the army, by which the nation had been needleſsly loaded with a

* Burnet. Tindal. Parliamentary Debates. Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, iv. † Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iv.

very heavy debt. This remonſtrance being circulated through the nation, awakened the kingdom to a ſtrict conſideration of its condition: beſides, the death of the emperor Joſeph had in part diſſipated thoſe prejudices, which had put arms into the hands of ſo many nations. The Engliſh in particular began to reflect, that as the war had been undertaken to prevent Lewis XIV. from governing Spain, America, Lombardy, and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, in the name of his grand-ſon, it would be highly abſurd for us to exhauſt our treaſures, and weary ourſelves in efforts, to unite all theſe kingdoms in the family of Charles, whoſe ſucceſſion to the empire was in a manner ſecured. We had already been at greater expence in the war than Germany and Holland together: the expence of this year alone amounted to near ſeven millions ſterling; what ſufficient reaſon then could be brought, for the nation's ruining itſelf merely to procure a part of Flanders for the Dutch, our avowed rivals in trade? Such were the arguments made uſe of by the unprejudiced part of the people, by the partiſans of the new miniſtry, and in fine by all thoſe who had not private and lucrative views to anſwer by the continuation of the war; and theſe arguments emboldened the queen and her new counſellors to prepare matters for a general peace.

On the twelfth of June her majeſty came to the houſe of peers, and the commons being ſent for up, ſhe made a ſpeech to both houſes, and then put an end to the ſeſſion.

The king of Pruſſia, and ſeveral other princes in the grand alliance, inſiſting on the arrears due to their forces from the States-general, before they would ſuffer them to march out of their winter-quarters, the campaign did not begin ſo ſoon in Flanders as it was intended; but theſe difficulties being adjuſted, the duke of Marlborough, to whom the queen ſtill continued the command of her army, with the diſpoſal of all military offices, repaired to the continent, and aſſembled the army, on the thirtieth of April, at Orchies, between Liſle and Douay: the next day he paſſed the Scarpe, and encamped between Douay and Bouchain; while the enemy, under marſhal Villars, poſted themſelves behind the Sanſet, in a camp that was looked upon as inacceſſible. Prince Eugene of Savoy being detained at Vienna on occaſion of the emperor's death, did not join the duke of Marlborough till the twenty-third of May.

On the fourteenth of June the army under the duke reſumed its march, and having paſſed the canal of Arleux and the Scarpe, near Vitri, in preſence of the enemy, encamped in the plains of Lens; the ſame day prince Eugene marched with the Imperial and Palatine troops, conſiſting of fifty ſquadrons and twelve battalions, to the Upper Rhine, to make head againſt the French on that ſide, who gave out, that they intended to penetrate again into Bavaria, and harraſs the empire while it remained without a head.

On the other hand, marſhal Villars thought his lines ſo ſecure and impenetrable, that he bid defiance to all the efforts of the duke of Marlborough. Theſe lines began at Bouchain, on the Scheld, and were continued, along the Sanſet and the Scarpe, to Arras; and from thence, along the Upper Scarpe and the river Ugy, to the Canche, the opening between theſe rivers being entrenched and fortified, with all poſſible care, by a large ditch, defended with redoubts and other works. But Marlborough, whoſe knowlege in the art of war could be only equalled by the conſtant ſucceſs that ever waited on his arms, by a feigned march ſo diverted the mind of Villars, that he entered the French lines on the fourth of Auguſt, O. S. near Arleux, without any oppoſition; Villars taking it for granted, that his grace's intention was to attack him on the ſide of St. Omer's, whither he had for ſome time ſeemed to have directed his manœuvres. This was acknowleged to be the boldeſt attempt that had been made during the whole war, and did infinite honour to Marlborough; while Villars was not only cenſured at Paris, but even ridiculed by his own officers. Malevolence is ever blind to merit: notwithſtanding this maſter-piece of military ſkill, the hirelings of faction were ſet to work at home, to depreciate the Engliſh general by every method they could deviſe; they not only endeavoured to ridicule the laſt action, as a thing of no importance, but they even taxed the duke with having removed his camp from a convenient ſituation to a place where the troops were in danger of ſtarving. Whatever might be the errors or weakneſſes of the duke of Marlborough, nothing could be more provoking and ungrateful than ſuch treatment of a great man, who had done ſo much honour to his country, and was then actually expoſing his life in its ſervice: at a time too, when he knew himſelf to be in diſgrace with his ſovereign, and ſingled out by a powerful party as the object of their reſentment. Thus much candour exacts from the hiſtorian, who, while he fearleſsly lays open the failings, ſhould never invidiouſly conceal or detract from the merit of diſtinguiſhed perſonages. But to return.

On the tenth of Auguſt the duke inveſted Bouchain, contrary to the opinion of the deputies of the States-general, who propoſed that he ſhould give battle to the enemy, who had paſſed the Scheld at Creveœur, in order to cover Bouchain; but the duke prudently reſolved not to hazard an engagement within the French lines, rightly judging, that any misfortune there might be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. The reduction of Bouchain, however, was in general conſidered as impracticable, inaſmuch as it was ſituated in the middle of a moraſs, ſtrongly fortified, ſupplied with ſtore of proviſions, defended by a numerous garriſon, and in the neighbourhood of an army ſuperior to that of the allies, who were likewiſe expoſed to the excurſions of the garriſon of Valenciennes and Condé. It was, indeed, hazarding a great deal; but daily experience ſhews, that a general accuſtomed to conqueſt, will attempt with confidence what the leſs fortunate cannot look upon without ſhuddering: perhaps, likewiſe, his grace might think his honour concerned, to excel himſelf, if poſſible, this campaign, becauſe his enemies had given out that nothing would be done this year in Flanders, the duke, they ſaid, being reſolved that nothing ſhould ſucceed under the preſent adminiſtration, if he could help it. However this might be, Marlborough, by his ſuperior ſkill and capacity, rendered ineffectual all the attempts that Villars made to raiſe the ſiege, baffled a ſcheme that general had formed to ſurpriſe Douay, and, by the aſſiſtance of the valour and intre-

intrepidity of the confederate troops, who idolized him, carried his purpoſe into execution. In twenty days after the trenches were opened, viz. on the thirtieth of Auguſt, O. S. Bouchain was compelled to ſurrender, on no better terms than the garriſon remaining priſoners of war. The duke would next have proceeded to the reduction of Queſnoy, in order to ſecure the whole quarter; but the deputies of the States refuſing their conſent, he was obliged to relinquiſh his intentions. The conqueſt of Bouchain was the laſt military atchievement performed by the duke of Marlborough, for by that time the breaches in the place were repaired, and the fort put into a proper poſture of defence, the ſeaſon of the year obliged the oppoſite armies to ſeparate, and the allied troops were quartered in the frontier towns, that they might be ready at hand to take the field early in the ſpring. The campaign in Flanders thus concluded, the duke returned to the Hague the latter end of October, and about the middle of November arrived in England *.

In the beginning of this year the duke of Argyll was appointed embaſſador extraordinary to king Charles III. and commander in chief of her majeſty's forces in Spain. His grace landed at Barcelona on the twenty ninth of May, and found the Britiſh troops in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of ſubſiſtence, ſo that it was very late before they could take the field; at length count Staremberg with the Spaniards and Germans, and the duke of Argyll with the Engliſh, advanced towards the enemy, who attacked him at the Prato del Rey, a conſiderable paſs, which was ſo vigorouſly defended by the confederates, that the duke of Vendoſme was obliged to retire, and leave them in poſſeſſion of the paſs. The duke of Argyll was ſoon after ſeized with a violent fever, and obliged to be carried back to Barcelona. In the beginning of June ſir John Jennings with a fleet arrived before that city, and ſuperſeded ſir John Norris, who returned to England. Vendoſme laid ſiege to the caſtle of Cardona in the month of Auguſt, which was gallantly defended till the end of December, when a detachment being ſent to the relief of the place by count Staremberg, defeated the beſiegers, killed two thouſand on the ſpot, and made themſelves maſters of all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage. Nothing farther of importance was tranſacted in this quarter this campaign; and the duke of Argyll being recovered from his illneſs, returned to England.

The electors of the empire appearing unanimouſly diſpoſed to beſtow the imperial crown on Charles, that prince, leaving his queen at Barcelona, ſet ſail for Italy in the month of September, and, after having had a conference with the duke of Savoy, who of late had appeared very cool in the proſecution of his engagements, repaired to Germany, where he was ſoon after elected to the imperial dignity, and declared emperor, by the name of Charles VI. and crowned with the uſual ſolemnity at Frankfort. No action happened on the Rhine this campaign, prince Eugene having taken effectual precautions againſt the attempts threatened by the enemy †.

Charles VI. ſoon after his acceſſion to the empire, concluded a treaty of pacification with the Hungarian malecontents ‡.

No action happened at ſea this year of any importance. The marine of France was in too deplorable a ſituation to make any figure on that element. The famous du Gué Trouin, who had not as yet any rank in the ſea-ſervice, with the aſſiſtance of ſome merchants who furniſhed him with money, fitted out a ſmall fleet, and ſailed to the Braſils, where he took one of the principal cities the Portugueſe had on that coaſt, called St Sebaſtian de Rio Janiero. He and his crew returned home laden with riches, and the Portugueſe ſuffered a very conſiderable loſs by this expedition; but the miſchief he had done in the Braſils did not alleviate the miſeries of France §.

The new Britiſh miniſtry had laid a plan, in the ſpring of this year, at the ſolicitation of general Nicholſon (who came to England purpoſely on that deſign) for the attack of Placentia, in Newfoundland, and (which was ſtill of more importance) for the conqueſt of Quebec, and the reſt of Canada, from France: troops were accordingly brought over early in the year from Flanders; and in the month of May, a powerful armament, conſiſting of twelve ſail of the line and fifty tranſports, having on board five thouſand men, under the command of brigadier Hill (brother to Mrs. Maſham), ſailed from Plymouth: ſir Hovenden Walker had the command of the fleet. At Boſton, in New England, they were joined by two regiments of provincials, and about four thouſand men, compoſed of American planters, Palatines, and Indians. At this place they were detained ſo long for want of proviſions, which it is ſaid they ought to have carried out with them from England, that it was the beginning of Auguſt before they ſailed into the river St. Lawrence, which was conſiderably too late in the year. General Nicholſon, with the provincials, Palatines, and Indians, proceeded overland to Albany, which was to be the general rendezvous. But when the fleet had got a little way up that dangerous river, they were attacked, on the twenty-firſt of Auguſt, by a violent ſtorm, and driven among the rocks, where eight tranſports were loſt, with about eight hundred men; and many other of the ſhips were miſerably ſhattered. The admiral, after this loſs, ſailed immediately back to Spaniſh River Bay, where it was reſolved, in a council of war, that, as the fleet and forces were victualled for ten weeks only, and as they could not depend upon ſupplies from New England, they ſhould return, which they accordingly did in October, without having made any attempt on the French at Placentia. This unſucceſsful expedition was the firſt and only warlike one undertaken by the new miniſtry; and the diſappointment was no ſmall mortification to them, as it had coſt the public a great ſum of money. To complete the misfortune, the admiral's ſhip, the Edgar, blew up at Spithead, with a great number of perſons on board (beſides the crew, conſiſting of four hundred men) who were come to welcome their friends home: the admiral, and the greateſt part of the officers happened fortunately to be on ſhore.

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* Broderick. Life of the Duke of Marlb. Hiſt. of Europe. † Burnet. ‡ Idem.
§ Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV.

Having given an account of the military tranſactions of this year, I ſhall next take a view of our civil affairs: and firſt of Ireland.

About the middle of June his grace the duke of Ormond, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, ſet out for that kingdom, and arrived at Dublin the third of July. On the twelfth of the ſame month the parliament aſſembled, to whom he made a ſpeech ſuitable to the preſent ſituation of affairs. I ſhall not enter into a detail of the particular matters tranſacted this ſeſſion, but only obſerve, that the majority of the peers ſhewed themſelves to be ſtrong friends to the Tory party and the new miniſtry in England; while the commons expreſſed no leſs zeal for the Whig intereſt. The commons being informed that the lords, in an addreſs to the queen this ſeſſion, had reflected on the honour of their houſe, and a paper, alleged to be a copy of the ſaid addreſs, being read, they immediately addreſſed the queen upon it. The lords, in their turn, addreſſed in vindication of their former addreſs; and alſo drew up a repreſentation, at the ſolicitation of the biſhops, againſt the diſſenters in that kingdom. In fine, the heats between the two houſes grew to an alarming height, ſo that the lord lieutenant found himſelf under a neceſſity to put an end to the ſeſſion, which he did on the ninth of November, after giving the royal aſſent to ſuch acts as were ready, and then returned to England.

In Scotland, the Jacobite party began to grow extremely inſolent upon the change in the miniſtry. The ducheſs of Gordon preſented the faculty of advocates with a ſilver medal, repreſenting the pretender, and on the reverſe the Britiſh iſlands, with the motto, REDDITE (return): the faculty received it, and even voted thanks to the ducheſs for this token of her regard. This affair made a very great noiſe: the matter was laid before the queen, who ordered the lord-advocate of Scotland to enquire into the particulars. The faculty, dreading the conſequences of their fooliſh proceeding, paſſed a ſolemn act, by which they declared their attachment to the queen and the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and alleged in their excuſe, that the affair of the medal had been tranſacted by a party at an occaſional meeting, and not by general conſent. The court was ſatisfied with this conceſſion; but the Hanoverian reſident having preſented a memorial to the queen, deſiring that ſome puniſhment might be inflicted on the principal perſons concerned in accepting the medal and returning thanks for the ſame, the government ordered a proſecution to be commenced againſt Dundaſs of Arniſtoun, and one Horne; and ſir David Dalrymple, the lord-advocate, was removed, on account of his remiſſneſs: and thus the affair was dropped ‖.

Both the queen and the miniſtry being now intent upon peace, and the French king having made new overtures this ſpring, Mr. Prior was ſent to France, in company with the abbot Gualtier. This perſon, during marſhal Tallard's embaſſy to king William, had acted as his chaplain; and ſoon after getting into the earl of Jerſey's acquaintance, who was ambaſſador in France after the peace of Ryſwick, and whoſe lady was a Roman Catholic, was retained in that nobleman's family: here he got acquainted with Mr. Prior, who was that earl's ſecretary. Afterwards, returning to England, he became chaplain to count Gallas, ambaſſador from Charles III. of Spain. The earl of Jerſey recommended him to Mr. Harley and Mr. St. John, as a proper perſon to go over with Mr. Prior to ſound the intentions of the court of France. They were to let the king of France know, that the preſent miniſtry were deſirous of peace; but that they would make it only on ſuch terms as ſhould be to the ſatisfaction of the allies of Great Britain, agreeable to the treaties and ſtipulations entered into by the confederates. They then propoſed, "That the trade of Holland ſhould be reſtored, and the Dutch have a barrier, as well as the emperor and the duke of Savoy, for their ſecurity: that care ſhould be taken to keep the balance in Italy; and that the crowns of France and Spain ſhould never be united. In relation to Great Britain, that our commerce ſhould be ſettled to the ſatisfaction of the Britiſh ſubjects; the government to be acknowledged in France, as now ſettled in Great Britain; Dunkirk to be demoliſhed; the Aſſiento to be enjoyed by Great Britain, after the peace, as the French had it at preſent; Newfoundland to be entirely given up to the Engliſh, but the trade of Hudſon's Bay to be continued in the hands of the French and Engliſh; and all things in America to remain in the ſtate they ſhould be found in, at the concluſion of the peace: that all advantages of trade granted to the French by the Spaniards, ſhould be equally granted to the Britiſh ſubjects; and in the laſt place, the ſecret ſhould be inviolably kept, till allowed to be divulged by the mutual conſent of both parties concerned."

With theſe propoſitions Mr. Prior went to France, in the beginning of July this year, but without any powers to negociate, and was ordered to return immediately, if the French ſtarted any difficulties, and was particularly directed to ſee if they had full powers from Spain. The French not finding him ſufficiently empowered to treat, ſent over Meſnager, deputy of the council of commerce in France (with whom Mr. Prior returned). Meſnager remained here till the latter end of September, when, having finiſhed his negociations, he took leave of the Britiſh court, and returned home, having firſt obtained liberty for marſhal Tallard, who had remained a priſoner here ever ſince the battle of Hochſtet, to go to France for four months, upon his parole. On the ninth of October the offers made by France were communicated to count Gallas, and to the other miniſters of the allies. The propoſals obtained the name of Preliminaries, though they were ſigned only by the French agents, and contained only the offers made on the part of France: what thoſe were, the reader will find in the note *.

Theſe

‖ Burnet. Tindal.

* Theſe articles imported, that Lewis acknowleged the title of the queen of Great Britain, and the ſucceſſion of that crown, according to the preſent ſettlement: that he would freely, and bonâ fide, conſent to the taking all juſt and reaſonable meaſures for hindering the crowns of France and Spain from ever being united on the head of the ſame prince; perſuaded that ſuch exceſs of power would be dangerous to the peace and tranquility of Europe: that all the parties, engaged in the preſent war, ſhould, each of them, obtain a reaſonable ſatisfaction in the treaty of peace which ſhould be concluded; and that trade ſhould be eſtabliſhed and maintained for the future, to the advantage of Great-Britain and Holland, and of the other nations, who had been accuſtomed to exerciſe commerce:

Theſe offers being communicated to the foreign miniſters reſiding in London, by Mr. ſecretary St. John, who at the ſame time notified to them, that her majeſty had pitched upon the city of Utrecht for the place of congreſs, and that the conferences would begin on the firſt of January, O. S. count Gallas, now the Imperial ambaſſador, was pleaſed to treat them in a manner ſo diſreſpectful to our government, that the queen ſent him a meſſage forbidding him her court, and at the ſame time to acquaint him, that the ſooner he left England, the more agreeable it would be to her. The States-General alſo thought proper to ſend over M. Buys, one of their deputies, in whoſe eloquence they had great confidence, to perſuade her majeſty not to give ear to any propoſals made by the court of France: but they were diſappointed in their expectations: the queen was determined to procure peace, and put a ſtop to the vaſt effuſion of blood, which had for many years deluged half Europe, nor would longer ſuffer ſuch numbers of her faithful ſubjects to throw away their lives, not in defence of their own country, but to gratify the covetouſneſs and ambition of our allies. Accordingly the earl of Strafford, the Engliſh ambaſſador at the Hague, was ordered to demand the immediate concurrence of the States, declaring, in the queen's name, that ſhe ſhould look upon any delay as a refuſal to comply with her propoſitions. Their High Mightineſſes, conſidering that they were altogether unable to proſecute the war without the aſſiſtance of England, and that by ſeparating their intereſts from thoſe of Great Britain, they ſhould not be able to obtain a barrier to their mind, thought it moſt adviſeable, after long deliberation, to fall in with the queen's meaſures. Baron Bothmar, envoy extraordinary from his electoral highneſs of Hanover, alſo preſented a memorial, diſſuading her majeſty from treating with the court of France, until the demands of the allies were fully complied with, by way of preliminaries. In order to quiet the apprehenſions which that count had been inſpired with by the Whig party, who repreſented all theſe meaſures as ſo many ſteps to bring in the pretender, the earl of Rivers, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Hanover, was ordered to aſſure the elector, that his ſucceſſion to the crown ſhould be effectually ſecured in the treaty. Charles, the new emperor, wrote to the queen on the ſame ſubject, and with the like arguments of diſſuaſion; but her majeſty, for certain reaſons, did not honour his letter with an anſwer. She had already done a great deal, perhaps even more than, in juſtice to her ſubjects, ſhe ought to have done, in favour of the houſe of Auſtria; but there was no reaſon for aggrandizing that family any more than the houſe of Bourbon, at the expence of her own kingdom, and that of the peace of all Europe.

But that all parties might be made as eaſy as poſſible, her majeſty wrote a letter to the allies, explaining to them the ſteps ſhe had taken, and inviting them to the congreſs; ſhe even condeſcended to have a conference with the dukes of Marlborough, Grafton, and St. Albans, the earls of Dorſet and Scarborough, the lords Somers, Cowper, and others, on the ſame ſubject; but they remained fixed and ſteady in their oppoſition to a pacification. Her majeſty, however, proceeded ſtedfaſtly in her meaſures, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition ſhe met with, both at home and abroad: and the parliament being aſſembled on the ſeventh of December, ſhe made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which ſhe expreſſed herſelf to the following purport: "That, notwithſtanding the arts of thoſe who delighted in war, the time and place for a general congreſs were finally appointed: that her allies, eſpecially the States-general, whoſe intereſts ſhe conſidered as inſeparable from her own, had, by their ready concurrence, expreſſed an entire confidence in her conduct: that her chief concern was, that the Proteſtant religion, and the laws and liberties of the nation ſhould be preſerved inviolate, by ſecuring the ſucceſſion as it was limited by parliament, in the houſe of Hanover: that ſhe ſhould make it her endeavour, in the enſuing negociation, to obtain all the advantages of trade and commerce, which a tender and affectionate ſovereign could procure for a dutiful and loyal people: that, with regard to the princes and ſtates who were engaged in the war, ſhe would leave no means unattempted to obtain for each of them all reaſonable ſatisfaction: that, as the beſt way to forward the treaty, would be to make early proviſion for opening the campaign, ſhe hoped they would grant the neceſſary ſupplies for the enſuing year; and ſhe begged they would proceed in this affair with ſuch diſpatch, as might convince the enemy, that if ſhe could not obtain a good peace, ſhe was ready to proſecute the war with vigour."

The earl of Nottingham, from being one of the chief ſupports of the Tory party, had of late aſſociated with the Whigs in oppoſing the meaſures purſued by the court towards a pacification, and therefore, when her majeſty's ſpeech came to be canvaſſed in the houſe of lords, he objected to that part of it which related to this matter, aſſerting that the preliminary offers of the French court were vague, looſe, and indeterminate; and on a motion being made for returning her majeſty the thanks of the houſe for her ſpeech, he propoſed that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted in the addreſs, importing, "that it was the humble opinion and advice of that houſe, that no peace could be ſafe or honourable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain and the Weſt Indies were allotted to any branch of the houſe of Bourbon." This occaſioned a violent debate, in the

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merce: that he would faithfully obſerve the conditions of peace when it ſhould be concluded; and as the only object which he propoſed to himſelf was, to ſecure the frontiers of his kingdom, without diſturbing the neighbouring ſtates, he readily agreed by the enſuing treaty, that the Dutch ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of the fortified places which ſhould be mentioned in the Netherlands, to ſerve for the future as a barrier for ſecuring the quiet of the republic of Holland againſt any attempts from the part of France: that he likewiſe conſented, that a ſufficient and convenient barrier ſhould be formed for the empire, and the houſe of Auſtria: that, though he had expended very large ſums, as well in purchaſing, as fortifying Dunkirk; and though an additional expence would be neceſſary for razing the works, he would yet engage to cauſe them to be demoliſhed, immediately after the concluſion of the peace, on condition, that, for the fortifications of that place, a proper equivalent ſhould be given him; and as it could not be expected that England ſhould furniſh that equivalent, the manner of raiſing it ſhould be left to the plenipotentiaries appointed to conduct the negociations for peace: and that, when the general conferences for peace ſhould be opened, the pretenſions of all the princes and ſtates, engaged in the war, ſhould be carefully conſidered, and nothing ſhould be omitted to regulate and ſettle them to the entire ſatisfaction of all the parties. Burnet. Tindal.

courſe of which the earl of Angleſey repreſented the neceſſity of eaſing the nation of the burthens incurred by an expenſive war: he affirmed, that a good peace might have been procured immediately after the battle of Ramillies, if it had not been prevented by ſome perſons, who prolonged the war for their own private intereſt. The duke of Marlborough, conceiving himſelf ſtruck at by this aſſertion, roſe up, and, in a very long ſpeech, endeavoured to vindicate himſelf from ſuch a charge, and, with a moſt ſolemn oath, declared that he was always very far from entertaining any deſign of prolonging the war for his own private advantage, as his enemies had moſt falſly inſinuated. At laſt, the queſtion being put upon that clauſe, it was carried for inſertion by a ſmall majority. To this addreſs her majeſty returned for anſwer, that ſhe was very ſorry any one could think ſhe would not do her utmoſt to recover Spain and the Weſt Indies from the houſe of Bourbon. The commons, in their addreſs, inſerted no ſuch article, and therefore her majeſty anſwered them in a more gracious ſtyle*.

Duke Hamilton, one of the ſixteen peers for Scotland, having been created duke of Brandon in England, his right of ſitting in the houſe of peers as a peer of Great Britain, was queſtioned, and counſel being heard on both ſides of this point, it was reſolved, upon the queſtion, "That Scots peers created peers of Great Britain ſince the Union, have no right to ſit in the houſe of peers, as peers of Great Britain." The bill againſt occaſional conformity was revived this ſeſſion by the earl of Nottingham, but in more moderate terms than the former, ſo that it paſſed both houſes. On the twenty-ſecond of December, her majeſty being indiſpoſed with an agueiſh diſorder, granted a commiſſion to the lord keeper and ſome other peers, to give the royal aſſent to this bill, and another for the land tax. Then the commons adjourned to the fourteenth of January, and the lords to the ſecond of the ſame month, but not till they had, at the motion of the earl of Nottingham, preſented an addreſs to the queen, deſiring ſhe would inſtruct her plenipotentiaries in the enſuing negociation, to act in perfect concert with the miniſters of the allies; an addreſs which was very diſagreeable to her majeſty, as it implied a ſuſpicion of her miniſters, as if they had clandeſtine views in their tranſactions with the enemy.

All this time the duke of Marlborough, equally inſatiable of glory and riches, tried every poſſible expedient, both by himſelf and his adherents, to render the propoſed peace abortive; but his influence was now in its wane, and his enemies, the more effectually to ruin him with the queen, cauſed a charge of peculation to be brought againſt him in parliament, by the commiſſioners for examining the public accounts, who reported, that they had diſcovered, that the duke had received an annual preſent of five or ſix thouſand pounds, from ſir Solomon Medina, a Jew, concerned in contracting for bread for the army; and that he had pocketed a deduction of two and an half per cent. from the foreign troops maintained by England. His grace alleged in his juſtification, "That the preſent from the Jew was a cuſtomary perquiſite, which had always been enjoyed by the general of the Dutch army; that the deduction of two and an half per cent. was granted to him by an expreſs warrant from the queen; that all the articles in the charge, joined together, did not exceed thirty thouſand pounds, a ſum much inferior to that which had been allowed by king William for contingencies; that the money was expended in providing intelligence, which was ſo exact, that the allied army under his command had never been ſurpriſed." Upon the whole, however, the great caution and ſecrecy with which this money was conſtantly received, gave reaſon to ſuſpect, that it was not thought a juſtifiable perquiſite; for Mr. Edward Cardonnel, the duke's ſecretary, and auditor of the bread-account, declared upon oath, that he never knew or heard of ſuch perquiſite, till the rumour of this affair being brought before the commiſſioners. However this might be, her majeſty was pleaſed, on the thirtieth of December, to declare in council, that ſhe thought fit to diſmiſs the duke of Marlborough from all his employments, that the matter might be impartially examined. This declaration was next day imparted to him, in a letter under the queen's own hand, in which ſhe took occaſion to complain of the treatment ſhe had received from him and his friends. The royal protection thus withdrawn from this great man, it ſoon appeared how little reliance is to be placed on the opinion of the people. He, whom they had in a manner deified and adored, whoſe praiſes had filled every mouth, was now pointed at, as an object of the moſt indecent ſatire and moſt bitter invectives: he, who had ſo lately poſſeſſed the confidence of almoſt every court in Europe, and had ſeen his friendſhip ſought after by their reſpective ſovereigns, now found himſelf obliged, to elude the perſecution of his enemies, to ſeek refuge in foreign country.

The miniſtry finding how ſtrongly the houſe of lords oppoſed the meaſures for a peace, perſuaded the queen to make uſe of an expedient, which nothing but neceſſity could juſtify, and which no Engliſh prince had ever before attempted. This was, to create no leſs than twelve new peers; a number which they imagined would ſecure them the majority in the upper houſe. Accordingly, on the laſt day of December, lord Compton and lord Bruce, ſons to the earls of Northampton and Ayleſbury, were called up by writ; and the other ten were created by patent †.

The new emperor, Charles VI. thinking that of all the allies he was likely to be the greateſt ſufferer by a peace with France, thought proper to diſpatch prince Eugene to the Britiſh court, as the moſt likely perſon to promote his intereſt with the

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords. Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Burnet. Tindal.

† Theſe were: lord Duplin, of the kingdom of Scotland, created baron Hay, of Pedwardin, in the county of Hereford; lord viſcount Windſor of Ireland, made baron Mountjoy in the iſle of Wight: Henry Paget, ſon to lord Paget, created baron Burton in the county of Stafford; ſir Thomas Manſel, baron Manſel, of Margam, in the county of Glamorgan: ſir Thomas Willoughby, baron Middleton, of Middleton in the county of Warwick: ſir Thomas Trevor, baron Trevor of Bromham in the county of Bedford: George Granville, baron Landſdowne, of Biddeford in the county of Devon: Samuel Maſham, (huſband to Mrs. Maſham, the queen's favourite) baron Maſham of Oates in the county of Eſſex: Thomas Foley, lord Foley of Kidderminſter in the county of Worceſter: Allen Bathurſt, baron Bathurſt of Battelſden in the county of Bedford.

queen in this conjuncture, and hoping that his preſence, with the aſſiſtance of the Whigs, who were very liberal of their invectives againſt the new miniſtry, might raiſe ſuch a flame of diſcontent in the nation, as would turn out to the advantage of the advocates for war. His highneſs arrived at Harwich on the firſt of January, 1712, O. S. and on the ſeventh was introduced, by Mr. ſecretary St. John, to a private audience of her majeſty: after a ſhort compliment, which her majeſty very graciouſly returned, his highneſs delivered to her a letter from the emperor, which he deſired her majeſty to peruſe, ſaying, it contained all his errand. After reading the letter, the queen was pleaſed to tell the prince, "ſhe was ſorry that the ſtate of her health did not permit her to ſpeak with his highneſs as often ſhe would be glad to do; but that ſhe had ordered thoſe two gentlemen (meaning the ſecretary and treaſurer, then preſent) to receive his propoſals, and confer with his highneſs as frequently as he ſhould think proper."

The chief buſineſs with which the prince was charged, was to diſſuade the queen from agreeing to the ſettlement of the crown of Spain on the houſe of Bourbon; and his memorial conſiſted of propoſals and methods to carry on the war in that country with ſucceſs. Mr. ſecretary St. John accordingly acquainted the houſe of commons, when they met, that he had received her majeſty's commands to communicate to that houſe a propoſition made to her majeſty by prince Eugene, in the name of the emperor, for the ſupport of the war in Spain; viz. "that his Imperial majeſty judges that forty thouſand men will be ſufficient for this ſervice, and that the whole expence of the war in Spain may amount to four millions of crowns; towards which his Imperial majeſty offers to make up the troops which he has in that country thirty thouſand men, and to take one million of crowns upon himſelf." It was obſerved that no miniſter ſtood up to ſay any thing to this meſſage, which gave the prince a bad preſage of the ſucceſs of his negociation; and therefore, ſoon after taking leave of her majeſty, he haſted back to the continent, to end the war alone, with the freſh incentive of a proſpect of victory without a companion to ſhare the glory.

In the mean while the duke of Marlborough's poſts were all filled up, and the duke of Ormond was pitched upon as the fitteſt perſon to be captain-general: a commiſſion was accordingly made out, appointing him commander in chief of her majeſty's forces within the kingdom of Great Britain, and of thoſe employed abroad in conjunction with the troops of the allies ‡. But to reſume our parliamentary affairs.

The lords reaſſembled, agreeable to their adjournment, on the ſecond of January, when the queen was pleaſed to return the following anſwer to their late addreſs: "That ſhe thought her ſpeech to both houſes would have given ſatisfaction to every one; and that ſhe had given inſtructions to her plenipotentiaries according to the deſire of their addreſs." This done, the lord-keeper delivered to the houſe a meſſage from the queen, importing, "That her majeſty having matters of great importance to communicate to both houſes of parliament, ſhe deſired the houſe of lords to adjourn immediately to the fourteenth, being the ſame day to which the commons had adjourned themſelves." A warm debate aroſe upon this meſſage, many lords being againſt an adjournment; but it was carried in the affirmative by eighty-one againſt ſixty-eight.

The ſame day many of the Scots peers in town preſented to the queen an humble repreſentation concerning the late judgment of the lords in relation to the validity of the duke of Hamilton's patent, as duke of Brandon, which her majeſty communicated to their lordſhips; who, when they came to debate this affair, reſolved, that it was cognizable only by their houſe, and at laſt dropped it.

Her majeſty, by reaſon of her indiſpoſition, being unable to go to the houſe in perſon on the fourteenth, ſent a meſſage to the commons, importing, that the plenipotentiaries were arrived at Utrecht, and were employed in concerting meaſures for procuring ſatisfaction to all her allies; that the terms of peace ſhould be communicated to the parliament before they were finally concluded; that in the mean time ſhe was reſolved to make preparations for an early campaign; and ſhe therefore hoped the commons would grant the neceſſary ſupplies for that purpoſe ‖.

The duke of Devonſhire having, in conſequence of a motion he had formerly made, prepared a bill for giving precedence to the elector of Hanover, as duke of Cambridge, before the reſt of the Engliſh nobility, the treaſurer, Harley, not to be behindhand, introduced a bill for giving precedence to the whole electoral family, as children and nephews of the crown; and when it was paſſed into an act, he ſent it over to Hanover, by his brother, Mr. Thomas Harley *.

The commons now entered on the obſervations of the commiſſioners for the public accounts, which had been laid before them on the twenty-firſt of December; and finding that Mr. Robert Walpole, who had for ſome time enjoyed the poſt of ſecretary at war, had received the ſum of five hundred guineas, and taken a note for five hundred more, on account of two contracts for forage for her majeſty's troops quartered in North Britain, they voted him guilty of a high breach of truſt and notorious corruption, and, on the twentieth of January, expelled him their houſe, and committed him to the Tower †.

This done, they proceeded, on the twenty-fourth of January, to take the duke of Marlborough's affairs into conſideration, when, after a long debate, it was reſolved, by two hundred and ſeventy voices againſt one hundred and ſixty-five, "That the taking ſeveral ſums of money annually by the duke of Marlborough, from the contractors for furniſhing the bread and bread-waggons for the army in the Low Countries, was unwarrantable and illegal." After which it was alſo reſolved, by a great majority, "That the two and an half per cent. deducted from the foreign troops in her majeſty's pay, was public money, and ought to be accounted for; and that the ſaid reſolution ſhould be laid before her majeſty by the whole houſe;" which was done accordingly on the twenty-ſixth. Whereupon her

‡ Burnet. Tindal. Hiſt. of Europe.
‖ Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons.
* Idem. Burnet.
† Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Burnet.

majeſty

majeſty gave orders to her attorney-general to proſecute the duke for the money he had ſo deducted. It muſt be confeſſed, indeed, that he had the queen's own warrant for doing it; but ſtill ſuch practices were mean and mercenary, and greatly tarniſhed thoſe glories which the duke had juſtly acquired by his military abilities and other ſhining qualities.

An affair of a more public nature next engroſſed the attention of the commons, namely, the barrier-treaty with the Dutch, which had been concluded with the States by the lord Townſhend, after the conferences at Gertruydenberg. By this treaty England guarantied a barrier in the Netherlands to the Dutch; and the States bound themſelves to maintain, with their whole force, the queen's title and the proteſtant ſucceſſion. The places to be guarantied to the States as a barrier, were chiefly Liſle, Tournay, Menin, and Douay, and they were to be kept ſtill by them. The commons, after examining this treaty, voted, "That there were ſeveral articles therein deſtructive to the trade and intereſt of Great Britain: that the lord viſcount Townſhend had no orders or authority to conclude ſeveral articles in that treaty; and that he, and all thoſe who had adviſed its being ratified, were enemies to the queen and kingdom *." On this occaſion the Whigs, or low-church party, were, or at leaſt pretended to be, ſtrangely alarmed, as if there was a real deſign on foot to overturn the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and no induſtry was wanting to propagate that notion among the people. But the event ſhewed, that this was not the thing intended by ſuch a procedure, and that the negociators of that treaty were thoſe chiefly aimed at.

On the fourth of February, the commons, having deliberated on the ſtate of the war, came to the following reſolutions in regard to our allies the Dutch: "That the forces ſupplied by the States for the ſervice of Spain, from 1705 to 1708, were no more than twelve thouſand two hundred men; and that they had ſince ſent thither no forces at all: that the States, during the courſe of the war, had furniſhed leſs than their proportion in Flanders, twenty thouſand eight hundred and thirty-ſeven men: that the queen had paid in ſubſidies, more than her proportion, three millions one hundred and fifty-five crowns." Theſe reſolutions, with the votes concerning the barrier-treaty, were all digeſted into a long and ſpirited repreſentation, which they preſented to the queen, and in which they aſſerted, that, during the war, England had been over-charged nineteen millions; a circumſtance which, they ſaid, implied either fraud or miſmanagement in the late miniſtry †.

The States-general, alarmed at theſe reſolutions, and fearful of loſing their beloved barrier, thought proper to write a reſpectful letter to the queen; at the ſame time they ſent over a memorial, in which they endeavoured to vindicate their own conduct in the courſe of the war, againſt the repreſentation of the commons. This memorial was inſerted in one of the Engliſh news-papers, evidently with a view to make an impreſſion upon the minds of the people to the diſadvantage of the preſent adminiſtration; whereupon the commons voted the ſaid memorial a falſe, ſcandalous, and malicious libel, reflecting on the reſolutions of the houſe; and cauſed the printer and publiſher to be taken into cuſtody, as guilty of a breach of privilege ‡.

The commons in fact ſeemed determined to alter every thing that had been done by the late miniſtry: they repealed the naturalization act; they paſſed a bill for tolerating the epiſcopal clergy in Scotland; and paſſed ſeveral other bills which greatly diſguſted that nation, particularly an act for diſcontinuing the courts of juſticiary during Chriſtmas (called, An Act for diſcharging the Yule Vacance), as the obſerving of holidays was contrary to the principles of the preſbyterians; and an act for reſtoring patronages, which their parliament had aboliſhed by law, as a grievance. Theſe meaſures occaſioned much altercation; but the Scots were at length obliged to ſubmit ‖. They had enjoyed their days of triumph over the church of England, which they had not exerciſed in the moſt tender manner; it ſeemed therefore but juſt that they ſhould experience ſome little mortification in their turn. The houſe of lords were ſo diſguſted with the ſudden and unprecedented introduction of the twelve new peers among them, that a ſtrong party was formed to revive, and if poſſible to carry into an act, the place-bill; but the miniſtry beſtirred themſelves ſo effectually, that all the Whig faction could effect, was to have the bill paſſed to take place after the demiſe of the queen, inſtead of after the determination of the preſent parliament, which was what they puſhed for, ſo that it was no more thought on §. Soon after the commons proceeded to the conſideration of the ſupplies, which they readily granted, amounting in the whole to about ſix millions, part of which was to be raiſed by two lotteries. About the ſame time the treaſurer formed a bill for reſuming all the grants made ſince the Revolution; but this ſcheme was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by all the Whig party, and the bill was rejected, though but by a ſmall majority ¶. But it will be neceſſary, before we bring this ſeſſion to a concluſion, to look back a little, and obſerve how the negociations for peace proceeded at Utrecht.

The Britiſh plenipotentiaries were Dr. Robinſon, biſhop of Briſtol, lord privy-ſeal, and the earl of Strafford; the chief of the Dutch deputies were Buys and Vanderduſſen; and the French king granted his powers to the marſhal d'Uxelles, the abbot de Polignac, and monſ. Meſnager, who had been in England; the miniſters of the emperor and of Savoy likewiſe aſſiſted at the congreſs, to which the empire and the other allies afterwards ſent their plenipotentiaries, though not without reluctance. The conferences began on Friday, the twenty-ninth of January, N. S. 1712. On the eleventh of February the plenipotentiaries of France delivered their propoſals in writing: and upon the twenty-fifth of March the miniſters of the allies delivered to thoſe of France their reſpective demands, and inſiſted on the latter giving in a ſpecific anſwer in writing to their ſpecific demands. This the French miniſters declined, though at the ſame time they declared themſelves ready to enter into a negociation with all the allies, in the uſual manner obſerved at other treaties. But it appearing very plain, that the Imperial and Dutch miniſters had no inclination to treat at all, and refuſing abſolutely to enter into any meaſures with the Britiſh miniſters, the latter found themſelves under an abſolute neceſſity of

* Proceedings of Houſe of Commons, iv. 263. † Idem. ‡ Burnet. Tindal. ‖ Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, iv. Burnet. § Proceed. of the Houſe of Lords. ¶ Proceed. of the Houſe of Commons.

carrying on the treaty without them. The Dutch, to ſhew their averſion to peace, ordered a faſt to be proclaimed in April for the ſucceſs of the war, which was obſerved with unuſual ſtrictneſs: their general, the earl of Albemarle, alſo opened the campaign with burning the magazines of Arras.

The ſpecific explanation of the offers of France for a general peace being tranſmitted to England, were found to be (ſo far as related to Great Britain) as follow:

"The French king will acknowlege, at the ſigning of the peace, the queen of Great Britain in that quality; as alſo the ſucceſſion of that crown according to the preſent ſettlement, and in the manner her Britannic majeſty ſhall pleaſe.

"His majeſty will cauſe all the fortifications of Dunkirk to be demoliſhed immediately after the peace, provided an equivalent be given him to his ſatisfaction.

"The Iſland of St. Chriſtopher, Hudſon's Bay and ſtreight of that name, ſhall be yielded up entire to Great Britain; and Acadia, with Port Royal and the Fort, ſhall be reſtored entire to his majeſty.

"As to the iſland of Newfoundland, the king offers to yield up that alſo to Great Britain, reſerving only to himſelf the fort of Placentia, and the right of catching and drying fiſh, as before the war.

"It ſhall be agreed to make a treaty of commerce, before or after the peace, as England ſhall chuſe; the conditions of which ſhall be made as equal between the two nations as they can poſſibly."

When theſe offers came to be debated upon in parliament, they gave riſe to long and very warm debates, eſpecially in the houſe of peers, ſeveral lords treating them as trifling, arrogant, and injurious to her majeſty and her allies. Some endeavours were uſed to adjourn the debates, but in vain; and it was reſolved, without dividing, to preſent an addreſs to the queen, repreſenting the juſt indignation that houſe entertained at the inſolence of France, in having propoſed to acknowlege her majeſty's title to theſe realms no ſooner than when the peace ſhould be ſigned; as alſo at the terms of peace offered to her and her allies by the plenipotentiaries of France; declaring at the ſame time, that they would aſſiſt her majeſty to the utmoſt of their power in proſecuting the war, until they ſhould obtain a ſafe and honourable peace *.

It muſt be confeſſed, that the ſpecific demands delivered in by the miniſters of the allies, ran as high as the French explanation another way. The emperor aſked the whole Spaniſh monarchy; England demanded the reſtitution of Newfoundland, and the demolition of Dunkirk; the States required their whole barrier; and every ally inſiſted upon ſatisfaction to all the other allies as well as to himſelf. England and the States-general declared, that they demanded Spain and the Weſt Indies for the emperor; in fine, the high pattern ſet by the French was fully imitated by the allies.

The duke of Ormond being appointed to command the queen's forces in Flanders, went over in the beginning of April to Holland, and had ſeveral conferences with the deputies of the States, who aſſured his grace, that they had given orders to their generals to live in a good correſpondence with his grace. On the twenty-firſt of May his grace, in concert with prince Eugene, aſſembled the army between Douay and Marchiennes, which, upon a review, was found to conſiſt of two hundred and ninety-five ſquadrons, and one hundred and forty-three battalions, amounting in the whole to one hundred and twenty-two thouſand two hundred and fifty men; with which forces the generals marched towards the enemy, and paſſing the Scheld, encamped at Solemnes and Keufville. But prince Eugene propoſing to attack the French army under marſhal Villars, or to inveſt the town of Queſnoy; the duke of Ormond, who had by this time received freſh orders from Mr. ſecretary St. John, gave the prince and the deputies of the States-general to underſtand, that her Britannic majeſty having a proſpect that the negociations for peace would prove ſucceſsful, had given him orders not to act offenſively againſt the enemy.

The prince, and the deputies of the States were thunderſtruck at this intimation, and immediately tranſmitted advice thereof to the Hague. Whereupon the Dutch plenipotentiaries at Utrecht had orders to complain to the biſhop of Briſtol, in the name of their maſters, againſt theſe orders, which the duke ſaid he had received, as they were given without their concurrence: to which that prelate made anſwer, that he was inſtructed to intimate to the States-general, that as their High Mightineſſes had not thought proper to concur with her majeſty in the meaſures ſhe had taken for procuring a ſalutary peace, they ought not to be ſurpriſed if ſhe now thought herſelf at liberty to procure that convenience for herſelf. The plenipotentiaries of the States then remonſtrating, that ſuch a ſtep would be contrary to all the alliances between the queen and the States-general; the biſhop ſaid, his inſtructions farther imported, "That, conſidering the conduct of the States towards her majeſty, ſhe thought herſelf diſengaged from all alliances and engagements with their High Mightineſſes"

The States-general hereupon ſent over a letter to the queen, and ordered their envoy at London to deliver it into her own hand. It contained an excuſe for the backwardneſs they had ſhewn to act in concert with her majeſty: "That all the difference between her majeſty and them was a diſparity of ſentiments; and if for ſuch a cauſe, confederates united by the ſtrongeſt ties, might quit their engagements, no engagements could be relied on for the time to come." It ſeems the States-general, at the time of ſending over this letter, had given orders to their envoy (with what view may be eaſily gueſſed) to publiſh copies of it in the public papers, which he did; and they were printed and diſperſed in England at the very inſtant, if not before, the letter came to the queen's hands.

The queen was ſo highly incenſed at this procedure of the Dutch, which ſhe conſidered as a remonſtrance rather than a repreſentation, and an appeal to the people rather than an addreſs to the ſovereign, that ſhe wrote them a very ſharp anſwer thereupon: nor was this all; the commons took it under conſideration, and voted an addreſs to her majeſty, wherein they aſſured her "of the juſt ſenſe the houſe had of the indignity offered to her by printing

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords.

and publiſhing a letter from the States-general to her majeſty; and humbly deſired her that ſhe would ſo far reſent ſuch indignities, as to give no anſwer for the future to any letters or memorials that ſhould be ſo printed and publiſhed." Nevertheleſs, her majeſty, hoping ſhe might at length bring the confederates to join with her in procuring a general peace, did condeſcend to permit the duke of Ormond to concur with the confederates in a ſiege, who thereupon inveſted Queſnoy on the eighth of June †.

Great efforts, however, were made in the houſe of lords, to procure the cenſure of that illuſtrious aſſembly upon the orders given to the duke of Ormond, not to act offenſively. The friends of the Marlborough family, and the Whig party in general, clubbed their united ſtrength on this occaſion. Lord Halifax made a motion for this purpoſe: many and harſh were the reflections thrown out by both parties againſt each other, which at length went ſo far, that the duke of Marlborough, on coming out of the houſe, ſent a challenge to earl Powlett, for certain expreſſions of his highly reflecting upon his grace; but the government interpoſed, and prevented any ill conſequences; and the Whig faction had the mortification to find their attempts baffled on this occaſion, and the motion was rejected ‡.

A motion of the ſame nature being made in the houſe of commons, it was not only rejected by a great majority (viz. two hundred and three againſt thirty-ſeven), but they came to this reſolution, namely, "that this houſe hath an entire confidence in her majeſty's moſt gracious promiſe, to communicate to her parliament the terms of the peace, before the ſame ſhall be concluded; and that they will ſupport her majeſty in obtaining an honourable and ſafe peace, againſt all ſuch perſons, either at home or abroad, who have endeavoured, or ſhall endeavour, to obſtruct the ſame." To this addreſs the queen returned the following moſt gracious anſwer: "That ſhe thanked her faithful commons very heartily for this reſolution, as being dutiful to her, honeſt to their country, and very ſeaſonable, at a time when ſo many artifices were uſed to obſtruct a good peace, or force one diſadvantageous to Great Britain."

The articles of the treaty being now in ſome meaſure adjuſted, the queen thought fit to propoſe a ceſſation of arms to the allies. On the fifth day of June her majeſty came to the houſe of peers, and communicated the plan of peace ‖, according to the promiſe ſhe had made; upon which an addreſs of thanks and approbation was immediately voted, and preſented to the queen by the commons in a body. But the lords were not ſo acquieſcent, the Whig party predominating in that houſe. The Tories had embarraſſed them in their adminiſtration during the laſt year of the war, and the Whigs in return were reſolved to make the Tories as uneaſy as poſſible: both parties were, in their turns, gainers by this manner of acting; but both parties were gainers at the expence of the nation, and therefore they had no reaſon, they had no right, to reproach each other. When the houſe of lords took the ſpeech into conſideration, the duke of Marlborough aſſerted, that the meaſures purſued for a year paſt were directly contrary to her majeſty's engagements with the allies; that they ſullied the glories and triumphs of her reign, and would render the Engliſh name odious to all nations. To this the earl of Strafford, who was lately returned from Utrecht, anſwered, that the allies would not have ſhewn ſuch backwardneſs to a peace, had not they been perſuaded and encouraged to carry on the war by a member of that illuſtrious aſſembly, who had fed them with hopes of being ſupported by a ſtrong party in England; but if England had it not in her power, without infringing the laws of juſtice and honour, to withdraw herſelf from a confederacy which ſhe could no longer ſupport, and treat for peace on her own bottom, then was ſhe not an aſſociate, but a ſlave to the alliance. In fine, after a great diſplay of rhetoric, for and againſt the plan of a peace, the majority agreed to an addreſs, in which they thanked the queen for her extraordinary condeſcenſion in communicating the conditions to her parliament, and expreſſed an entire ſatisfaction in her conduct.

On the twenty-firſt of June, the queen thought fit to put an end to the ſeſſion by prorogation, after having made a ſhort ſpeech to both houſes, in which ſhe expreſſed her ſatisfaction at the addreſſes and ſupplies ſhe had received; obſerved, that ſhould the treaty be broke off, many miſchiefs would enſue; their burdens would be continued, if not encreaſed; Britain would loſe the preſent opportunity of improving her own commerce, and eſtabliſhing a real balance of power in Europe; and, though ſome of the allies might be gainers by a continuance of the war, the reſt would ſuffer in the common calamity *."

In the mean time the duke of Ormond, purſuant to the directions he had received from court, declared to prince Eugene, that if he purpoſed to carry on the ſiege of Queſnoy, he could no longer continue to co-operate therein, as he ſhould, within three days, publiſh a ſuſpenſion of arms between his army and that of the French; and ſhould ſend off a detachment to take poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, which place the king of France had offered to put into the hands of the Engliſh, as a ſecurity for the performance of his promiſes; and that he himſelf muſt march off with the reſt of his army in three days: and propoſed that the ſuſpenſion of arms ſhould be generally publiſhed by the whole confederate army. Prince Eugene, and the deputies of the States, deſiring ſome time to write about this to their reſpective ſovereigns, the duke of Ormond ſuſpended the march of his troops ſome days beyond which he had limited, to give time to the reſt of the allies to come into the ceſſation of arms ¶.

The biſhop of Briſtol executed his inſtructions at Utrecht with no leſs punctuality than the duke of Ormond had done in the army. A meeting of the miniſters being held, he communicated to the other plenipotentiaries the conceſſions which

† Queſnoy is a ſmall but ſtrong town of the Low Countries, in the earldom of Hainault and territory of Valenciennes, ſubject to the French. It ſtands ſeven miles ſouth-eaſt of Valenciennes, eighteen ſouth-weſt of Mons, and eighteen almoſt north-eaſt of Cambray. Burnet. Tindal. Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne.

‡ Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords.

‖ Which was nearly the ſame as that finally concluded upon, which ſee in its place.

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords.

¶ Burnet. Life of Prince Eugene. Hiſt. of Europe.

France

France would make to the allies; and propoſed a ceſſation of arms for two months, that they might confer in a friendly manner, and adjuſt the demands of all the confederates. To this propoſal they made no other anſwer, but that they had no inſtructions on this ſubject.

On the twenty-eighth of June, N. S. the duke of Ormond ſent his adjutant with a written order to the generals of the foreign troops in the Britiſh pay, to hold their forces in readineſs to march; but, to his grace's unſpeakable ſurprize, they all refuſed to obey his orders, except four ſquadrons and a battalion of the troops of Holſtein Gottorp, and a regiment of dragoons of the troops of Liege. This refuſal, on the part of the others, was owing to prince Eugene's having before tampered with them: and, indeed, it was not in the leaſt to be wondered at, that theſe mercenaries ſhould prefer their trade of war to any peace whatever. But to proceed: on the third of July, Queſnoy ſurrendered to the allies, the armies not being yet ſeparated, and the garriſon being made priſoners of war, were ſent home. The earl of Strafford, having returned to Holland after the prorogation of the parliament, propoſed a ceſſation of arms to the States-general, by whom it was rejected: then he repaired to the army of the duke of Ormond, where he arrived a few days after the ſurrender of Queſnoy. The duke of Ormond, on the ſixteenth of July, marched off with his forces towards Ghent and Bruges; while prince Eugene marched from his camp at Haſpre, and was followed by all the auxiliaries in the Britiſh pay, except thoſe already mentioned. The elector of Hanover himſelf, who was to ſucceed queen Anne on the throne of England, notwithſtanding her remonſtrances, continued his troops in the pay of the allies, which plainly ſhewed that he did not think the pretenſions of his family to the Britiſh crown depended upon the queen's will †.

Prince Eugene, though deprived of the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, was ſtill ſuperior by twenty thouſand men to marſhal Villars, as likewiſe by his poſition, and by his numerous and well-furniſhed magazines; ſo that Villars could not prevent him from laying ſiege to Landrecy, from whence he detached ſeveral conſiderable bodies, who entered Champagne, ravaged the country, and advanced as far as the gates of Rheims. The alarm produced by this irruption reached as far as Paris; all France was ſeized with conſternation. The death of the king's only ſon, which fell out this year; the duke of Burgundy, the ducheſs his wife, and their eldeſt ſon, all carried to their graves the ſame day, and the only remaining child at the point of death; all theſe domeſtic misfortunes, added to thoſe from without, and the ſufferings of the people, made the cloſe of Lewis XIV.'s reign conſidered as a time pointed out for calamities. Preciſely at this period the duke of Vendôme died in Spain: the general diſpiritedneſs which ſeized the French nation upon this occaſion is hardly to be expreſſed; they placed no great dependence on the conferences at Utrecht, which might be all overthrown by the ſucceſſes of prince Eugene. Lewis therefore ſent notice to queen Anne, that notwithſtanding the allies refuſed to concur with Great Britain in a general ceſſation of arms; yet, to ſhew his ſincere intentions for peace, and the confidence he repoſed in her majeſty, he was ready to deliver up Dunkirk into her hands, not doubting of her endeavours to bring the allies into the plan of peace concerted between the crowns of France and Great Britain. Hereupon Sir John Leake, and brigadier Hall, with a body of troops, ſailed from the Downs on the ſeventh of July, and the ſame day came to an anchor before Dunkirk; and the next day, the troops being landed, the French marched out of the citadel, and all the other forts, of which the Engliſh took poſſeſſion, and placed guards at all the gates; after which the count d'Aumont, the French governor, delivered to brigadier Hill the keys of the town. Notice of this being ſent to the duke of Ormond, who with the Engliſh forces now lay in camp at Aveſne le Sec, in the road to Ghent, his grace proclaimed by ſound of trumpet a ceſſation of arms for two months between the French army and ours; and the ſame day marſhal Villars did the like in his camp ‡.

Some little time before the ſeparation of the confederate troops, the deputies of the States-general did not ſcruple to ſay publicly, that they hoped the duke of Ormond did not intend to march thro' any of *their* towns (would any one imagine that they meant the towns that had been conquered for them by the Engliſh arms? but ſo it was); and now, being farther exaſperated by the ceſſation of arms lately publiſhed, they ſent orders to the reſpective governors not to allow the earl of Strafford to enter Bouchaine, nor the Britiſh troops to paſs through Doway, though in the latter of theſe towns we had left a great quantity of ſtores, together with our principal hoſpital. The duke of Ormond hereupon, in order to reduce their High Mightineſſes to reaſon, bent his march immediately for the city of Ghent, where part of his artillery and ſtores were laid up. Prince Eugene, and the deputies, ſenſible that his grace would ſoon have it in his power to revenge the affront that had been put upon the Engliſh, diſpatched count Naſſau Woodenburgh to excuſe the inſolent behaviour of the commandants of Bouchain and Doway, pretending that what had been done was without their authority or privity. The duke, however, continued his march, and, with the earl of Strafford, arrived at Ghent the twenty-third of July; which place, together with Bruges, he took poſſeſſion of for the queen of England, and then detached ſix battalions to reinforce the garriſon of Dunkirk, with a train of artillery and ammunition.

It was not long before the confederates felt the fatal effects of ſeparating themſelves from the Britiſh troops, and refuſing to come into the queen's meaſures. Prince Eugene had formed the ſiege of Landrecy, without having conſulted the duke of Ormond; however, he continued to puſh the ſiege with vigour: but he committed ſome eſſential faults, which ended in his diſgrace; for his lines were too much extended, and his magazines at Marchiennes were at too great a diſtance; ſo that the earl of Albemarle, who was poſted at Denain on the Scheld, to ſecure the communication with Marchiennes and the prince's camp, was not within reach of the latter's aſſiſting him ſoon enough in caſe he was attacked. Marſhal Villars ſaw this

† Conduct of the Duke of Ormond. Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV.

‡ Hiſtory of Europe. Torcy's Memoirs. Voltaire.

error, and like a ſkilful general made a proper advantage of it; he put a deceit upon prince Eugene. A body of dragoons was ordered to advance in ſight of Landrecy, as if going to attempt the relief of that place: in the mean time the marſhal himſelf marched towards Denain, with his army drawn up in five columns, forced the earl of Albemarle's entrenchments, defended by thirteen battalions, and thirty ſquadrons, who were all killed or made priſoners. The general himſelf ſurrendered priſoner of war, with five princes of the houſe of Naſſau, the prince of Holſtein Gottorp, the prince of Anhalt, and all the officers of the detachment; and the French found in the camp twelve braſs cannon, great quantities of horſes, and a very conſiderable booty. Prince Eugene, on the firſt news of this attack, marched in haſte to the aſſiſtance of the earl, but did not come up till the action was over; and in endeavouring to get poſſeſſion of a bridge that led to Denain, he loſt a number of his men, and was obliged to return to his camp, after having been witneſs of a defeat which was big with fatal conſequences to the intereſt of his maſter. This action happened on the twenty-fourth of July, 1712.

Landrecy, which ſtill continued inveſted, had not ammunition for holding out a week longer, while the army of the beſiegers were provided for twice that length of time; notwithſtanding which, prince Eugene thought proper to abandon the ſiege with precipitation, while marſhal Villars carried all the poſts belonging to the confederates upon the Scarpe, as far as Marchiennes, one after another, with the utmoſt rapidity. He then puſhed for Marchiennes itſelf, which was defended by four thouſand men: the French carried on the ſiege with the greateſt vigour, and in three days time the garriſon were made priſoners of war. All the ammunition and proviſion that the confederates had laid up for the whole campaign, fell into the hands of the enemy. The ſuperiority was now wholly on the ſide of Villars; the confederates in deſpair retreated every where before thoſe very troops whom they had ſo lately held in contempt; and ſoon afterwards ſaw Douay, Queſnoy, and Bouchain, retaken by the French. Lewis XIV. now beheld his frontiers in ſafety. Prince Eugene drew off his army, after having loſt near fifty battalions, forty of whom were made priſoners between the fight of Denain and the end of the campaign. All the compenſation they obtained for this great loſs, was the conqueſt of Fort Knocque, which was ſurpriſed by de Rue, a famous partiſan in the allied army. About the end of October, both ſides put their troops into winter quarters *.

While theſe military tranſactions were going on, the Britiſh miniſters at Utrecht continued to preſs the Dutch and other allies to join in the ſuſpenſion of arms; but they declared their reſolution to continue the war with the utmoſt vigour. It was then propoſed to admit the plenipotentiaries of king Philip to the congreſs; but this the other miniſters would not hearken to. Upon which the queen, and her miniſtry, finding that the allies were determined to purſue their own meaſures, thought ſhe had equal right to do the ſame; and in the beginning of Auguſt, ſecretary St. John (now created viſcount Bolingbroke) was diſpatched to the court of Verſailles, to put a finiſhing hand to the treaty between France and Great Britain. He was received at the French court with the moſt diſtinguiſhed marks of reſpect; and having adjuſted, with the marquis de Torcy, the principal intereſts of the duke of Savoy, and the elector of Bavaria, he fixed the time and manner of the renunciations that were to be made, and conſented to a renewal of the ſuſpenſion of arms between the crowns of France and England, for four months longer, viz. from the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt to the twenty-ſecond of December. His lordſhip then returned to England, leaving behind him Mr. Prior, in the character of reſident at the French court †.

The Britiſh miniſters at Utrecht had inſiſted that Philip V. now ſettled on the throne of Spain, ſhould renounce his right to the crown of France, which he had hitherto conſtantly maintained, and that the duke of Berry, his brother, preſumptive heir to that crown, after the only remaining great-grandſon of Lewis XIV. then at the point of death, ſhould likewiſe renounce all pretenſions to the crown of Spain, in caſe he ſhould come to be king of France. They likewiſe exacted the ſame of the duke of Orleans. Theſe conditions being all accepted by the ſeveral parties concerned, lord Lexington was ſent from England to Madrid, in the month of September, to be preſent at the renunciation of king Philip, which was drawn up in form, and ſigned by that monarch on the fifth of November, N. S. the cortes or ſtates of Spain being aſſembled on that occaſion, to add greater force to it. Philip in that aſſembly formally renounced all pretenſions which he or his deſcendants might have to the crown of France, and deſired the concurrence of the ſtates therein ‡.

In Catalonia there was little action this year. On the eighth of September brigadier Pierce, who commanded the Britiſh troops there, notified to count Staremberg, that a ceſſation of arms having been agreed upon between England and France, he ſhould ſeparate from the army with his troops. Accordingly he marched to Sitias, on the coaſt between Barcelona and Terragona; and ſoon after the Germans as well as the Spaniards went into winter-quarters.

The Portugueſe had hitherto continued obſtinately to refuſe their concurrence with the pacific meaſures going forward; but at length, conſulting their own intereſt, they thought fit to come into the ceſſation of arms; and a treaty to that effect was ſigned between their miniſters and thoſe of France at Utrecht, on the ſeventh of November, which put an end to the war on that ſide. Much about the ſame time the duke of Argyll was ſent from England to take poſſeſſion of Port Mahon, and the iſland of Minorca, for her Britannic majeſty, which he accordingly did. The campaign in Flanders being over, the duke of Ormond returned to England, and on the fourth of November was graciouſly received by her majeſty.

On the fifteenth of November, a duel was fought between his grace the duke of Hamilton and the lord Mohun, principals, and colonel Hamilton and

* Hiſt. of Europe. Con. Pr. Eug. Broderick. Tindal. Voltaire.

† Kane's Memoirs. Tindal.

‡ Hiſt. of Europe. Voltaire.

colonel Macartney, their ſeconds. The two principals died upon the ſpot; Macartney diſappeared, and found means to eſcape in diſguiſe to the continent; colonel Hamilton ſurrendered himſelf to a committee of the council, and made a depoſition, in which he charged Macartney with having ſtabbed the duke of Hamilton, after he had fallen by the ſword of his antagoniſt, and lay wounded on the ground. Hereupon a reward of five hundred pounds was offered by the government for apprehending Macartney, to which the ducheſs of Hamilton added a promiſe of three hundred pounds. The falſeneſs of this report, however, appeared ſufficiently in the ſequel: Macartney ſubmitted to a fair trial, and, upon the cleareſt evidence, was acquitted of the crime laid to his charge; and colonel Hamilton incurred ſuch diſgrace by his behaviour, that he was obliged to ſell his company in the guards. As this had been a party-duel, ſeveral ſevere reflections were thrown out againſt the duke of Marlborough, who was ſaid to have taken all opportunities of fomenting the animoſities between the two factions; upon which account, as alſo ſeeing that his enemies became every day more powerful, his grace thought fit to retire to the continent, whither he was followed by his ducheſs; and they took up their reſidence at Aix la Chapelle, and returned no more to England till the day the queen died. His friend Godolphin, the late treaſurer, had died in September, with the character of an upright and honeſt ſtateſman. This year was alſo diſtinguiſhed by the death of Richard Cromwell, once lord protector, and ſon of the great Oliver, in an advanced age.

The Britiſh miniſtry conſidering themſelves as anſwerable to their country, and to all Europe, for their actions at this critical conjuncture, neglected nothing that concerned the intereſt of England and its allies, and the ſafety of the public weal. In the month of November, a new plan of peace was tranſmitted to the earl of Strafford in Holland, who preſented it to the States-general, for their approbation. In this new plan the queen promiſed to procure to the States-general the city of Tournay, and ſome other places, which they could not expect to poſſeſs, ſhould ſhe conclude a ſeparate treaty. Their High Mightineſſes having conſidered the new plan propoſed, and ſenſible of the circumſtances they had reduced themſelves to, by haughtily contemning all former propoſitions made them by her majeſty, determined at length to reconcile themſelves to her; and on the twenty-ninth of December, N. S. wrote a very ſubmiſſive letter to her majeſty, wherein they told her, "They thought themſelves obliged to return her majeſty thanks for the overtures ſhe cauſed the earl of Strafford to lay before them, and for the aſſurances, no leſs obliging than ſtrong, ſhe had added to them both of her majeſty's deſire to procure a good peace for all Europe, and to provide for the ſafety, and even augmentation of their ſtate: and declared, they were reſolved to join with her majeſty in the meaſures ſhe had taken, and to conclude and ſign the peace at the ſame time jointly with her; alſo to enter into a new treaty with her majeſty, about the ſucceſſion and barrier, and to conclude and ſign it before the peace."

For the better underſtanding the latter part of this letter, it will be neceſſary to inform the reader, that when the earl of Strafford preſented the new plan of peace, he at the ſame time told the States-general, that he had alſo brought with him a plan of a new treaty of ſucceſſion and barrier, and muſt inſiſt that this treaty might be ſigned before the peace; for in the preſent treaty of barrier, made in 1709, many things were inſerted diſadvantageous to Great Britain, and which could not be reconciled either to the letter or ſpirit of the grand alliance.

The ceſſation of arms being near expiring, it was again continued for four months longer, viz. from the twenty-ſecond of December to the twenty-ſecond of April, N. S.

On the fifth of December, the marquis de Monteleone, whom king Philip appointed to be one of his plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, arrived at London, in his way thither, when he had an audience of her majeſty, to whom he addreſſed the following ſhort compliment (which was moſt graciouſly received by her majeſty):

"Madam,

"The Catholic king, my maſter, hath ſent me to give your majeſty a thouſand thanks for the great pains you have been pleaſed to take to procure peace to Europe; the whole Spaniſh nation in particular, owe their lives to your majeſty; for had the war continued, there is not one faithful Spaniard who would not have ſpent the laſt drop of blood in my maſter's quarrel.

Her majeſty having named the duke of Shrewſbury, lord chamberlain of her houſhold, to be her ambaſſador to the court of France, in the room of the duke of Hamilton, deceaſed, his grace ſet out for that kingdom on the fourteenth of December; and before the end of the month the duke d'Aumont arrived at London, as ambaſſador from the French king.

The queen, extremely well pleaſed with the compliment the Dutch had made her, and their promiſe of coming into her meaſures, ſent a letter to the States, expreſſing her ſatisfaction on that head: and the Dutch having received advice that the Turks threatened to revive the troubles in Hungary, in which caſe they knew the emperor would recall great part of his troops from the Netherlands, and leave the burthen of the war upon their ſhoulders, they reſolved to come into the new treaty of barrier and ſucceſſion propoſed by queen Anne, which was accordingly ſigned on the nineteenth of January, 1713, and ſent over to England to be ratified. By this treaty, to which the Dutch were indebted for a mighty acceſſion of territory, and a very great increaſe of power, "the States engage to aſſiſt and defend the ſucceſſion of the crown of Great Britain, according to the act of ſettlement, againſt all oppoſers; and her majeſty ſtipulated and agreed, that the States ſhould garriſon Furnes, Fort Knocque, Ypres, Menin, the town and citadel of Tournay, Mons, Charleroy, the town and caſtle of Namur, the caſtle of Ghent, the forts La Perle, Philip, and Damme; and fort Rodenhugſen by Ghent ſhould be demoliſhed, and that the revenues of thoſe towns which had been taken from France (over and above what was neceſſary for the ſupport of the civil government, ſhould belong to the States, for the maintenance of their garriſons: that a million of florins yearly, or an hundred thouſand crowns every three months, ſhould be paid alſo to the States, out of the cleareſt and

moſt certain revenues of the Spaniſh Low Countries, which the late king Charles was in poſſeſſion of at the time of his death, towards the expence of the other garriſons.

" That the Engliſh and Dutch ſhall be upon the ſame foot in point of trade in the Netherlands.

" That England ſhall aſſiſt the Dutch with ten thouſand men, and twenty men of war, in caſe they ſhould be attacked: and the States ſhall aſſiſt the Engliſh with ſix thouſand men and twenty men of war; and if this ſhould not be ſufficient, they ſhall aſſiſt each other with their whole forces."

The coming in of the Dutch to the meaſures of the Britiſh court ſeems to have had a conſiderable influence upon the other powers; even the emperor's plenipotentiaries ſeemed to talk in more moderate terms. Count Zinzendorf declared, that his maſter was well diſpoſed to promote a general peace, and no longer inſiſted on a ceſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria; he alſo conſented to evacuate Catalonia, and accept of a neutrality for Italy, under the guaranty of her Britannic majeſty. Philip's miniſters, together with thoſe of Bavaria and Cologne, were admitted to the congreſs, and now the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain acted as mediators for the reſt of the allies. On the firſt of March the inſtruments relating to Catalonia and Italy were executed; and on the fourth of the ſame month the dukes of Berry and Orleans renounced their right to the crown of Spain in the parliament of Paris, to which renunciation the duke of Shrewſbury and Mr. Prior, her Britannic majeſty's miniſters, and the duke d'Oſſuna, miniſter from the court of Spain, were witneſſes. Theſe preliminaries being thus ſettled, the great work of peace advanced more briſkly, and by the end of the month was brought to its concluſion *.

On the firſt of April, O. S. the famous treaty of Utrecht was ſigned, as ſome would have it believed in a clandeſtine manner: the fact, however, ſtood thus. The Britiſh miniſters having the day before preſented a memorial to the plenipotentiaries of France, in behalf of the French proteſtants, they went to count Zinzendorf, the Imperial miniſter, to communicate to him the plan of peace they had agreed on with France for the emperor and empire, which his Imperial majeſty was to have time to conſider of till the firſt of June, and declared again they were going to ſign the peace between Great Britain and France; and they afterwards made the like declaration to the miniſters of the reſt of the allies, but without notifying the preciſe time, to prevent diſputes and proteſts, which might have furniſhed matter for factious and dangerous diſputes at home: with the ſame view it was reſolved to ſign the treaty privately, at the houſe of the biſhop of Briſtol, lord privy-ſeal, which was accordingly done, under pretence of a conference, which being a thing frequent during that congreſs, rendered the matter the leſs ſuſpected. The earl of Strafford and the biſhop of Briſtol ſigned firſt, then the miniſters of the duke of Savoy (declared king of Sicily by that treaty), thoſe of the king of Portugal after them, then the plenipotentiaries of the king of Pruſſia, and thoſe of the States-general laſt of all: the whole was over about two in the morning, occaſioned by the length of the treaties that were to be read before they were ſigned; and when the buſineſs was over, the reſpective miniſters withdrew to their own places, and expreſſes were diſpatched by them to notify this tranſaction to their reſpective courts †.

Peace being thus happily concluded between France and all the allies, except the emperor and empire, I ſhall here give an abſtract of the moſt material articles in the ſeveral treaties, paſſing over matters of mere form, and ſuch other particulars as have no relation to Great Britain.

By this treaty the French king acknowleged the proteſtant ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover to the crown of Great Britain, and engaged, for himſelf and his heirs and ſucceſſors, not to ſuffer the pretender to return into France, nor any way to ſuccour or aſſiſt him.

" That the crowns of France and Spain ſhould never be united under one head, and renunciations made on both ſides in due form; and that they ſhould never be united under any pretence whatſoever.

" That the trade between France and Spain ſhall be on the ſame foot as in Charles II's time.

" That the fortifications of Dunkirk ſhould be demoliſhed, and the harbour filled up, never to be repaired. That the queen and kingdom ſhould be fully reſtored to the Bay and Straights of Hudſon, and ſatisfaction made to that company for damages ſuſtained.

" That the whole Iſland of St. Chriſtopher be only hereafter poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, and alſo Nova Scotia or Acadia, with the port now called Annapolis Royal.

" That the Iſland of Newfoundland ſhould belong of right wholly to Great Britain; the French to have only huts to dry their fiſh, and liberty to fiſh only from Cape Bonaviſta to the northern point of that iſland, and ſo down to the weſtern ſide as far as port Riche; only they were to retain Cape Breton and the other iſlands in the mouth of the river St. Lawrence.

" The French in Canada not to moleſt the Five Nations of the Indians ſubject to Great Britain; and we to do the ſame by them.

" All letters of reprizal, marque, and countermarque, to be annulled.

" That juſtice ſhould be done to the Hamilton family concerning the duchy of Chatelrault; to the duke of Richmond, concerning ſuch requeſts as he had to make in France; and to Charles Douglas, concerning certain lands to be reclaimed by him.

As for the allies, Portugal and Savoy were ſatisfied; the latter had the iſland of Sicily given him, with the title of king, and on the continent the towns of Feneſtrelles and Exilles, with the valley of Pragelas; ſo that they took from the houſe of Bourbon to aggrandize him. The title of King was allotted to the elector of Bavaria, together with the iſland of Sardinia, as an indemnification for his loſſes. The Dutch had a conſiderable barrier given them, which they had always been aiming at: and if the houſe of Bourbon was deſpoiled of ſome territories, in favour of the duke of Savoy, the houſe of Auſtria was on the other hand ſtripped to ſatisfy the Dutch, who were become, at its ex-

* Burnet. Oldmixon. Life of Queen Anne. Hiſt. of Europe.

† Burnet. Hare. Lamberti. Torcy.

pence, the guarantees and maſters of the ſtrongeſt cities in Flanders. Due regard was paid to the intereſt of the Duch with reſpect to trade; and there was an article ſtipulated alſo in favour of Portugal. The ſovereignty of the ten provinces of the Netherlands was reſerved for the emperor, together with the advantageous lordſhip of the barrier-towns: they likewiſe guarantied to him the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with all his poſſeſſions in Lombardy, and the four ports on the coaſt of Tuſcany. But the court of Vienna would not ſubſcribe to thoſe conditions, as thereby the emperor had not ſufficient juſtice done him; and the Imperial miniſters gave out, that they would ſtill carry on the war, and hazard all rather than ſubmit to ſuch uſage. The king of Pruſſia had Upper Gueldres, in lieu of Orange and the other eſtates belonging to his family in Franche Compte. For France, who demoliſhed Dunkirk, and gave up ſo many places in Flanders that her arms had formerly conquered, and that had been ſecured to her by the treaties of Nimeguen and Ryſwick, ſhe got back Liſle, Aire, Bethune, and St. Venant. Thus did the Engliſh miniſtry, to all appearance, do juſtice to every one; but this was denied them by the Whigs, who reviled the memory of queen Anne for having done the greateſt good that a ſovereign could poſſibly do, in giving peace to ſo many nations. Every unprejudiced perſon, however, attributed their clamours to the true ſource from whence they ſprung, madneſs and reſentment at being excluded from the management of public affairs, and not from any principle of real patriotiſm or love for their country. We muſt not forget to take notice of one glorious act of her's in this treaty of peace; I mean her having engaged Lewis XIV. to conſent to ſet at liberty a great number of his proteſtant ſubjects, who were confined in priſon and in the gallies on account of their religion: this was dictating laws, but laws of a very reſpectable nature.

At the ſame time with the treaty of peace the Engliſh plenipotentiaries concluded another of navigation and commerce with France, by which a free trade was eſtabliſhed, according to the tariff of 1664, except in ſome commodities that were ſubjected to new regulations in the year 1699. It was agreed, that no other duties ſhould be impoſed on the productions of France, imported into England, than thoſe that were laid on the ſame commodities from other countries; and that commiſſaries ſhould meet at London to adjuſt all matters relating to commerce. As for the tariff with Spain, it was not yet finiſhed. This treaty might not, perhaps, be ſo advantageous to Great Britain, in point of commerce, as might have been eſtabliſhed; but to ſay that the treaty of Utrecht did nothing, and that all our expences, and all our victories, in this long war, were abſolutely thrown away, is paying no regard to truth: but that a better treaty might have been made, I ſhall not take upon me to diſpute.

The parliament, after many prorogations, was at length permitted to ſit on the ninth of April, 1713, when the queen, in her ſpeech, acquainted the two houſes, that the treaty of peace was ſigned, and that in a few days the ratifications would be exchanged: ſhe hoped, ſhe ſaid, that what ſhe had done for the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the perfect friendſhip that ſubſiſted between her and the houſe of Hanover, might convince ſuch who wiſhed well to both, and had the quiet and ſafety of their country at heart, how vain all attempts were to divide them. Addreſſing herſelf to the commons in particular, ſhe ſaid, ſhe left it entirely to them to determine what force might be neceſſary for the ſecurity of trade by ſea, and for guards and garriſons: "Make yourſelves eaſy (continued this excellent princeſs), and I ſhall be ſatisfied: next to the protection of divine Providence, I depend upon the loyalty and affection of my people: I want no other guaranty." She then recommended to their care thoſe brave men who had ſerved well by ſea and land, during the war, and could not be employed in time of peace. Then, directing herſelf to both houſes, ſhe ſaid, ſhe hoped they would concert proper meaſures for eaſing the foreign trade of the kingdom; for improving and encouraging manufactures and the fiſhery; for employing the hands of idle people; for ſuppreſſing the ſcandalous and ſeditious libels that were every day publiſhed; and for putting a ſtop to the impious practice of duelling: concluding with this pathetic exhortation: "Now we are entering upon peace abroad, let me conjure ye all to uſe your utmoſt endeavours for calming mens minds at home, that the arts of peace may be cultivated. Let no groundleſs jealouſies, contrived by a faction, and fomented by party-rage, effect that which our enemies could not. I pray God to direct all your conſultations for his glory, and the welfare of my people."

Addreſſes of thanks and congratulation were immediately preſented by both houſes of parliament, and their example was followed by the houſes of convocation, and all the principal corporations in the kingdom. The ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed on the fifth day of May, the very day the war had been declared, eleven years before. It was about this period that the chevalier de St. George cauſed a printed remonſtrance to be conveyed, under covers, to the ſeveral miniſters at the congreſs, proteſting againſt whatever might be tranſacted there to his prejudice.

Mean while, in purſuance of the convention for evacuating Catalonia, ſir John Jennings was commanded to carry the empreſs (conſort of the late Charles III. of Spain, now the emperor Charles VI.) from Barcelona to Italy; and accordingly he ſet ſail with her Imperial majeſty from Barcelona, and landed her ſafely at Genoa, from whence ſhe afterwards proceeded to Milan, whither admiral Jennings followed her; and having had ſeveral conferences with the miniſters there, about the tranſportation of the German troops from Catalonia, he afterwards proceeded to the court of Turin, to confer with the duke of Savoy concerning his taking poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Sicily, in which ſervice the Britiſh fleet was to be employed *.

The commons having preſented an addreſs, entreating her majeſty to communicate to the houſe, in due time, the treaties of peace and commerce with France, her majeſty on the ninth of May, ſent a meſſage to them, which, by ſeveral, was cenſured as rather too authoritative, though in it-

* Burchet. Campbell.

ſelf

ſelf true, viz. "That as it was the undeniable prerogative of the crown to make peace or war, ſhe had ratified the treaties of peace and commerce with France, which had been ſigned by her orders; and had concluded a treaty with Spain, which would be ſigned as ſoon as the Spaniſh miniſters were arrived: that ſhe determined from the firſt, on this extraordinary occaſion to commnnicate theſe treaties to her parliament, and had therefore now ordered them to be laid before the houſe." This meſſage was delivered to the houſe by Mr. Benſon, chancellor of the Exchequer, who at the ſame time preſented to the houſe the copies of the treaties of peace and commerce made at Utrecht, with tranſlations of the ſame *.

The treaties being read, a day was appointed to conſider of the treaty of commerce; when it appeared that the miniſtry had not paid all the attention to the commercial intereſts of the kingdom which might have been expected from men of their talents and abilities. By the VIIIth and IXth articles, for inſtance, it was agreed that Great Britain and France ſhould mutually enjoy all the privileges in trading with each other, that either granted to the moſt favoured nation: and that no higher cuſtoms ſhould be exacted on the commodities of France than what were drawn from the ſame productions of any other people. After a violent diſpute, in which ſome inſiſted upon the advantages which would accrue to the nation by a free trade with France, and others as ſtiffly upon the prejudices of it, it was reſolved, however, by a great majority, that a bill ſhould be brought in, to render this treaty more effectual. The Portugueſe miniſter, alarmed at this reſolution, preſented a memorial, declaring, that ſhould the duties on French wines be reduced to a level with thoſe that were laid on the wines of Portugal, his maſter would prohibit the importation of the woollen manufactures and other commodities of Great Britain. The whole trading part of the nation exclaimed alſo againſt this treaty, which was univerſally allowed by all, who underſtood the ſubject, to be a wretched piece of politics, inaſmuch as the ſaid VIIIth and IXth articles did in general terms put France on an equal footing with Portugal, or any of our beſt allies, in point of commerce: but the IXth article ſtruck more directly at the very root of our Portugal trade, ſince by introducing the tariff of 1664, the wines and brandies of France would be poured in upon us in lieu of thoſe of Portugal, which latter country took off great quantities of our woollen cloth, iron, and other manufactures, and ſent us in return a large yearly balance of money in our favour, over and above all the wines, oil, and fruits, which we took from them.

In fine, the clamour againſt this treaty grew ſo loud, that it was no longer to be ſlighted; and although a great majority of the houſe of commons was, in other reſpects, cloſely attached to the miniſtry, the bill for agreeing to the purport of the ſaid two articles was rejected by a majority of nine voices, after the moſt eminent merchants had been heard at the bar of that houſe, to the great joy of the whole trading part of the nation, and indeed of all other impartial people. Thus the commerce between us and France has ever ſince remained in a kind of a ſtate of prohibition on both ſides, eſpecially with reſpect to the principal points.

Bad as our miniſtry managed at this time with reſpect to commerce, we ought, however, to do them the juſtice to acknowlege their circumſpection in regard to our then treaty with king Philip of Spain, which was ſigned at Utrecht, on the twenty-ſecond of July, O. S. by the biſhop of Briſtol, the lord privy ſeal, and the earl of Strafford, her majeſty's plenipotentiaries, and the duke d'Oſſuna and the marquis de Monteleone, plenipotentiaries from his catholic majeſty. As a proor of this, I ſhall here give an abſtract of *what is material in that treaty. By this agreement, the kingdoms of France and Spain were ſeparated for ever; Philip acknowleged the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and renounced the pretender. By the Xth article, "The full and entire property of the town and caſtle of Gibraltar, with all things thereto belonging, are given up to the crown of Great Britain in property, to be held and enjoyed abſolutely with all manner of right for ever, without any impediment or exception whatſoever." By the IXth article, "His catholic majeſty doth in like manner, for himſelf, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, yield to the crown of England the whole iſland of Minorca, transferring to the ſaid crown for ever all right and moſt abſolute dominion over the ſaid iſland, and in particular over the town, caſtle, and fortifications of Port Mahon; all that Spain reſerved to itſelf being no more than the right of pre-emption, in caſe the crown of Great Britain ſhall at any time think fit to alienate or diſpoſe of the ſaid fortreſs of Gibraltar or iſland of Minorca." The XIIth article grants "to her Britannic majeſty, and to the company of her ſubjects appointed for that purpoſe [i. e. the South Sea company] (as well the ſubjects of Spain as all others being excluded), the contracts for introducing of negroes into ſeveral parts of the dominions of his Catholic majeſty in America (commonly called el Pacto del Aſſiento de Negros), at the rate of four thouſand eight hundred negroes yearly, for the ſpace of thirty years ſucceſſively, beginning from the firſt of May, 1713, on the ſame conditions on which the French company had formerly enjoyed it."

As it has been peremptorily aſſerted, that queen Anne, after having drawn the Catalans into a war, in ſupport of the intereſt of Charles III. did, by this treaty with king Philip, leave them wholly at the mercy of their enraged ſovereign, without ſtipulating any thing in their behalf; therefore, once for all, to confute this groundleſs and impudent calumny, I ſhall here recite verbatim the XIIIth article of this treaty of peace between her Britannic majeſty and king Philip, viz.

"Whereas the queen of Great Britain has continually preſſed, and inſiſted with the greateſt earneſtneſs, that all the inhabitants of the principality of Catalonia, of whatſoever ſtate or condition they may be, ſhould not only obtain a full and perpetual oblivion of all that was done in the late war, and enjoy the entire poſſeſſion of all their eſtates and honours, but ſhould alſo have their ancient privileges preſerved ſafe and untouched; the Catholic king, in compliance with the ſaid queen of Great Britain, hereby grants and confirms to all the inhabitants of Catalonia whatſoever not only the am-

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Burnet.

neſty deſired, together with the full poſſeſſion of all their eſtates and honours, but alſo gives and grants to them all the privileges which the inhabitants of both Caſtilles, who, of all the Spaniards, are moſt dear to the Catholic king, have and enjoy, or hereafter may have and enjoy."

The Scots, during this ſeſſion of parliament, ſhewed themſelves very uneaſy, and particularly on account of the duty upon malt, which, after the peace, was to extend to that kingdom. Their nobility and gentry had ſeveral conſultations in London upon this affair, during the adjournment of parliament on account of the Whitſun holidays, when the duke of Argyll, the earl of Mar, Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath, and Mr. Cockburn of Ormiſtoun, were deputed to lay their grievances before the queen. A remonſtrance was accordingly drawn up, and preſented to her majeſty, importing, that their countrymen, with great impatience, bore the violation of ſome of the articles of Union, and that the laying ſuch an inſupportable burthen as the malt-tax upon them, was like to raiſe their diſcontent to ſuch an height as to prompt them to declare the Union diſſolved. Her majeſty anſwered this addreſs by ſaying, that this was a precipitate reſolution, and ſhe wiſhed they might not have reaſon to repent it; but, however, ſhe would endeavour to make all things eaſy.

The Scots, not content with this anſwer, reſolved to lay their grievances before the houſe of lords; and accordingly, on the twenty-eighth of May, the earl of Finlater (one of the ſixteen peers for Scotland) made a motion in the houſe of peers, that ſome day might be appointed to conſider of the ſtate of the nation; and the firſt of June being fixed upon, he then made a repreſentation of the grievances of the Scots, which he reduced to theſe four heads, viz. "I. That they were deprived of a privy-council. II. That the laws of England, in caſes of high-treaſon, were extended to Scotland. III. That the Scots were made incapable of being peers of Great Britain, as was adjudged in the caſe of the duke of Hamilton. And IV. That the Scots were hardly dealt with in being ſubject to the malt-tax, in time of peace, when they had reaſon to expect to enjoy the benefits of peace; and it was the more inſupportable now, in that they had never borne it during the war."

He then concluded with ſaying, that ſince the Union between the two nations had not been attended with thoſe good effects that were expected and hoped from it, he therefore moved, that leave might be given to bring in a bill for diſſolving the ſaid Union, and ſecuring the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, eſtabliſhing the queen's prerogative in both kingdoms, and preſerving an entire amity and good correſpondence between the two nations." Hereupon aroſe a very great and memorable debate; the Scots lords, and thoſe who had been moſt zealous in promoting the Union, now urging many arguments for the diſſolution of it. Upon the whole, the court lords were all againſt diſſolving the Union, arguing, that the very moving of ſuch a thing was of very ill conſequence, and therefore deſired ſuch an effectual ſtop might be put to it, that no one ſhould ever offer the like again; and ſo the matter ended *.

There was another affair which gave the queen no leſs uneaſineſs than the buſineſs of Scotland: it ſeems, great part of the revenue, which uſed to be applied to the civil liſt, having been by a former parliament appropriated to other uſes, her majeſty found herſelf under very great difficulties in paying her ſervants, and ſome other private demands; and this was more grievous to that princeſs, having been always remarkable for her œconomy, and regular and punctual payments; whereupon ſhe ſent a meſſage to the commons, in conſequence of which that houſe reſolved, that the ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be raiſed on the civil liſt revenue. About this time advice being received that the chevalier St. George had for ſome time taken up his reſidence in Lorrain, the two houſes of parliament ſeverally addreſſed her majeſty, that ſhe would uſe the moſt preſſing inſtances with the duke of Lorrain, and with all the princes and ſtates in amity with her majeſty, that they would not receive or ſuffer the pretender to her crowns to continue in any of their dominions; which ſhe promiſed them ſhe would do.

Some little time before, the commons had addreſſed the queen to let them know what equivalent ſhould be given for the demolition of Dunkirk; and ſhe gave them to underſtand, that this was already in the hands of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty: what it was, however, ſhe did not think proper to explain, ſo that the commons were left as much in the dark as ever. They afterwards beſought her majeſty, that ſhe would not evacuate the towns in Flanders, which were in her poſſeſſion, until thoſe who were entitled to the ſovereignty of the Spaniſh Netherlands, ſhould agree to ſuch articles for regulating trade, as might place the ſubjects of Great Britain upon an equal footing with thoſe of other nations: to which her majeſty returned a favourable anſwer †.

On the ſixteenth of July her majeſty came to the houſe of peers, and having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills, cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech to both houſes, which was not at all agreeable to the violent Whigs, becauſe it did not contain a word about the pretender and the proteſtant ſucceſſion, from whence they inferred that ſhe was biaſſed in favour of the chevalier de St. George. The lord-chancellor, by her majeſty's command, prorogued the parliament to the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, but it never ſat more; for on the eighth of Auguſt a proclamation was iſſued for diſſolving the preſent parliament, and declaring her majeſty's intention of calling a new one. Accordingly, on the eighteenth of the ſame month, writs were iſſued in due form, and the new parliament appointed to meet on the twelfth of November.

This ſummer the magiſtracy of Dunkirk ſent a deputation with an addreſs to the queen, humbly imploring her majeſty to ſpare the port and harbour of that town, and repreſenting that they might be uſeful to her own ſubjects. To this addreſs lord Bolingbroke, by her majeſty's order, returned this anſwer; "That the queen had read, with attention, the addreſſes he had preſented to her in the name of the magiſtrates of the town of Dunkirk, and ſhe had commanded him to tell them, that ſhe beheld with ſorrow the damages which the inha-

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords. Burnet.

† Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Burnet. Tindal.

bitants of that town would ſuſtain by the demoliſhing of its ramparts and harbour; but that ſhe did not think it convenient to make any alteration in a thing agreed on and determined by a treaty." Hereupon monſ. Fugghe, the principal deputy, preſented a ſecond addreſs or memorial to her majeſty on the ſame ſubject, which he cauſed to be printed and publiſhed. The arguments it contained were anſwered and refuted by Addiſon, Steele, and Mainwaring. Commiſſioners were ſent to ſee the fortifications of Dunkirk entirely demoliſhed. They were accordingly razed to the ground, and the harbour was filled up. On the other hand, the queen, by her inſtances at the court of Verſailles, had procured the enlargement of one hundred and thirty-ſix proteſtants from the gallies; but hearing that one hundred and eighty-five more were detained on the ſame account (that of religion), ſhe made ſuch application to the French miniſtry, that they too were releaſed, and thus by her powerful influence reſtored to the greateſt of all human bleſſings, liberty, they proclaimed her majeſty's piety and goodneſs through the world.

On the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, the queen was ſeized with a violent ague-fit, which at firſt proved alarming; but her majeſty ſoon appeared abroad again, to the great joy of all her ſubjects.

I ſhall here take notice of ſome promotions that were made in the courſe of this year. In February, Dr. Offly was made biſhop of St. Davids, in the room of Dr. Bliſs, who was tranſlated to the ſee of Hereford; in April, the lord-keeper Harcourt was made lord-chancellor of Great Britain; on the eighth of June, ſir Thomas Powys took his place as one of the judges of the Queen's Bench; and ſir John Banniſter ſat the firſt time as baron of the Exchequer: and about the ſame time the Rev. Dr. Atterbury was made biſhop of Rocheſter and dean of Weſtminſter; Robert Benſon, eſq. chancellor of the Exchequer, was created baron Bingley; Dr. Robinſon, biſhop of Briſtol, late plenipotentiary at the congreſs of Utrecht, was tranſlated to the ſee of London; and the lord Willoughby of Brooke, was made dean of Windſor. Her majeſty was alſo pleaſed to beſtow ſome marks of her favour on the earl of Peterborough, by creating him knight of the Garter, in the room of the late duke Hamilton, and appointed him to go ambaſſador to the new king of Sicily.

After the peace there were nothing but quarrels and contentions among the miniſters: Bolingbroke was for undermining the treaſurer, as not enduring to be ſecond in the adminiſtration; and, the better to gratify his ambition, was for puſhing matters to extremity againſt the Whigs, and was even ſuſpected of deſigns againſt the proteſtant ſucceſſion. Bolingbroke found means to inſinuate himſelf into the confidence of lady Maſham, to whom the earl of Oxford had given ſome cauſe of diſguſt: by the intrigues of this favourite he daily gained ground in the good opinion of his ſovereign, while the treaſurer loſt in the ſame proportion. Bolingbroke had formed a ſcheme to put himſelf and chancellor Harcourt at the head of the High-church party, and had oppoſed the duke of Shrewſbury's being ſent over to France. The lord-treaſurer, however, brought his own ſcheme to bear, which was, "That the duke of Ormond ſhould ſtay in England to attend the army-affairs, which was neceſſary at the time of diſbanding; that the duke of Shrewſbury ſhould go to Ireland as lord-lieutenant, upon his return from France; that the earl of Finlater ſhould be chancellor of Scotland; the earl of Mar, third ſecretary of ſtate; the lord Dartmouth, privy-ſeal; Mr. Speaker Bromley, ſecretary of ſtate; and ſir William Wyndham, chancellor of the Exchequer, in the room of Robert Benſon, eſq. lately created lord Bingley, and named ambaſſador extraordinary to the court of Madrid. This new ſcheme perfectly defeated that of lord Bolingbroke and his friends, which threw them into a great rage; and the lord chancellor declared the promotion of the earl of Finlater to be againſt law, and would not treat that nobleman with decency; and lord Mar and ſecretary Bromley received many inſtances of ill uſage. Moſt of theſe changes were declared from the middle of Auguſt to the middle of September; and about that time Thomas Foley was appointed auditor of the impreſt accounts, in the room of Mr. Maynwaring deceaſed; the lord Lanſdown, treaſurer of the houſehold, in the room of the earl of Cholmondeley, formerly removed; ſir John Stonehouſe, comptroller of the houſhold, in the room of the lord Lanſdown; the lord Delawar, treaſurer of the chamber, in the room of the lord Fitzharding, deceaſed; Francis Gwin, ſecretary of war, in the room of ſir William Wyndham; and Thomas Moore, brother to Arthur Moore, pay-maſter of the land-forces abroad, in the room of Mr. Bridges. About this time likewiſe the duke of Northumberland and ſir John Stonehouſe were ſworn of the privy-council; and the earl of Denbigh made one of the tellers of the Exchequer*.

The duke of Shrewſbury being appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, convoked the parliament of that kingdom on the twenty-fifth day of November, when it ſoon appeared that the diviſions in England had affected that iſland. Prodigious riots were made at the elections, and one in particular at Dublin, which could not be appeaſed without the ſoldiery: however, by the choice of a ſpeaker (Mr. Allan Broderick), chairman of the committee of elections, and other methods, the Whigs got the majority in the houſe of commons, who began the buſineſs of the ſeſſion by ordering a proſecution againſt one Edward Lloyd, for publiſhing a book entitled, "Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George." Then they fell upon ſir Conſtantine Phipps, the chancellor, one of the violent Tory party, and voted an addreſs to the queen, to remove him. This gentleman's conduct had, indeed, been very exceptionable; and it was no ſecret, that he had an attachment to the exiled family. The houſe of lords, however, who were chiefly Tories, oppoſed the commons by a counter-addreſs to the queen, in favour of the chancellor, as did likewiſe the convocation. During theſe convulſions, the duke of Shrewſbury behaved with wonderful temper and prudence; and left nothing undone to keep things in ſome order; but finding that the commons were reſolved to oppoſe all the meaſures of the court, he thought proper to prorogue the parliament; and leaving chancellor Phipps, with the archbiſhops of Armagh and Tuam, juſtices of the kingdom, he returned to England in the beginning of the year 1714.

* See the earl of Oxford's letter to the queen, in the report of the ſecret committee, anno 1715.

All this while the party-writers and managers on both ſides were extremely buſy in England in preparing the minds of the people to favour their reſpective intereſts in the new elections for parliament-men; but, notwithſtanding the weight and influence of the court, and the viſible partiality of ſome returning officers, a far greater number of Whigs were choſen than was by many expected: the meeting of the parliament, however, was delayed by repeated prorogations to the tenth day of December, a delay partly owing to the queen's ill ſtate of health, partly to the conteſts that prevailed among her miniſters, which were frequently carried to very indecent lengths even in the royal preſence. Bolingbroke was powerfully ſupported by the lord-chancellor Harcourt, ſir William Wyndham, and Mr. ſecretary Bromley: Oxford perceived the decline of his own influexce, and began to think of retirement.

In the mean time, the queen was, on the twenty-fourth of December, taken very ill at Windſor. It was given out to be no more than an ague-fit, for which ſhe took the bark, which had its effect; but, whatever the diſtemper was in reality, it was ſo ſudden and violent, that for ſome minutes ſhe was thought to be dead. The Jacobites appeared greatly elated at this period, while thoſe who were friends to the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, trembled at the proſpect of what might happen. The public funds immediately fell, and a great run was made upon the Bank: the queen, being made acquainted with theſe circumſtances, ſigned a letter to ſir Samuel Stanier, lord-mayor of London, declaring that ſhe was recovered of her late indiſpoſition, and that ſhe was determined to open the new parliament on the ſixteenth day of February.

While England was harraſſed by theſe inteſtine commotions, the emperor Charles III. now left to contend ſingly with all the power of France, wrote circular letters to all the princes of the empire, to acquaint them with the reaſons why his miniſters could not concur in the peace, and ſoliciting their aid: to which the diet of the empire returned for anſwer, that they had reſolved to ſupport his imperial majeſty, in the proſecution of the war, with all poſſible vigour, not doubting, they ſaid, but by the effects of this reſolution, ſo unanimouſly taken by the whole body of the empire, and their united forces, to reduce the exorbitant power and intolerable ambition of France, and reſtore Germany to its former flouriſhing condition. But they found themſelves miſerably miſtaken; for marſhal Villars having (as I have already related) ſecured the reſt of French Flanders, marched towards the Rhine, and, after making himſelf maſter of Spires, Worms, and all the circumjacent country, he took Landau, which the emperor might have kept by acceding to the peace; forced the lines which prince Eugene had ordered to be drawn from Briſgau; defeated marſhal Vaubanne who defended thoſe lines; and laſtly beſieged Friburg, the capital of Upper Auſtria, which ſurrendered on the thirtieth of October, 1713. The court of Vienna preſſed the circles of the empire to ſend the ſuccours they had promiſed, but no ſuccours came. The emperor now began to be ſenſible, that without the aſſiſtance of England and Holland he could never prevail againſt France, and reſolved upon peace when it was too late. Accordingly conferences were opened, at the inſtances of the electors of Cologne and Palatine, at the caſtle of Al Raſtadt, between marſhal Villars and prince Eugene, on the twenty-ſixth of November. In the beginning of February, 1714, they ſeparated, without ſeeming to have come to any concluſion; but all the articles being ſettled between the courts of Vienna and Verſailles, they met again at the latter end of the month; the treaty was ſigned on the third of March; and orders were ſent to the governors and commanders on both ſides to deſiſt from all hoſtilities.

There was no notice taken in this treaty of the pretenſions which the emperor ſtill maintained to the Spaniſh monarchy, nor of the empty title of Catholic King which he continued to bear after Philip V. was in quiet poſſeſſion of that kingdom. Lewis XIV. however agreed to yield to the emperor Old Briſac, with all its dependencies, Friburg, the forts in the Briſgau and Black Foreſt, together with fort Kehl. He engaged to demoliſh the fortifications oppoſite to Hunningen, the fort of Sellingen, and all between that and fort Louis. The town and fortreſs of Landau were yielded to the king of France, who acknowleged the elector of Hanover. The electors of Bavaria and Cologne were reſtored to all their dignities and dominions. The emperor was put in immediate poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh Netherlands; and the king of Pruſſia was permitted to retain the high quarter of Gueldres. In concluſion, the contracting parties agreed, that a congreſs ſhould be held in the month of May at Baden in Switzerland, for terminating all differences; and prince Eugene and mareſchal de Villars were declared their firſt plenipotentiaries*.

Her majeſty, as ſoon as ſhe was able, came from Windſor to St. James's, when ſhe was pleaſed to tranſlate ſir William Dawes from the ſee of Cheſter to the archbiſhopric of York. On the ſixteenth of February, 1714, the new parliament (the fourth of Great Britain), was opened by commiſſion, and ſir Thomas Hanmer, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the laſt ſeſſion by his oppoſition to the bill for rendering effectual the treaty of navigation and commerce with France, was choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons: then the houſe adjourned to the ſecond of March. During this adjournment, the ratifications of the treaty between Great Britain and Spain (of which I have already taken notice) being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed in London, and the articles were approved by the greateſt part of the nation. On the ſecond of March, the queen, who ſtill continued in a bad ſtate of health, was carried in a chair to the houſe of lords, when ſhe made a ſpeech to both houſes, importing, "that ſhe had obtained an honourable and advantageous peace for her own people, and for the greateſt part of her allies; and ſhe hoped her interpoſition might prove effectual to complete the ſettlement of Europe: that ſome perſons had been ſo malicious as to inſinuate, that the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover was in danger under her government; but thoſe, who endeavoured to diſtract the minds of men with imaginary dangers, could only mean to diſturb the

* Hiſt. of Europe. Voltaire. Cond. of Prince Eugene.

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public tranquillity: that, after all she had done to secure the religion and liberties of her people, and to transmit them safe to posterity, she could not mention such proceedings without some degree of warmth; and she hoped her parliament would agree with her that attempts to weaken her authority, or render the possession of the crown uneasy to her, could never be proper means to strengthen the protestant succession."

It is not very easy to account for the queen's expressing her hope, that her interposition might prove effectual to complete the settlement of Europe, seeing that the emperor, who was at this very time engaged in a treaty with France, would neither admit her ambassador to the conferences, nor even acquaint her with the substance of the negociation. But this, and some other inconsistencies which were contained in this speech, were overlooked by the parliament; and both houses, together with the convocation, concurred in very affectionate addresses to the queen, who returned most gracious answers *.

It was not long, however, before the lords presented another address to her majesty, against a pamphlet, entitled, "The Public Spirit of the Whigs," which was principally levelled against the duke of Argyll, though, through him, the sixteen Scottish peers who sat in the house, were reflected upon, and the Union treated with great contempt: Barber (afterwards lord-mayor of London), the printer, and Morphew, the publisher, were both taken into custody of the black-rod, and a proclamation was issued, offering a reward of three hundred pounds to any person for discovering the author †.

On the other hand, a complaint was made in the house of commons, by Mr. auditor Foley, against the author of certain scandalous papers called "The Englishman," and "The Crisis," as containing several paragraphs tending to sow sedition, reflecting upon her majesty, and arraigning her administration and government. Mr. Richard Steele, a member of the house, acknowleging himself the author of those pieces, a day was appointed for his trial. On the thirteenth of March Mr. Steele made a very long defence, in which he was assisted by his friends, Mr. Addison, general Stanhope, and Mr. Walpole. The attack against him was managed by sir William Wyndham, Mr. Foley, and the attorney-general. In a word, he was cast by a great majority of two hundred and forty-five against one hundred and fifty-two, and it was voted that he should be expelled the house.

The lords taking into consideration the state of the nation, addressed her majesty to acquaint them with the steps that had been taken for removing the pretender from the dominions of the duke of Lorrain; that she would communicate to them an account of the negociations of peace; an account of the instances that had been made in favour of the Catalans; and an account of the moneys granted by parliament since the year 1710, for carrying on the war in Spain and Portugal. They afterwards agreed to other addresses, beseeching her majesty to lay before them the debts and state of the navy, the particular writs of "Noli prosequi" granted since her accession to the throne, with several other matters; and then the house adjourned itself to the last day of March.

A report being industriously propagated about this time, of a design undertaken by France in behalf of the pretender, the ambassador of that crown at the Hague disowned it in a public paper, by command of his most Christian majesty. Nevertheless, the minds of the people had been too deeply practised upon to be convinced by this or any other declaration; and what seemed to rivet their apprehensions, was the great alteration now made in military and civil posts, which were bestowed upon professed Tories, some of whom were at the bottom attached to the pretender. This measure, however, is to be imputed rather to Bolingbroke than the treasurer, who advised moderate measures, and who is said to have made advances towards a reconciliation with the leaders of the Whig party, who, alarmed at a change so much to their disadvantage, and either apprehending, or affecting to apprehend, that a design was formed to secure the pretender's accession to the throne of Great Britain, held secret consultations with baron Schutz, the resident from Hanover. They also maintained a correspondence with that elector and the duke of Marlborough, who, in case of necessity, would have easily procured the States-general to support any design he thought proper to form. Not content with this, they actually formed a plan for seizing the Tower, upon the first appearance of danger in regard to the queen's life (who now visibly decayed from day to day), and confining in it such persons as were obnoxious to them. This conduct of the Whigs was resolute, active, and would have been laudable, had their zeal been confined within the bounds of truth and moderation; but they were moreover guilty of unpardonable falshoods, to excite and encourage the fears and jealousies of the people.

The house of lords being again met, the distressed state of the Catalans, the pretender, and the danger that threatened the protestant succession, furnished a variety of changes upon the alarm-bell of sedition and party malevolence; but nothing so much disgraced this illustrious assembly as that spirit of persecution and rancorous hatred, which they exerted with respect to the pretender. Not contented with hunting him from one country to another, they seemed earnestly bent to extirpate him from the face of the earth, as if it had been a crime in him to be born; they even proceeded so far as to address the queen to set a price upon his head. To this address, which was delivered by the chancellor and the Whig lords only, the queen replied in these words: "My lords, it would be a real strengthening to the succession in the house of Hanover, as well as a support to my government, that an end was put to those groundless fears and jealousies, which have been so industriously promoted: I do not, at this time, see any occasion for such a proclamation: whenever I judge it to be necessary, I will give orders for having it issued: with regard to the other particulars of this address, I will take care to give the proper directions ‡."

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* Proceedings of House of Commons. Tindal.

† Proceed. of the House of Lords.

‡ About this time an agent of the late king James's queen offered to file a bill in chancery, wherein he demanded in her name, the sum of six hundred and fifty thousand pounds due to her by the crown of England, for the dowry of fifty thousand pounds per annum, since the death of king James; but the agent having in the bill, given her the title of "Queen-mother," the

The Whig party were not a little diſſatisfied with this anſwer; and in order to give her all the mortification poſſible, the earl of Wharton propoſed this queſtion in the houſe of lords, Whether the proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger under the preſent adminiſtration? A warm debate enſued, but at length the ſucceſſion was voted out of danger, by a majority of voices.

About this period an accident happened, which was not a little ſurpriſing, and occaſioned many ſpeculations at this time. Baron Schutz, the Hanoverian envoy, demanded of the lord-chancellor a writ for the electoral prince to ſit in the houſe of peers, as duke of Cambridge. The chancellor, in ſome ſurprize, ſaid it was a matter that demanded ſome conſideration, to make out writs for peers who did not reſide in the kingdom; however, he would immediately acquaint the queen with it. The envoy replied in a menacing tone, that he doubted not but his lordſhip knew the nature of his office; but as to the difficulty by the prince's abſence, he was reſolved to come over, and very poſſibly might be landed before the writ was made out. The queen was ſo offended with the baron's applying to the chancellor, without firſt ſignifying his intention to her, that ſhe forbad him the court; and, reſolved not to afford her enemies the malicious pleaſure of turning their backs upon her in her life-time, to worſhip the riſing ſun, ſhe wrote the following letter to the princeſs Sophia, which, from the good ſenſe and ſpirit that diſplay themſelves in the compoſition, well deſerves a place in this work.

"Madam, ſiſter, aunt,

"Since the right of ſucceſſion to my kingdoms has been declared to belong to you, and your family, there have always been diſaffected perſons, who, from particular views of their own intereſt, have entered into meaſures to fix a prince of your blood in my dominions, even while I am yet living. I never thought, till now, that this project would have gone ſo far, as to have made the leaſt impreſſion on your mind. But, as I have lately perceived, by public rumours, which are induſtriouſly ſpread, that your electoral highneſs is come into this ſentiment, it is of importance, with reſpect to the ſucceſſion of your family, that I ſhould tell you, ſuch a proceeding will infallibly draw along with it ſome conſequences, that might be dangerous to the ſucceſſion itſelf, which is not ſecure any other way than as the prince, who actually wears the crown, maintains her authority and prerogative. There are here (ſuch is our misfortune) many perſons, who are ſeditiouſly diſpoſed. So I leave you to judge, what tumults they may be able to raiſe, if they ſhould have a pretext to begin a commotion. I perſuade myſelf, therefore, you will never conſent, that the leaſt thing ſhould be done, which may diſturb the repoſe of me and my ſubjects.

"Open yourſelf to me with the ſame freedom I do to you, and propoſe whatever you think may contribute to the ſecurity of the ſucceſſion. I will come into it with zeal, provided it do not derogate from my dignity, which I am reſolved to maintain. I am, with great affection, &c."

At the ſame time, ſhe wrote a letter to the duke of Cambridge, in theſe terms:

"Couſin,

"An accident, which has happened in my lord Paget's family, having hindered him from ſetting forward ſo ſoon as he thought to have done, I cannot defer any longer letting you know my thoughts with reſpect to the deſign you have of coming into my kingdoms. As the opening of the matter ought to have been made to me, ſo I expected you would not have given ear to it, without knowing my thoughts about it. However, this is what I owe to my own dignity, the friendſhip I have for you, and the electoral houſe to which you belong, that I ſhould tell you, that nothing can be more dangerous to the tranquility of my dominions, and the right of ſucceſſion in your line, and conſequently more diſagreeable to me, than ſuch a proceeding at this juncture. I am, with great friendſhip,

"Your very affectionate couſin,

"ANNE R."

Another letter was written to the elector himſelf, the contents of which were never communicated to the public.

The lord-treaſurer took this opportunity, by his brother, Mr. Thomas Harley, to aſſure the elector of his inviolable attachment to the houſe of Hanover. The electoral prince, who, in all probability, had been wrong adviſed by ſome of the Whig party, who wanted to make him an inſtrument to compaſs their own ends, was ſo convinced, by the queen's letter, of the impropriety of coming to England during her life-time, that, though he obtained the writ, he never thought proper to uſe it. Towards the latter end of April, the lords took into conſideration the treaties of peace and commerce, to which many exceptions were taken; but at length the majority carried the queſtion in favour of an addreſs, "acknowleging her majeſty's goodneſs in delivering them, by a ſafe and advantageous peace with France, from a burthen of a conſuming land-war, unequally carried on, and become at laſt impracticable *."

In the beginning of May, the rev. Mr. Bedford, who had been convicted of publiſhing a book, ſhewing the monarchy of England to be hereditary, was ſentenced in the court of Queen's Bench to pay a fine of one thouſand marks, and to remain in priſon for three years, and afterwards to be bound in a recognizance, with four ſufficient ſureties, in the ſum of five thouſand pounds, for his good behaviour during life; and he was ordered to be brought to all the courts in Weſtminſter-hall, with a paper on his breaſt ſignifying his offence: but the latter part of his ſentence her majeſty was pleaſed to remit, out of regard to the delinquent's ſacerdotal character.

On the demand of the duke of Cambridge's writ, by the baron Schutz, a conſultation had been held by the miniſtry, wherein it was debated, Whether the queen ſhould invite over the duke?

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the officer refuſed to file it, upon which the agent changed the title, and preſented it in the name of "the moſt illuſtrious princeſs Maria, relict of James II. king of England." Though no notice was taken of this formal demand, yet, purſuant to a private agreement made in France by the lord Bolingbroke, about fifty thouſand pounds were remitted thither for her uſe.

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords.

the lord-treaſurer, the lord-chancellor, the lord privy-ſeal, and another privy-counſellor, were for it; but the lord Bolingbroke having oppoſed it, and carried the negative, reſolved to puſh his point, and, by his ſubſequent behaviour, gave but too much reaſon to ſuſpect him of a deſign to defeat the proteſtant ſucceſſion. However that might be, from this time he broke all meaſures with the treaſurer. On the twelfth of May, ſir William Wyndham made a motion for a bill "to prevent the growth of ſchiſm, and for the farther ſecurity of the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed." The deſign of it was to prevent diſſenters from teaching in ſchools and academies. It was accordingly prepared, and eagerly oppoſed in each houſe, as a ſpecies of perſecution, which in truth it was: nevertheleſs, it made its way through both houſes, and received the royal aſſent; but the queen dying before it took place, this law was rendered ineffectual.

On the twenty-ninth of June, baron Bothmar, envoy extraordinary from the elector of Hanover, arrived in London, and having had a private audience of her majeſty, he notified the death of the princeſs Sophia. This princeſs, walking in the gardens of Herenhauſen, on the eighth of June, in the evening, was taken with an apoplectic fit, and died in the arms of the electoral princeſs (afterwards queen Caroline), before any one could come to her aſſiſtance. She was the fourth and youngeſt daughter of Frederic, king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth his conſort, daughter of king James I. and was born at the Hague, on the third of October 1630. Upon her death the court of England appeared in deep mourning, and the elector of Brunſwick was ordered to be prayed for by name, in the Liturgy of the church of England.

About this time the houſe of commons concurred with the lords in voting the proteſtant ſucceſſion out of danger. The Whigs, however, had great advantage over the Tories in the upper houſe, in reference to the treaty of commerce with Spain; and all that could be ſaid in defence of the miniſtry availed very little. Sir William Hodges, Mr. Mead, and about thirty more eminent merchants trading to Spain being called into the houſe of lords, unanimouſly averred, that unleſs the explanation of the third, fifth, and eighth articles were reſcinded, they could not carry on their commerce without loſing twenty or twenty-five per cent. Theſe explanations had been made at Madrid, after ſigning the treaty at Utrecht. It was obſerved the treaſurer joined with the lords who inſiſted on hearing the Spaniſh merchants, which was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the lord Bolingbroke. But, after a long debate, it was reſolved to addreſs the queen "to cauſe all the papers relating to the negociation of the treaty of commerce with Spain, to be laid before the houſe, together with the names of the perſons who adviſed her majeſty to that treaty." The miniſtry were ſo confounded at this ſudden attack, that they could think of no better anſwer to put into the queen's mouth, than "that ſhe had been given to underſtand the three explanatory articles of the treaty of commerce with Spain were not detrimental to the trade of her ſubjects, and therefore ſhe had conſented to their being ratified with the ſaid treaty."

This anſwer was excepted to by ſeveral members, as unſatisfactory; and, among the reſt, the earl of Wharton and lord Halifax ſaid openly, "that if ſo little regard was ſhewn to the addreſſes and applications of that auguſt aſſembly to the ſovereign, they knew not what buſineſs they had in that houſe." The ſame lords then moved for a repreſentation to the queen, to lay before her the inſuperable difficulties that attended the Spaniſh trade upon the foot of the late treaty; which being agreed to, and preſented, the queen returned this general anſwer, "that it had been her care to procure all poſſible advantages for her ſubjects in trade, and that ſhe ſhould continue her endeavours to obtain farther benefits, and particularly in the trade with Spain, which was ſo uſeful to her people." The lords were as little pleaſed with this anſwer as with the laſt, and ſome of them took occaſion to complain of her majeſty's ſilence in relation to the deſire of the houſe, that ſhe would be pleaſed to name the perſons who had adviſed her to ratify the treaty of commerce with Spain; and it was moved that another addreſs might be preſented, in which the houſe ſhould inſiſt in ſtronger terms on her majeſty's naming the perſons who had adviſed her to ratify the three explanatory articles, and ſome hot ſpeeches were made on both ſides on that affair; but the lottery bill being ready for the royal aſſent, the queen came the very next day (July 9) to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion. It was the general opinion, that if the parliament had ſat one day longer, the lords would have ordered a proſecution againſt Mr. Arthur Moore, a member of the lower houſe, who was an agent of lord Bolingbroke's, and had the chief management of the treaty, and who by ſeveral circumſtances appeared to have been corrupted by the Spaniſh court: nay, many expected that their lordſhips would have carried their reſentment of his and Bolingbroke's conduct in relation to this treaty, ſo far as to commit them both to the Tower.

Her majeſty, in her ſpeech to the two houſes at the end of this ſeſſion, and which was the laſt ſhe made in parliament, after thanking them for the ſupplies they had granted, aſſured them, that her chief care was to preſerve the proteſtant religion, the liberty of her ſubjects, and to ſecure the tranquility of her kingdom: ſhe then concluded in theſe words: "But I muſt tell you plainly, that theſe deſirable ends can never be attained, unleſs you bring the ſame diſpoſitions on your parts; unleſs all groundleſs jealouſies, which create and foment diviſions among you, be laid aſide, and unleſs you ſhow the ſame regard for my juſt prerogative, and for the honour of my government, as I have always expreſſed for the rights of my people." The parliament was then prorogued to the tenth of Auguſt; a day, however, the queen lived not to ſee.

Her majeſty's conſtitution was now quite broken; one fit of ſickneſs ſucceeded another; and what completed the ruin of her health, was the anxiety of her mind, occaſioned partly by the diſcontents which had been raiſed and fomented by the enemies of her government, and partly by the diſſenſions among her miniſters, which were now become intolerable; for, forgetting their duty to her, and regard for their country, they conſulted only their ambitious views, ſo that whenever they met in council, they ſtudied rather to croſs each other's propoſals, than to ſettle or purſue any regular plan: and to ſuch a monſtrous extravagance

did theſe jealouſies arrive at laſt, that it is believed a quarrel between the treaſurer and lord Bolingbroke, in her preſence, proved in ſome meaſure the cauſe of her death. In the mean time, the latter prevailed, and the earl of Oxford was, on the twenty-ſeventh day of July, diveſted of all his employments. This occaſioned the dukes of Somerſet and Argyll to come into the council, who were followed by ſome other privy-counſellors, friends to the Hanover ſucceſſion, which gave a turn to that board; and, by their advice, the queen, two days after, gave the white ſtaff to the duke of Shrewſbury, tho' he was lord-chamberlain and lord-lieutenant of Ireland at the ſame time. This was no ſmall mortification to Bolingbroke, who did not doubt of ſucceeding his rival as prime miniſter in the adminiſtration of affairs, and is ſaid to have formed a deſign of a coalition with the duke of Marlborough, who at this very time embarked at Oſtend for England. It has been aſſerted that Oxford had attempted the ſame expedient, but had met with a repulſe from the duke, who had ſolemnly vowed never to be reconciled to that miniſter.

The general confuſion that followed at court, upon the diſmiſſion of the treaſurer, and the fatigue of attending a long cabinet-council on the event, had ſuch an effect upon the queen's ſpirits, that, on the twenty-ninth of July (being then at Windſor) ſhe was ſeized with a lethargic diſorder, and the next day, about ſeven in the morning, was ſtruck with an apoplexy; and from that time continued in a dying condition. About three in the afternoon ſhe recovered her ſenſes a little, and then it was that, at the requeſt of her privy-council, ſhe gave the treaſurer's ſtaff to the duke of Shrewſbury, bidding him uſe it for the good of her people. This was the laſt act of her government, for the council now took upon themſelves the direction of public affairs, appointing the earl of Berkeley to command the fleet, and ſending general Witham to take the command of the troops in Scotland. Orders were diſpatched to four regiments of horſe and dragoons, quartered in remote counties, to march up to the neighbourhood of London and Weſtminſter; ſeven of the ten Britiſh battalions in the Netherlands, were directed to embark at Oſtend for England, with all poſſible diſpatch: an embargo was laid upon all ſhipping; and directions were given for equipping all the ſhips of war that could ſooneſt be got ready for ſervice: in a word, no one ſtep was omitted, that ſeemed likely to over-awe the Jacobite faction, and ſecure the peaceable acceſſion of that illuſtrious prince on whom the crown of theſe realms was now about to devolve.

In the mean time the queen continued in the hands of her phyſicians and domeſtics, ſome of whom flattered themſelves with falſe hopes to the laſt; but the bliſters, which had been applied as the laſt reſort, not riſing, her majeſty, about ſeven in the morning of the firſt of Auguſt, 1714, breathed her laſt, in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign.

Queen Anne was, in her perſon, of the middle ſtature, and well proportioned; her complexion and ſhape excellent, till her conſtitution was impaired by grief and ſickneſs. She appeared to beſt advantage ſpeaking, for ſhe had a clear harmonious voice, great good ſenſe, and a very happy elocution. Her piety was unaffected, her humility was ſincere, her good-nature conſpicuous: ſhe was a pattern of conjugal fidelity and affection, a tender mother, a warm friend, and a munificent patron.

Her character, viewed in a political light, is ſufficiently apparent from the tranſactions of her reign, the greateſt part of which was glorious, and the whole might have been ſo, had ſhe not been abuſed by thoſe in whom ſhe repoſed her confidence. That there were ſeveral ſchemes formed to reſtore the pretender to the crown of theſe realms, during the latter part of her reign, cannot be doubted; but that ſhe herſelf deſigned him to be her ſucceſſor (as is to this day believed by many weak or prejudiced perſons), does not appear from any part of her conduct. Beſides, it will be very difficult to make any honeſt thinking perſon believe that, after ſo many repeated and ſolemn aſſurances from the throne, of her being entirely in the intereſt of the houſe of Hanover and its ſucceſſion, there could be ſo much hypocriſy lodged in the breaſt of a princeſs, who was otherwiſe ſo conſpicuous for her virtue and piety, and who had given ſuch evident proofs of her zeal for the proteſtant religion, in the moſt dangerous and worſt of times. It is not the leaſt addition to the glory of her reign, that it may be called Bloodleſs, no perſon having been executed, at leaſt beheaded for treaſon, during the courſe of it; which cannot be ſaid of any one of her predeceſſors ſince the reign of Edward I. who died in 1307. To conclude, nothing was wanting to have made her adminiſtration the moſt illuſtrious of any in the annals of hiſtory, but to have had ſubjects more united among themſelves, and more capable of diſcerning the tenderneſs and ſincerity of her affection for them.

Her majeſty had iſſue, by the prince of Denmark,

1. A daughter that was ſtill-born, the twelfth of May, 1684.

2. Lady Mary, a ſecond daughter, born June 2, 1685, and died in February, 1690.

3. Anne Sophia, born May 12, 1686, and died the February following.

4. William, duke of Gloceſter, born July 24, 1689, who lived to be eleven years of age.

5. The lady Mary, born in October 1690, who lived no longer than to be baptized.

6. George, another ſon, who died alſo ſoon after he was born.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM

The Acceſſion of the Illuſtrious Family of BRUNSWICK LUNENBURG, or HANOVER, A. D. 1714, to the Ratification of the Peace of Verſailles, A. D. 1763.

PART XIII.

GEORGE I. A. D. 1714.

I Am now to enter upon a new period of time, and a total change in the order of ſucceſſion to the throne of theſe realms; a change, however, to which we owe innumerable bleſſings, and which ſtamps upon this part of our hiſtory a ſtill greater value than even the important Revolution, with which we uſhered in this volume. The birth of a ſon to king James II. having been judged an impoſture, calculated to anſwer the ends of tyranny and popery, the pretended prince of Wales was ſolemnly abjured by act of parliament, and all acceſs to the throne of Great Britain for ever ſhut againſt him. Hereupon the houſe of Savoy came to be next in claim to the Britiſh dominions, as they drew their right from the princeſs Henrietta, daughter of king Charles I. but all catholics having been declared incapable of ſucceeding to the crown, as the only effectual means to preſerve the proteſtant religion and the liberties of the ſtate, it devolved of courſe to the houſe of Hanover, as the neareſt proteſtant family to the line of ſucceſſion. Upon this foundation it was, that, upon the death of the duke of Gloceſter, by a ſtatute made in the twelfth year of king William III. for limiting the ſucceſſion of the crown, it was provided, that after the death of the queen, then princeſs Anne, without iſſue, it was to paſs to the princeſs Sophia, of the moſt illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, as the next proteſtant heir, and that princeſs was acknowleged for lawful heir to the imperial crown of Great Britain.

Sophia, electreſs-dowager of Hanover, was daughter to the queen of Bohemia, who, before ſhe married Frederick, elector Palatine and king of Bohemia, was ſtyled the Princeſs Elizabeth of Great Britain, daughter to James VI. of Scotland and I. of England, in whom united all the hereditary claims to the crown of theſe realms. But the princeſs Sophia dying a very little while before the queen, George Lewis, elector of Hanover, her ſon, became heir of this crown on the demiſe of queen Anne. The proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover had been ſo firmly eſtabliſhed by ſeveral acts of parliament, that it happily took place immediately on the queen's death, Auguſt 1, 1714, and king George had an eaſy and peaceable acceſſion to the throne.

This prince poſſeſſed every qualification requiſite to form a great ſovereign. Endowed by nature with an extenſive genius, which had been cultivated by a liberal education, he was perfectly capable to ſupport the weight of a crown; at the ſame time his mature age, being then fifty-four years old (for he was born May 28, 1660), his experience, and his perſonal qualities, were ſuch as ſeemed to leave his new ſubjects nothing to apprehend from

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History of ENGLAND.

GEORGE I.

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his conduct. He had waged war in perſon with ſucceſs, and his valour had gained him the eſteem of the Engliſh, even before he came to be their ſovereign. Filled with thoſe ſentiments that diſtinguiſh great minds, he loved to render juſtice impartially to all men, and delighted in conferring benefits on the deſerving: "My maxim (ſaid he, ſoon after his arrival in England) is never to abandon my friends; to do juſtice to all men; and to fear no man." As he had been born and educated in the boſom of the proteſtant church, the bulk of the Engliſh nation had fixed their hopes on him for the preſervation of the conſtitution both in church and ſtate. In a word, if ever a king mounted a throne with a proſpect of taſting all the ſweets of royalty, without experiencing any of its chagrin, it was George I. But, however, he was not without his diſturbances.

By an act of parliament in the laſt reign, the adminiſtration of the government was veſted in lords-juſtices: thoſe expreſly appointed by the act were the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the great officers of ſtate for the time being. Theſe were,

Dr. Tenniſon, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Lord-chancellor Harcourt.

John Sheffield, duke of Buckinghamſhire, lord-preſident.

Charles Talbot, duke of Shrewſbury, lord-treaſurer.

William Legge, earl of Dartmouth, lord privy-ſeal.

Thomas Wentworth earl of Strafford, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty.

Sir Thomas Parker, lord chief-juſtice of the King's Bench.

Beſides theſe, the ſucceſſor was empowered, by the ſame act, to add what other regents he pleaſed, by three inſtruments, one of them to be depoſited with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, another with the lord-chancellor, and the third with the Hanover reſident, which were to be opened at the queen's death. Accordingly his grace of Canterbury, as ſoon as he heard that her majeſty was expired, immediately repaired to court, where he had not been for ſome time, and with his colleagues, produced the inſtruments, wherein his electoral highneſs had, under his own hand, nominated the following lords to be added to the others in the regency, viz.

The duke of Shrewſbury.
The duke of Somerſet.
The duke of Bolton.
The duke of Devonſhire.
The duke of Kent.
The duke of Argyll.
The duke of Montroſe.
The duke of Roxborough.
The earl of Pomfret.
The earl of Angleſey.
The earl of Carliſle.
The earl of Nottingham.
The earl of Abingdon.
The earl of Scarborough.
The earl of Orford.
The lord viſcount Townſhend.
The lord Hallifax.
The lord Cowper *.

The regency thus fixed, the form of a proclamation was ordered by the lords of the council, for proclaiming "The high and mighty prince, George, elector of Brunſwick Lunenburg, king of Great Britain, France and Ireland;" which was accordingly performed the ſame day, with the uſual ſolemnity, in the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and as ſoon as poſſible all over England. His majeſty was likewiſe proclaimed at Edinburgh on the fifth of Auguſt, and the next day at Dublin; at the ſame time the lords juſtices of Ireland iſſued a proclamation for diſarming papiſts and ſeizing their horſes. There was not the leaſt diſturbance or interruption given in any place to the proclaiming the king, only at Oxford, where the mayor received from a perſon, in a bachelor's gown, a letter, requiring him to proclaim the pretender. This being communicated to the vice-chancellor, a copy of it was immediately tranſmitted to Mr. ſecretary Bromley, member of parliament for the univerſity, and the vice-chancellor offered a reward of one hundred pounds to any perſon who ſhould diſcover the author.

On the thirty-firſt of July, the queen being then declared by her phyſicians paſt all hopes of recovery, Mr. Craggs had been diſpatched to Hanover with the news, and the next day baron Bothmar, the Hanoverian reſident, ſent Mr. Godick, his ſecretary, with advice that ſhe was actually deceaſed, and that his majeſty had been joyfully and peaceably proclaimed: the lords-juſtices alſo appointed the earl of Dorſet to carry the king the news of his acceſſion, and to wait on him in his journey to England. They ſoon after appointed Mr. Joſeph Addiſon their ſecretary, and ordered the poſt-maſter to ſend to him all the letters and packets directed to the ſecretaries of ſtate, whereby the management of affairs was entirely taken out of the hands of the lord viſcount Bolingbroke.

The parliament being continued after the queen's demiſe, purſuant to the act for regulating the ſucceſſion, met in the afternoon of the day ſhe died, though it was Sunday; and four days after, viz. Auguſt 5, the lord-chancellor, in the name of his brethren the lords juſtices, made a ſpeech to both houſes, ſuitable to the preſent occaſion. Both houſes immediately agreed upon addreſſes of condolance for the death of the queen, and congratulations for his majeſty's happy acceſſion, promiſing to ſupport his undoubted right to the imperial crown of theſe realms againſt the pretender and all other perſons whatſoever: and deſiring his ſpeedy preſence amongſt them. Theſe addreſſes were tranſmitted to his majeſty by their excellencies the lords juſtices, and received moſt affectionate anſwers. That to the lords was as follows:

"I take this firſt opportunity to return you my hearty thanks for your addreſs, and the aſſurances you have given me therein. The zeal and unanimity you have ſhewn upon my acceſſion to the crown, are great encouragements to me; and I ſhall always eſteem the continuance of them, as one of the greateſt bleſſings of my reign. No one can be more truly ſenſible than I am, of the loſs ſuſtained by the death of the late queen, whoſe extraordinary piety and virtues ſo much endeared her to her people, and for whoſe memory I ſhall always have a particular regard. My beſt endeavours ſhall never be wanting to repair this loſs to the nation. I will make it my conſtant care to preſerve our religion, laws, and liberties inviolable,

* Lindal. Smollett.

and to advance the honour and proſperity of my kingdoms. I am haſtening to you, according to your deſire, ſo affectionately expreſſed in your addreſs *."

The anſwer to the commons was much to the ſame effect.

On the thirteenth of Auguſt, Mr. Craggs arrived in London, with letters from his majeſty to the lord-juſtices, who thereupon went to the houſe of lords, and acquainted the parliament therewith, when both houſes reſolved upon an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for the ſatisfaction he expreſſed in the loyalty and affection of his ſubjects. After this, the commons having finiſhed the bill for the civil liſt, and one for making ſome alterations in the act for a ſtate lottery, which, with ſome other bills, received the royal aſſent from the regency, the two houſes were by his majeſty's command, prorogued to the twenty-third of September.

Mr. Prior having intimated the queen's death to the court of Verſailles, Lewis XIV. declared that he would inviolably maintain the peace of Utrecht, particularly with regard to the ſettlement of the Britiſh crown in the houſe of Hanover. The earl of Strafford alſo having notified the ſame event to the States general, and Mr. Klingraef having preſented them with a letter, in which his maſter demanded the performance of their guaranty, they promiſed to fulfil their engagements, and congratulated his electoral highneſs on his acceſſion to the throne of Great Britain, invited him, at the ſame time, to paſs through their dominions, aſſuring him that his intereſts were as dear them as their own.

On the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, Mr. Murray arivived expreſs from Hanover, with an account that the king had deferred his departure for ſome days; and brought ſeveral orders for the lords-juſtices and council, particularly one for removing the lord viſcount Bolingbroke from his poſt of ſecretary of ſtate, which was done on the thirty-firſt, not without ſome marks of the royal diſpleaſure; the dukes of Shrewſbury and Somerſet, and the lord Cowper, three of the lords-regents taking the ſeals from him, and locking and ſealing up all the doors of his office. The lord viſcount Townſhend was ſoon after appointed to ſucceed him.

It may be neceſſary to acquaint the reader, that by this time the duke of Marlborough was come over to England. He had been here ſome days ſooner, had he not been detained at Oſtend by contrary winds. He happened to land at Dover the very day the queen died: it is ſaid he knew nothing of this event any more than the mayor and jurats of Dover, by whom he was received in their formalities, with the acclamations of the people, and with a diſcharge of a great number of guns. He had been invited over, firſt by the lord-treaſurer Harley, when he thought to ingratiate himſelf with the Whigs, and laſtly by lord Bolingbroke, who wanted a colleague to ſupport him in power, and great promiſes were made to the duke. His grace, indeed, ſeemed to be ſo elated with the proſpect of returning greatneſs, that he for once loſt ſight of that prudence which had hitherto been the invariable guide of his conduct: he affected to make a kind of public entry; about two hundred of the inhabitants of Southwark, with their member at their head, reſolved to meet and attend him through the Borough; he was likewiſe eſcorted as he paſſed through the city by a like number on horſe-back. He was deſervedly cenſured by all moderate people for his conduct, which was a flagrant inſult upon the queen's memory, who was but juſt dead, and to whoſe partial friendſhip, when living, he had owed perhaps as much as to his own merit (conſummate as that was repreſented), the ſurpriſing pitch of grandeur and power to which he arrived. But to proceed.

The king having entruſted the adminiſtration of his German dominions to his brother, prince Erneſt, and a council, and made all the neceſſary preparations for his journey, ſet out from Herenhauſen† on the laſt day of Auguſt, with the prince royal his ſon. On the fifth of September he arrived at the Hague, where he was complimented on his acceſſion, by a ſolemn deputation from the States, and by all the foreign miniſters. On the ſixteenth he embarked for England, under convoy of a ſquadron of Britiſh and Dutch men of war, commanded by the earl of Berkley, vice-admiral of the red‡, and arrived the next day in the Hope. On the eighteenth he landed, with the prince, at Greenwich, where they they were attended by the lords of the regency, the great officers of ſtate, and a vaſt number of nobility and gentry. Many were honoured with particular marks of reſpect, but the duke of Ormond, and others concerned in the late meaſures, were coldly received; and the next day his grace was removed from his office of captain-general, which was reſtored to the duke of Marlborough. On the twentieth, his majeſty, attended by two hundred coaches and ſix, made his public entry through the city to St. James's, in the moſt grand and magnificent manner, amidſt innumerable crowds of people, and the loudeſt acclamations of joy. In fine, as I have already obſerved, no king ever came to a throne with a greater proſpect of an happy and tranquil reign; however, the event ſhewed, that George knew little of the real diſpoſitions of his new ſubjects, which his miniſters concealed from him, or were themſelves impoſed upon.

The reader may rememember what has been ſaid in ſeveral parts of this hiſtory in relation to the Whigs and Tories: it is well known, the mutual animoſity and hatred of theſe two parties, which were carried to a degree of phrenzy, brought Charles I. to the ſcaffold, and operated a ſurpriſing revolution in affairs towards the latter part of the late queen's reign. The ſame cauſes continuing ſtill to operate, made her ſucceſſor totter on his throne before he was well ſeated in it. Till very

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords. Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Tindal.

† A palace near Hanover, belonging to the elector, with fine water-works, equal, it is ſaid, to thoſe of Verſailles.

‡ It may not be improper, in order to render the ſubſequent hiſtory more clear, to give the reader a ſhort ſtate of the commands in the navy, at the acceſſion of George I.

Sir John Leak, knight, rear-admiral of Great Britain.
Matthew Aylmer, eſq. admiral and commander in chief of his majeſty's fleet.
Sir James Wiſhart, knight, admiral of the white ſquadron.
Sir John Norris, knight, admiral of the blue.
James, earl of Berkeley, vice-admiral of the red.
Sir Edward Whitaker, knight, vice admiral of the white.
John Baker, eſq. vice-admiral of the blue.
Sir Charles Wager, knight, rear-admiral of the red.
Sir Hovenden Walker, knight, rear-admiral of the white.
Sir Thomas Hardy, knight, rear-admiral of the blue.

lately

lately the whole weight of authority had been in the hands of the Tories, while the Whigs remained without credit or influence, and had the additional mortification to ſee their chief patrons and ſupporters in diſgrace or exile. The high-church men indulged themſelves in an inſolent triumph over their fallen enemies; while the low-church party, bereft of all means of revenge, were obliged to keep a reſpectful ſilence, which proceeded rather from conſcious inability than motives of virtue or patriotiſm. The new government was leſs attentive to the religious cauſes of the hatred that ſubſiſted between the two parties, than to the influence which either of thoſe parties might have on the affairs of ſtate. The king had taken a ſtrong prepoſſeſſion againſt the Tories, whom he had been miſled to look upon as Jacobites, and thought the Whigs his only true friends; upon which he threwaſide all reſerve, and declared openly in their favour. An inſtantaneous and total change was effected in all offices of honour and advantage. I ſhall mention only ſome of the chief: lord Cowper (afterwards earl Cowper) was again made lord-chancellor; the earl of Wharton, lord privy-ſeal; the earl of Nottingham (who had oppoſed the meaſures of the late miniſtry), preſident of the council; the earl of Sunderland, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; the duke of Devonſhire, lord-ſteward of the houſehold; James Stanhope, eſq. (the general), and the duke of Montroſe, ſecretaries of ſtate, the former in the room of William Bromley, eſq. and the latter in the room of the earl of Mar; the duke of Somerſet, maſter of the horſe; the duke of Argyll, general and commander in chief of the forces in Scotland; William Pulteney, eſq. ſecretary of war; Robert Walpole, eſq. pay-maſter-general of the army; and Allan Broderick, eſq. lord-chancellor of Ireland, in the room of ſir Conſtantine Phipps, who had rendered himſelf very obnoxious to the Whig party. On the twenty-ninth of September, his majeſty diſſolved the privy-council, and appointed a new one. Soon after, there were new commiſſions for the treaſury, and admiralty: Charles, lord Hallifax, was made firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury; ſir Richard Onſlow, chancellor of the Exchequer; Edward, earl of Orford, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; and John Aiſlabie, eſq. treaſurer of the navy: the duke of Shrewſbury kept his poſt of lord-chamberlain. In a word, the whole nation was delivered into the hands of the Whigs, and the Tories were in their turn reduced to the ſame ſtate of humiliation in which they had ſo lately exultingly beheld their adverſaries.

His majeſty having aſſembled his privy-council two days after his arrival in town, was pleaſed to make a declaration to the following effect: "That it was his firm purpoſe to do all that was in his power for the ſupporting and maintaining the churches of England and Scotland, as they were ſeverally by law eſtabliſhed, which, he was of opinion, might be effectually done, without the leaſt impairing the toleration allowed by law to proteſtant diſſenters, ſo agreeable to Chriſtian charity, and ſo neceſſary to the trade and riches of this kingdom."

The prince-royal George Auguſtus (afterwards our moſt gracious ſovereign George II.) was now declared prince of Wales; and addreſſes, congratulating his majeſty's acceſſion, were preſented by the two univerſities, and by all the counties, cities, boroughs, and corporations of the kingdom. On the 11th of October arrived the princeſs of Wales (afterwards queen Caroline) with her two eldeſt daughters, the princeſſes Anne (afterwards princeſs of Orange) and Amelia; the princeſs Caroline came over ſome time after.

On the twentieth of October his majeſty was crowned at Weſtminſter with the uſual ſolemnity, at which the earl of Oxford and lord Bolingbroke aſſiſted. Previous to this ceremony his majeſty was pleaſed to create ſome new peers, and others were promoted to higher titles, as may be ſeen in the note *.

As the demolition of Dunkirk was repreſented not to go on ſo faſt nor ſo effectually as had been ſtipulated by the treaty of Utrecht, Mr. Prior, our reſident at the French court, was ordered to preſent a memorial to haſten this work; as alſo to prevent the canal of Mardyke from being finiſhed. Lewis having returned an equivocal anſwer, Mr. Prior was recalled, and the earl of Stair appointed ambaſſador to the court of Verſailles, where he proſecuted this affair with great vigour. At the ſame time as the barrier-treaty, which was now on the carpet between the emperor and the States-general, was of great conſequence to the trade of this nation, general Cadogan, an intimate friend of the duke of Marlborough, was ſent to Antwerp to aſſiſt at the conferences.

All this time, the manifeſt partiality ſhewn by the court to the Whig party, greatly inflamed the minds of thoſe who were already but too much diſcontented at the late changes; and the Jacobites, impatient at a revolution that took from them all hopes of having the family of the Stuarts again to rule over them, joined the malcontents. The royal party were in many places interrupted in their rejoicings on account of the coronation, by diſorderly and tumultuous rabbles, who, ſetting up the cry of "Down with the Whigs, Sacheverel for ever!" proceeded to numberleſs diſorders. At Briſtol in particular the mob was quite outrageous; and it was not long before London itſelf was infected with riots and tumults. Seditious pamphlets were written and diſperſed without number or decency: breaking windows and pulling down meeting-houſes was now again practiſed; and the Whig faction thought themſelves hardly ſecure, even under the ſhadow of royal protection.

The pretender being informed of theſe diſturbances, thought this a favourable juncture for him to ſtir. Accordingly, he tranſmitted, by the French mail, copies of a printed manifeſto to

* James lord Chandos was created earl of Caernarvon; Lewis, lord Rockingham, earl of that name; Charles, lord Oſſulſton, earl of Tankerville; Charles, lord Halifax, earl of Halifax; Heneage, lord Guernſey, earl of Aylesford; John, lord Hervey, earl of Briſtol; Thomas, lord Pelham, earl of Clare; Henry, earl of Thomond, in Ireland, viſcount Tadcaſter; James, viſcount Caſſleton in Ireland, baron Sanderſon; Bennet, lord Sherrard in Ireland, baron of Harborough; Gervaſe, lord Pierrepont, in Ireland, baron Pierrepont, in the county of Bucks; Henry Boyle, baron of Carleton, in the county of York; ſir Richard Temple, baron of Cobham, in the county of Kent; Henry, lord Paget, earl of Uxbridge.

the dukes of Shrewſbury, Marlborough, Argyll, and other noblemen of the firſt diſtinction. It was ſigned at the top, James R. and dated at Plombieres, the 29th of Auguſt, 1714, N.S. being a kind of manifeſto or declaration of the pretender, aſſerting his claim to the crown of Great Britain. He ſays, "That the Revolution ruined the Engliſh monarchy, laid the foundation of a republican government, and devolved the ſovereign power upon the people." He obſerves, "That when he found the treaty of peace was upon the point of being concluded, without any regard to him, he then publiſhed, in April, 1712, his proteſtation againſt it." He then gives his reaſon of his ſitting ſtill for ſome time paſt, in theſe remarkable words: "Yet, contrary to our expectations, upon the death of the princeſs our ſiſter (of whoſe good intentions towards us we could not for ſome time paſt well doubt; and this was the reaſon we then ſat ſtill, expecting the good effects thereof, which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable death) we found that our people, inſtead of taking this favourable opportunity of retrieving the honour and true intereſt of their country, by doing us and themſelves juſtice, had immediately proclaimed for their king a foreign prince, to our prejudice, contrary to the fundamental and inconteſtible laws of hereditary right, which their pretended acts of ſettlement can never abrogate."

The copies of this manifeſto being delivered to the ſecretaries of ſtate, his majeſty thought fit to forbid the marquis de Lamberti, miniſter from the duke of Lorraine, to appear at court, alleging that this affair could not have been tranſacted without the knowlege and countenance of his maſter, who gave an aſylum at his court to the Chevalier de St. George. In vain did the duke of Lorraine deny his having been privy to this matter, and make the utmoſt conceſſions. His miniſter was given to underſtand, that the friendſhip of the king of England was to be purchaſed only by driving that wretched wanderer from his dominions; and as the duke would not comply with this condition, his miniſter withdrew from the kingdom.

Religion was now (as it ever had been ſince the firſt riſe of the Whigs and Tories) brought in as a pretext to cover the political views of both factions. The high-churchmen complained, that impiety and hereſy daily gained ground, from the infamous negligence of the Whig prelates. The lower houſe of convocation had, after the queen's death, declared, that a book lately publiſhed by Dr. Samuel Clarke, under the title of "The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity," contained aſſertions contrary to the orthodox faith. The matter was repreſented to the biſhops. The doctor wrote an apology for his work, which was ſatisfactory to their lordſhips; but the lower houſe reſolved, that it was no recantation of his heretical aſſertions. Thus ſtood the affair at the queen's death; and the diſpute about the Trinity increaſing, on the eleventh of December were publiſhed by authority, "Directions to the archbiſhops and biſhops for preſerving unity in the church, the purity of the Catholic faith concerning the Holy Trinity, and for maintaining the quiet and peace of the ſtate." By theſe every preacher was forbid to deliver any other doctrine concerning the Trinity than what is maintained in the holy ſcriptures, is agreeable to the three creeds, and is conſonant with the thirty-nine articles of religion; to indulge in bitter and virulent invectives againſt any perſons whatever; and to intermeddle in the leaſt with affairs of ſtate or government. The like prohibition was extended to thoſe who ſhould write, harangue, or diſpute on the ſame ſubjects.

The preſent parliament conſiſting chiefly of Tory members, it was judged altogether improper to indulge it in a longer continuance at this critical juncture: it was reſolved to have one that would prove more favourable to the views of the court. Accordingly, on the fifth of January, 1715, a proclamation was publiſhed for diſſolving the parliament, and on the fifteenth another was iſſued for calling a new one. This proclamation ſeems to have been dictated without the leaſt regard to true policy, or the preſent diſpoſitions of the people. The king therein expatiated upon his undoubted right to the crown; he complained of the evil deſigns of men diſaffected to his ſucceſſion; he declared his reſolution to maintain the toleration in its utmoſt force; he repreſented the affairs of the kingdom as in a caſe of utter deſtruction, as well in reſpect to the trade and interruption of its navigation, as to the great debts of the nation, which, he ſaid, had been very much increaſed ſince the concluſion of the laſt war. "We do not therefore doubt, added he, that if the enſuing elections ſhould be made by our ſubjects, with that ſafety and freedom to which by law they are entitled, and which I am firmly reſolved to maintain to them, they will ſend up to parliament the fitteſt perſons to redreſs the preſent diſorders, and to provide for the peace and happineſs of our kingdom, and eaſe of our people for the future; and that in their choice of members, they will have a particular regard to ſuch as had ſhewed a firm attachment to the proteſtant ſucceſſion when it was in danger." What could be a greater ſatire upon the conduct of the preceding miniſtry? and were not thoſe infinitely culpable, who, now they had the power to put into the mouth of a ſovereign, an utter ſtranger to the people over whom he was invited to rule, ſentiments which ſavoured more of the vindictive leader of an incenſed party, than of the father and ſovereign of a divided nation, whoſe party-diſtinction this proclamation ſeemed rather calculated to encourage, than to appeaſe or conciliate.

And in fact what was the freedom of elections ſo warmly recommended by this proclamation, but a mere empty expreſſion, ſince, before the writs were iſſued for the new parliament, the court was well aſſured that ſuch members only would be returned as might be agreeable to them. The perſons were in fact appointed before the returns were made. It is well known that the principal aim of all miniſters is to ſecure a majority in parliament to ſecond their views and projects; and although at firſt ſight it may appear no eaſy matter to get ſuch a number of different perſons, moſt of them wholly unacquainted, or unconnected with a court, and who owe their right of repreſentation, in all outward appearance, to the unbiaſſed ſuffrages of their fellow-citizens, the freeſt of all

‡ Tindal.

elections, to concur in promoting the intereſts of one or two particular men: yet ſuch is the weight of miniſterial influence on ſuch occaſions, that they can generally ſecure the greateſt part of the multitude who have the nomination of theſe repreſentatives: they make choice of ſome clever, active, inſinuating perſon; one who has ſome weight and property in the county where he reſides. This man is, as it were, the ſoul of the ſeveral meetings who aſſemble on theſe occaſions; and where he votes, the bulk of the other electors are generally ſure to follow. One or two ſuch perſons in a county once gained, the miniſter is pretty ſure of carrying his point. The common people ſeldom conſult reaſon in their choice of a repreſentative. Imagination does the chief part of the work; and whoever can ſucceed in raiſing their hatred, or exciting their love, by ſome artful repreſentation, may determine them to whatever party he pleaſes. During the greateſt part of the reign of queen Anne, the Whigs were brought into univerſal diſcredit by their enemies, repreſenting the great abuſe the duke of Marlborough and his creatures made of their power, by endeavouring to ſubvert the monarchy and the eſtabliſhed church, and draining the nation of its riches to prolong a ruinous war, in order to fill their own coffers, and get every place of power and profit into their own hands. The light in which theſe things were repreſented operated all the effect that was deſired: the giddy populace, who a moment before were for continuing the war till France was made a province to Great Britain, and Lewis XIV. brought over in chains to London, ſuddenly changed their note, and joined in one general cry for peace. Marlborough, who had for many years been the idol of the nation, was now diſcarded and ſtripped of his employments; and ſo far was he from being pitied in his fall, that it was made a kind of merit to cenſure and revile him. As ſoon as a change of government happened, and that the new court appeared to adopt ſentiments altogether the reverſe of thoſe which had prevailed in the preceding reign, the minds of the people were wrought upon by arguments of a different ſtamp. The former miniſtry were now loaded with the moſt injurious aſperſions: the Tories were repreſented as traitors to the conſtitution of their country, who endeavoured to reſtore popery and tyranny: the peace was vilified as the moſt ſhameful and diſhonourable to the nation that ever had been made; and the moſt enthuſiaſtic praiſes now ſucceeded the venomous obloquies which had been laviſhed upon the character and conduct of the great general. Uncommon was the vigour which each party exerted in the elections for the parliament; the Whigs, however, had the moneyed intereſt on their ſide, and the countenance of the miniſtry; ſo that they had the pleaſure to find a great majority of their party returned both for England and Scotland.

The new parliament met on the fourteenth day of March, when Mr. Spencer Compton was choſen ſpeaker of the commons. On the twenty-firſt the king came to the houſe of peers, and delivered to the chancellor a written ſpeech, which was read in preſence of both houſes, and was conceived in the following terms:

" My lords and gentlemen,

" This being the firſt opportunity that I have had of meeting my people in parliament ſince it pleaſed Almighty God of his providence to call me to the throne of my anceſtors, I moſt gladly make uſe of it to thank my faithful and loving ſubjects for that zeal and firmneſs that hath been ſhewn in defence of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, againſt all the open and ſecret practices that have been uſed to defeat it; and I ſhall never forget the obligations I have to thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves upon this occaſion.

" It were to be wiſhed that the unparalleled ſucceſſes of a war, which was ſo wiſely and chearfully ſupported by this nation, in order to procure a good peace, had been attended with a ſuitable concluſion: but it is with concern I muſt tell you, that ſome conditions, even of this peace, eſſential to the ſecurity and trade of Great Britain, are not duly executed; and the performance of the whole may be looked upon as precarious, until we have formed defenſive alliances to guaranty the preſent treaties.

" The pretender, who ſtill reſides at Lorraine, threatens to diſturb us, and boaſts of the aſſiſtance which he ſtill expects here to repair his former diſappointments.

" A great part of our trade is rendered impracticable. This, if not retrieved, muſt deſtroy our manufactures, and ruin our navigation.

" The public debts are very great, and ſurprizingly encreaſed ſince the fatal ceſſation of arms. My firſt care was to prevent a further increaſe of thoſe debts, by paying off forthwith a great number of ſhips which had been kept in pay, when there was no occaſion for continuing ſuch an expence.

" Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I rely upon you for ſuch ſupplies as the preſent circumſtances of our affairs require, for this year's ſervice, and for the ſupport of the public faith. The eſtimates ſhall be laid before you, that you may conſider of them; and what you ſhall judge neceſſary for your ſafety, I ſhall think ſufficient for mine.

" I doubt not but you will concur with me in opinion, that nothing can contribute more to the ſupport and credit of the nation, than a ſtrict obſervance of all parliamentary engagements.

" The branches of the revenue formerly granted for the ſupport of the civil government, are ſo far incumbered and alienated, that the produce of the funds which remain, and have been granted to me, will fall much ſhort of what was at firſt deſigned for maintaining the honour and dignity of the crown: and ſince it is my happineſs (as I am confident you think it yours) to ſee a prince of Wales, who may in due time ſucceed me on the throne; and to ſee him bleſſed with many children, the beſt and moſt valuable pledges of our care and concern for your poſterity; this muſt occaſion an expence to which the nation has not for many years been accuſtomed, but ſuch as ſurely no man will grudge; and therefore I do not doubt but you will think of it with that affection which I have reaſon to hope for from you.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" The eyes of all Europe are upon you, waiting the iſſue of this firſt ſeſſion. Let no unhappy diviſions of parties here at home divert you from purſuing the common intereſt of your country. Let no wicked inſinuations diſquiet the minds of my ſubjects. The eſtabliſhed conſtitution in church and ſtate ſhall be the rule of my goverment; the happineſs, eaſe, and proſperity of my people, ſhall be the chief care of my life: thoſe who aſſiſt me in carrying on theſe meaſures I ſhall always eſteem my beſt friends; and I doubt not but that I ſhall be able, with your aſſiſtance, to diſappoint the deſigns of thoſe who would deprive me of that bleſſing which I moſt value, the affection of my people."

There were ſeveral expreſſions in this ſpeech which gave great umbrage to all thinking people, and ſhew the miniſtry either to have had very little policy, or elſe to have been ſure of carrying all their points, when they could put into the mouth of their royal maſter a ſpeech that ſeemed calculated rather to increaſe the unhappy diviſions that already diſtracted the kingdom, than to conciliate the minds of the people to a new government: but ſuch muſt ever be the misfortune of thoſe princes, who, from want of underſtanding the language, manners, and diſpoſition of thoſe they are called to rule over, are obliged to act as others ſhall point out to them, who on ſuch occaſions never fail to conſult the gratification of their own intereſts and paſſions before the real good of their country. Thus it was now; his majeſty was made to expreſs himſelf, in ſuch a manner as portended meaſures that it was the intereſt of the crown to avoid, and ſuited the temper of the majority of the houſe, which breathed nothing but deſtruction to their political adverſaries.

The addreſſes of the two houſes were perfectly agreeable to the king's ſpeech. The lords expreſſed their hopes that his majeſty, aſſiſted by the parliament, would be able to recover the reputation of the kingdom in foreign parts, the loſs of which they would endeavour to convince the world by their actions was by no means to be imputed to the nation in general.

The commons, on their part, declared their aſtoniſhment at finding that any condition of the late peace ſhould not yet be duly executed, and that care had not been taken to form ſuch alliances as might have rendered the peace not precarious; that they could not obſerve, without reſentment, that the duke of Lorraine, notwithſtanding the repreſentations of this court, ſtill continued to furniſh an aſylum to the pretender to the crown of theſe realms, who had the preſumption, by declarations from thence, to ſtir up his majeſty's ſubjects to rebellion; but that what raiſed their indignation to the higheſt degree was, that it appeared from theſe manifeſtos, that his hopes were built upon the meaſures which had for ſome time paſt been taken in Great Britain: that they would make it their buſineſs to enquire into theſe fatal miſcarriages; to trace out the nature of theſe pernicious meaſures, and to bring the authors of them to condign puniſhment.

Theſe addreſſes, ſo flattering to the views of the new miniſtry, were not, however, carried without a warm oppoſition. In the houſe of lords the dukes of Buckingham and Shrewſbury, the earl of Angleſey, the archbiſhop of York, and other peers, as well ſecular as eccleſiaſtical, excepted againſt the laſt expreſſion in the lords addreſs, alleging, among other things, that it was injurious to the late queen's memory, and claſhed with that part of his majeſty's ſpeech which recommended to both houſes the avoiding the unhappy diviſions of parties; and that it was unjuſt to condemn perſons without firſt hearing them.

In the lower houſe ſir William Wyndham, Mr. Bromley, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Hungerford, ſir William Whitelocke, and other members, objected to paſſages of the ſame nature in the addreſs which the commons had drawn up. General Roſs inſiſted, " That the condemning the peace, and cenſuring the miniſters, was a reflection on the deceaſed queen, whoſe act the peace was; and that reflecting on the late queen could not be conceived to be very agreeable to his preſent majeſty." Sir William Wyndham in particular endeavoured to prove, that the peace had been very beneficial to this kingdom, and offered to produce a liſt, by which it appeared that the cuſtoms had increaſed near one hundred thouſand pounds per annum. Theſe gentlemen were anſwered by Mr. Walpole, Mr. Pulteney, Mr. ſecretary Stanhope, and ſir Gilbert Heathcote, who declared that nothing was farther from their intention than to aſperſe the memory of the late queen: on the contrary, their wiſh and deſign was to vindicate her memory, by expoſing and puniſhing thoſe evil counſellors who had deluded her into pernicious meaſures; whereas the oppoſite party endeavoured to blacken and diſgrace her memory, by loading it with all that odium which was only due to their deſtructive counſels: that the addreſs, however, only condemned the peace, without affecting particular perſons, who, as they ought in juſtice, ſo they might depend upon it, they never ſhould be condemned without a fair trial. They obſerved, that the late negotiators had induſtriouſly circulated a report, that the preſent miniſtry would not attempt to call them to an account for their proceedings, but only to cenſure them in general terms; but that the falſity of this report ſhould ſoon be demonſtrated: that notwithſtanding the endeavours which had been uſed to prevent a diſcovery of the late miſmanagment, by conveying away ſecret papers from the Secretaries Office; yet the government had ſufficient evidence againſt the late miniſtry, which would in a little time be laid before the houſe, when ſuch things, they ſaid, would come to light, as would by no means redound to the honour of the late adminiſtration *. After all, the addreſs was carried by a majority of two hundred and forty-four votes againſt one hundred and thirty-eight.

It ſeems, that before the meeting of the parliament, all the papers of the earl of Strafford, late ambaſſador from queen Anne to the States-general, had been ſeized by an order from the new Secretaries Office. Mr. Prior had alſo been recalled from France, and had ſuffered himſelf to be ſo in-

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords. Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Boyer. Tindal.

timidated by the threats of the preſent miniſtry, that he had promiſed to reveal all he knew relating to the ſteps of Oxford's adminiſtration.

The Whig party now drove Jehu-like; and nothing but the blood of thoſe who had firmly oppoſed them ſeemed capable of ſatisfying their vindictive diſpoſition; wherefore lord Bolingbroke, who had hitherto appeared in the houſe of lords, as uſual, and had ever ſpoke in the whole on the addreſs with great freedom and confidence, finding that thoſe in power were determined to puſh matters to extremity; and hearing that Prior, who had ſo ſcandalouſly betrayed his friends, was landed at Dover, thought it now high time to conſult his perſonal ſafety, and on the twenty-ſeventh of March embarked for Calais, and ſo quitted the kingdom. At his departure, however, he left a letter, which was afterwards printed in his Juſtification.

In this paper he declared he had received certain and repeated intelligence, that a reſolution was taken to purſue him to the ſcaffold: that, if there had been the leaſt reaſon to hope for a fair trial, after having been already prejudged by the two houſes of parliament, he ſhould not have declined the ſtricteſt examination: that he challenged the moſt inveterate of his enemies to produce any one inſtance of criminal correſpondence, or the leaſt corruption in any part of the adminiſtration in which he was concerned: that if his zeal for the honour and dignity of his royal miſtreſs, and the true intereſt of his country, had any-where tranſported him to let drop an unguarded expreſſion, he hoped the moſt favourable conſtruction would be put upon it: that he had ſerved her majeſty faithfully, in that eſpecially which ſhe had moſt at heart, relieving her people from a bloody and expenſive war: and that he had always been too much an Engliſhman to ſacrifice the intereſt of his country to any foreign ally whatſoever.

As for the earl of Oxford, he beheld unmoved the ſtorm that was now gathering round his head. He wore an unembarraſſed, and even chearful, countenance; declaring his innocence and freedom from guilt, and expoſed the folly and inveteracy of the Whigs, who laboured to fix upon him the imputation of having ſecretly prepared the way for the reſtoration of the pretender, ſince, as he juſtly obſerved, no miniſtry that had the leaſt regard to their own ſafety, could be ſuppoſed to harbour, and ſeek to promote, a deſign ſo repugnant to the inclinations of the people. Indeed the late miniſtry had the conſolation to find many friends in the midſt of the perſecution raiſed againſt them, who boldly eſpouſed their cauſe; and ſeveral reſpectable counties ſent addreſſes to the king, approving of the peace, and of the meaſures purſued by the late queen's miniſters: the former they declared to be general, ſolid, honourable, and extremely advantageous to the people of England. Nay, ſome individuals had courage enough to attack the preſent adminiſtration. Sir William Wyndham aſſerted in the houſe of commons, that the proclamation which the miniſtry had procured for diſſolving the parliament, was not only unprecedented and unwarrantable, but even of dangerous conſequence to the very being of parliaments. This ſpirited declaration threw the oppoſite party into a violent rage. To the Tower! to the Tower! was the general cry: but that was over-ruled; and ſir William being ordered to withdraw, he was followed by one hundred and twenty-nine members. Thoſe remained in the houſe reſolved that he ſhould be reprimanded by the ſpeaker. He was then called in, and Mr. Speaker rebuked him in the following terms:

"Sir William Wyndham,

"I am to acquaint you, that the houſe is come to this reſolution, that you be reprimanded in your place by me.

"You have preſumed to reflect on his majeſty's proclamation, and made an unwarrantable uſe of the freedom of ſpeech granted by his majeſty.

"This houſe has made their moderation appear, and ſhewn their lenity, by laying the mildeſt cenſure your offence was capable of: I am ordered to reprimand you, and do reprimand you accordingly."

To which ſir William replied:

"Sir,

"I return you many thanks for what you have done, by the duty of your office, in ſo candid and gentlemanlike manner. As I am a member of this houſe, I very well know I muſt acquieſce in the determination of this houſe: but I am not conſcious of any indignity to his majeſty, or any breach of the privilege of this houſe; and therefore I have no thanks to give thoſe gentlemen, who, under pretence of lenity, have brought this cenſure upon me *."

Three days after, the commons entered upon that buſineſs they ſeemed to have moſt at heart, the bringing the late miniſtry to diſgrace and puniſhment. On the ninth of April, Mr. ſecretary Stanhope delivered to the houſe of commons the ſeveral papers (making fourteen large volumes) relating to the negociations of peace and commerce and ceſſation of arms; and moved that they might be referred to a ſelect committee of twenty-one perſons, who ſhould digeſt the ſubſtance of them under proper heads, and report them, with their obſervations, to the houſe. This was agreed to; the members of the committee were choſen by ballot †; and ſo eager were the Whigs to begin their work, that they met the ſame evening. Mr. Robert Walpole, who had been choſen chairman, being taken ill, his place was ſupplied by Mr. Stanhope: the whole number was ſubdivided into three committees, to each of whom a certain number of books (of the papers) were allotted, who proceeded very vigorouſly in their enquiries ‡.

On

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, April 6, 1715.

† The committee conſiſted of the following members: ſir Richard Onſlow, Robert Walpole, Spencer Cowper, James Stanhope, Hugh Boſcawen, William Pulteney, Nicholas Lechmere, Daniel lord Finch, John Aiſlaiby, Thomas Vernon, Algernon earl of Hertford, Edward Wortley Mountagu, ſir David Dalrymple, George Baillie, ſir Joſeph Jekyll, Thomas Erle, Richard Hampden, ſir Robert Marſham, Alexander Denton, Thomas Pitt, ſenior, and Thomas Coningſby.

‡ On the twenty-ſecond of April, in the morning, was the famous total eclipſe of the ſun, a thing that had not happened for ſome centuries, in theſe parts, when the darkneſs for a ſmall ſpace, was ſuch, that ſeveral ſtars appeared, and the birds betook themſelves to rooſt, as if it had been a new night. It

was

On the thirteenth of May there was a great debate in the houſe of commons about the civil liſt, which the court party were for ſettling on his majeſty in the ſame manner, and to the like amount, as it had been granted to king William. This was ſtrongly oppoſed by the Tories, who alleged, that the ſeven hundred thouſand pounds granted annually to that prince, was ſubject to the payment of fifty thouſand pounds per annum to the late queen, then princeſs of Denmark, twenty thouſand pounds to the duke of Gloceſter, and forty thouſand pounds as a dowry to James's queen; laſtly, they obſerved, that after the late queen's acceſſion to the throne, the parliament finding the civil liſt revenues exceeded what they had been given for, it had taken near two hundred thouſand pounds per annum out of them for other uſes; notwithſtanding which deduction, her majeſty had honourably maintained her family, and ſupported the dignity of the crown. Theſe arguments, however, were of little avail; the Whigs had now every thing in their power, and it was carried without diviſion, that the ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be granted annually for the civil liſt, during his majeſty's life ‖. There was another warm debate a few days after, upon a motion for an addreſs againſt penſions, made by the Tory party. Mr. Robert Walpole ſtood up to oppoſe this motion, and urged, "that the houſe ought not to ſtint the king's beneficence, nor to debar him from the exerciſe of the moſt glorious branch of his prerogative, which is to beſtow his favours on ſuch as diſtinguiſh themſelves in his ſervice." He was ſeconded by Mr. Hampden, who obſerved, that all the penſions did not amount to twenty-five thouſand pounds. In the end, the motion was rejected, though by a ſmall majority only §.

On the thirtieth of May, the lords took into conſideration the bill for regulating the land-forces; which, after ſome oppoſition, was paſſed, with a few neceſſary amendments ¶.

About this time the nation was engaged in a diſpute of a very ſerious nature with the court of Sweden. This had begun before the queen's death, and was occaſioned by the Swediſh privateers taking many of our ſhips, which, with their cargoes, they confiſcated, under pretence that we aſſiſted and ſupplied the czar and his ſubjects with ſhips, ammunition, &c. contrary, as was ſuggeſted, to our treaties with the crown of Sweden. Mr. Jackſon, her majeſty's miniſter at Stockholm, had preſented ſeveral memorials on the ſubject of theſe captures, without receiving any ſatisfactory anſwer; and therefore it was now thought expedient to make uſe of more effectual means, namely, the ſending a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war into the Baltic. The States-general alſo, whoſe veſſels had ſhared the ſame fate with ours, found themſelves obliged, after all pacific methods had been tried in vain, to have recourſe to the ſame meaſures, in order to protect the commerce of their ſubjects.

This once reſolved, a ſquadron of twenty ſail was appointed for this ſervice, and the command given to ſir John Norris, who was then admiral of the blue, and who had ſir Thomas Hardy, rear-admiral of the ſame ſquadron, to aſſiſt him. The fleet ſailed from the Nore on the eighteenth of May, and arrived in the Sound on the tenth of June following; where finding the Dutch already arrived, it was determined, in a council of war, that the combined fleet ſhould proceed together, with the Engliſh and Dutch merchantmen under their convoy, for their reſpective ports; which they performed accordingly by the cloſe of the month.

Sir John Norris having ſent an expreſs to the court of Stockholm, in order to be ſatisfied whether the Swedes were determined to continue the ſeizing and confiſcating our ſhips; or if they would enter into a negociation, for determining in an amicable manner all diſputes between the two nations, and receiving only a vague and uncertain anſwer, he reſolved to proceed according to his inſtructions. About the middle of Auguſt the Daniſh fleet, conſiſting of twenty ſhips of the line, with the Ruſſian ſquadron, joined the Engliſh and Dutch, and ſailed up the Baltic. As the czar of Muſcovy was at this time at Copenhagen, and deſigned to command his own ſhips, ſeveral conſultations were held to regulate the command of the ſeveral ſquadrons of different nations then in that road, which together were called the Confederate Fleet. It was at laſt reſolved to give the chief command of it to his czariſh majeſty; but ſo that ſir John Norris ſhould command the vanguard of the united fleet; the czar, the body of the line of battle; the Daniſh admiral, count Gueldenlew, the rear; and the Dutch commodore, with his ſquadron and five Britiſh men of war, ſhould proceed with the trade of both nations for their reſpective harbours in the Baltic. According to this reſolution, on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, the czar hoiſted his imperial flag, as admiral, on board one of his fineſt ſhips, and was thereupon immediately ſaluted by ſir John Norris with a diſcharge of his cannon, which was followed by the Daniſh and Dutch; and theſe compliments being paid, his czariſh majeſty gave the ſignal for ſailing. Being arrived off Bornholm *, they were informed that the Swediſh fleet was returned to Carlſcroon: the Swedes had at this time a numerous fleet, and in pretty good condition; but they were too wiſe

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was obſerved, that after the light growing fainter and fainter, as the moon advanced over the ſun's diſk, the total darkneſs came on inſtantaneouſly, as when a candle is extinguiſhed by night, as ſoon as the eaſtern limb (or rim) of the ſun was covered; as did the light in the ſame manner, when the moon left its weſtern limb. This extraordinary phænomenon was much obſerved by Dr. Halley, Mr. Whiſton, and all our eminent aſtronomers, who had before, with great exactneſs, calculated the time and manner of it.

The ſame month died Dr. Gilbert Burnet, biſhop of Salisbury, famous for his excellent Hiſtory of the Reformation, and other writings, and a great advocate for the Revolution, which made him many enemies. The marquis of Wharton died alſo about this time, as did the earl of Hallifax not long after. The marquis of Wharton was a man of a fine genius, an able ſtateſman and politician, and a great leader among the Whigs.

‖ Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, May 13.

§ Idem, May 18.

¶ Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords.

* Bornhorn, an Iſland of Zealand, in Denmark, lying in the Eaſt-ſea, ſixteen miles from the extreme point of Seeland, and ſix from Yſtad, in Schonen. It is about ſeven miles in length, and four in breadth. The coaſt is, in moſt places, inacceſſible, on account of its dangerous rocks; and the landing-place defended with cannon. Since the inhabitants revolted from Sweden to Denmark, in 1658, Bornholm is become an hereditary part of the latter.

to hazard it againſt ſuch an unequal force as that of the confederates. Sir John Norris therefore, after lying in the Sound till the middle of November, left a ſquadron of ſhips of war, under the command of commodore Cleyland, in the Baltic, to act in conjunction with the Danes and Dutch, for the farther ſecurity of the Britiſh trade, if neceſſary.

It was not the protection of our commerce only, that occaſioned this expedition to the Baltic: his majeſty, as elector of Hanover, had ſome diſputes with the king of Sweden of quite a different nature; for having purchaſed from the crown of Denmark the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which had been taken from the crown of Sweden, he found himſelf obliged, in quality of elector, to concur with Denmark in declaring war againſt Sweden; and even before this was done, ſome Engliſh ſhips joined the Daniſh fleet, in order to diſtreſs the Swedes. Of this the Swediſh miniſter complained by a memorial, delivered to lord Townſhend, then ſecretary of ſtate, dated October 3, 1715†. The Tories were very loud in their invectives againſt the expedition, in which they aſſerted the honour of the Britiſh flag had been proſtituted, to ſerve the intereſt of another ſtate, and in order to create an intercourſe between the king's regal and electoral dominions.

The nation ſeemed now to labour under a general diſcontent. Notwithſtanding proclamations againſt riots and orders of the juſtices for maintaining the peace, repeated tumults were raiſed in the cities of London and Weſtminſter. A letter from one captain Wright, a diſcarded officer, containing ſome traiterous expreſſions, being intercepted, a reward of fifty pounds was offered by the government to any perſon that ſhould apprehend the captain; and about the ſame time Mr. George Jefferies was ſeized at Dublin, with a pacquet directed to Dr. Jonathan Swift, dean of St. Patrick's. Several treaſonable letters being found in this pacquet, were tranſmitted to England. Jefferies was obliged to give bail for his appearance, and Swift thought proper to abſcond. The houſe of lords, to demonſtrate their abhorrence of all who ſhould engage in conſpiracies againſt their ſovereign, rejected, with indignation, a petition preſented to them in behalf of Blackburn, Caſſils, Bernarde, Meldrum, and Chambers, who had continued priſoners ever ſince the year 1696, for having conſpired againſt the life of king William.

By this time the committee of ſecrecy was ready to deliver their report, and on the ninth of June Mr. Walpole, the chairman, moved, that a warrant might be iſſued for apprehending ſeveral perſons, particularly Mr. Prior and Mr. Thomas Harley, who being in the houſe, were immediately taken into cuſtody: then he read the report, which laſted from about one o'clock till about ſix in the afternoon; which may be reduced to the following heads:

"I. The clandeſtine negociations with Meſnager, the French agent, which produced two ſets of preliminary articles; the one private, for Great Britain only; the other general, for all the allies.

"II. The extraordinary meaſures purſued to form the congreſs at Utrecht.

"III. The trifling amuſements of the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, by the connivance of the Britiſh miniſters.

"IV. The negociations about the renunciation of the Spaniſh monarchy.

"V. The fatal ſuſpenſion of arms.

"VI. The ſeizure of Ghent, and Bruges, in order to diſtreſs the allies, and favour the French.

"VII. The duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French general.

"VIII. The lord Bolingbroke's journey to France, to negotiate a ſeparate peace.

"IX. Mr. Prior's and the duke of Shrewſbury's negociations in France.

"X. The precipitate concluſion of the peace at Utrecht.

"XI. The ſacrificing the Catalans.

"XII. Promoting the intereſt of the pretender."

The report having been taken into conſideration, Mr. Walpole, on the tenth of June, impeached Henry, lord viſcount Bolingbroke, of high-treaſon and other crimes and miſdemeanors; the lord Coningſby afterwards ſtanding up, impeached the earl of Oxford in the following remarkable words: "The worthy chairman has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head; he has impeached the clerk, and I the juſtice; he has impeached the ſcholar, and I the maſter: I impeach Robert, earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, of high-treaſon and other crimes and miſdemeanors." Many members of unqueſtioned integrity, of both parties, ſeemed to condemn theſe precipitate meaſures; and even ſir Joſeph Jekyll, a member of the committee of ſecrecy, ſaid, that he could not think the houſe had ſufficient matter of evidence to impeach the earl of high-treaſon: but the chairman of the committee declaring, that, beſides the proof contained in the report, they had alſo the enforcement of perſonal evidence, it was reſolved to impeach him without a diviſion. Mr. Prior was at the ſame time, and at the inſtance of Mr. Walpole, ordered into ſtrict cuſtody, without the liberty of pen, ink, paper, or the ſight of any one friend.

On the twenty-firſt of June Mr. ſecretary Stanhope impeached James, duke of Ormond, of high-treaſon, and of other high crimes and miſdemeanors. The duke was defended by Mr. Hutchinſon, Mr. Lumley, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Onſlow, Mr. Ward, Mr. Hungerford, and ſeveral others of both parties. Sir Joſeph Jekyll, in particular, ſaid, "That if there was room for mercy, he hoped it would be ſhewn to that noble, generous, and courageous peer, who had, in a courſe of many years, exerted thoſe great accompliſhments for the good and honour of his country: that as the ſtatute of Edward III. on which the charge of high-treaſon againſt him was founded, had been mitigated by ſubſequent acts, the houſe ought not, in his opinion, to take advantage of that act againſt the duke, but only to impeach him of high crimes and miſdemeanors." Nevertheleſs, after a very long debate, the queſtion being put, was carried for his impeachment. It was thought his grace's name having been made uſe of as a ſignal for mobs and riots, was one thing that haſtened on his impeachment, "High-church and Ormond forever!" being now as much the cry of the Tory mobs

† Lamberti. Hiſtorical Regiſter. Annals of George I. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals.

as "High-church and Sacheverel!" The duke's enemies did not fail to repreſent and aggravate theſe circumſtances: they ſaid, that he could not be ignorant of theſe tumults and riots, and that as he did not publicly diſown thoſe diſturbers of the peace, his ſilence muſt be conſidered as an approbation of their conduct, and ſeemed to ſummon the people to a general inſurrection. In ſhort, the duke of Ormond perceiving that he was already prejudged by his enemies, conſulted his own ſafety by withdrawing himſelf from the kingdom *.

The Whig party ſtill continued to conduct every thing by a furious ſpirit of revenge. On the twenty-ſecond of June the earl of Strafford was likewiſe impeached by Mr. Aiſlabie, for having adviſed the fatal ſuſpenſion of arms and the ſeizing Ghent and Bruges, and for having treated the moſt ſerene houſe of Hanover with inſolence and contempt. The biſhop of London (Robinſon) was in favour with the party in power, and therefore, though involved in the ſame guilt (if there was any) with the earl, he was paſſed over unnoticed: the Whigs, indeed, pretended that the biſhop was entirely innocent of the ſecret negociation between France and England, and that he was not admitted to any of thoſe ſecrets which conſtituted the criminal part of the earl's conduct.

The articles of impeachment againſt the earl of of Oxford being prepared by the committee of ſecrecy, they were read, on the eighth of July, before the houſe of commons, and were in ſubſtance as follow:

"I. That he, Robert earl of Oxford and Mortimer, had entered into a negociation with France without the allies, and had agreed it ſhould be kept ſecret.

"II. He had adviſed the queen to permit the coming of Meſnager; treated with him, and aſſumed, without authority, the royal power.

"III. He had prepared preliminaries, ſigned by Meſnager, and ſent them to Holland, when a private treaty was, by his advice, concluded with France.

"IV. He had not regarded the repreſentation of Buis, the Dutch miniſter, but declared the queen had made no ſuch treaty, nor would do ſo, without the conſent of the States.

"V. He had ordered the biſhop of London to inſiſt upon Spain, though by the preliminaries the duke of Anjou was acknowleged as king, and though he had perſuaded the queen not to inſiſt upon the reſtitution of Spain.

"VI. He had not procured ſatisfaction for the allies, but acted in concert with France.

"VII. He had adviſed the queen to accept of the duke of Anjou's renunciation, though Torci had declared it to be null and void by the fundamental laws of France.

"VIII. He had, with others, adviſed that the duke of Ormond ſhould be ordered to engage in no battle or ſiege, to the ruin of the affairs of the allies; and afterwards ſent an order to the biſhop of London, to declare that the queen looked upon herſelf to be under no obligation whatſoever to the States.

"IX. He had adviſed that the duke of Ormond, with all the troops in the queen's pay, ſhould ſeperate themſelves from the army of the allies; and not to pay the arrears due to thoſe that refuſed.

"X. He had adviſed the fatal ſuſpenſion of arms, and the ſending lord Bolingbroke to France, to ſettle the terms.

"XI. He had treacherouſly adviſed the enemy how to gain Tournay.

"XII. He had adviſed and aſſiſted in giving up Spain and the Weſt Indies to the duke of Anjou.

"XIII. He had treacherouſly adviſed the ninth article of the treaty of commerce with France, and the giving the French liberty of fiſhing, and drying their fiſh on Newfoundland.

"XIV. He had taken Sicily from the houſe of Auſtria, and given it to the duke of Savoy, without any application from the duke.

"XV. He had cauſed the queen to make ſeveral ſpeeches and declarations to the parliament, wherein the terms of peace and commerce were falſely repreſented.

"XVI. He had, as far as in him lay, deſtroyed the independency of the houſe of lords, by cauſing the queen to create twelve peers at once, to ſerve his ends."

To theſe were afterwards added the ſix following articles:

"XVII. He had not (as prime miniſter) adviſed the queen againſt the deſtructive expedition to Canada.

"XVIII. He had procured a warrant for thirteen thouſand pounds for his own uſe.

"XIX. He had procured a warrant for five thouſand five hundred and ſixty pounds to his relation, Thomas Harley.

"XX. He had paid a large ſum of money to king James's queen.

"XXI. He had received Patrick Lileſh (alias Lawleſs) an Iriſh papiſt, as a foreign miniſter, and cauſed ſeveral ſums of money to be paid to him.

"XXII. He had, with others, cauſed the Catalans to be expoſed to the fury of an enraged revengeful prince, againſt whom the late queen had engaged them to take arms."

The firſt ten were, upon the queſtion, ſeverally agreed to; but a warm debate aroſe upon the XIth, by which he was charged with having counſelled and adviſed the French king in what manner Tournay might be gained from the States-general, although it had been declared that the town of Tournay ſhould remain to the States, towards forming a ſufficient barrier: a great debate aroſe upon the queſtion, Whether this article was high-treaſon? Sir Robert Raymond, formerly ſolicitor-general, Mr. Bromley, ſir William Wyndham, the auditors Harley and Foley, Mr. Ward, and Mr. Hungerford (who had already ſpoken in favour of the earl of Oxford) maintained the negative, and were ſtrongly ſupported by ſir Joſeph Jekyll. They were oppoſed by Mr. Walpole, Mr. Stanhope, lord Coningſby, general Cadogan, Mr. Boſcawen, and Mr. Aiſlabie; and the article, being amended, was agreed to by a majority of one hundred and twenty. The reſt of the articles being agreed to, the lord Coningſby, (attended by moſt of the members who voted for the impeachment) went up to the lords, and at the bar of the houſe impeached the earl of Oxford of high-treaſon, &c. demanding at the ſame time, that he might be ſequeſtered from parliament and committed to ſafe cuſtody. This

* Parliamentary Debates.

demand

demand produced a debate, Whether or not the earl ſhould be ſo committed? in the courſe of which his lordſhip delivered himſelf to the following effect. "The whole charge, he ſaid, might be reduced to the negociations and concluſion of the peace. That the nation wanted a peace, he ſaid, nobody would deny: that the conditions of this peace were as good as could be expected, conſidering the backwardneſs and reluctance which ſome of the allies ſhewed to come into the queen's meaſures: that the peace was approved by two ſucceſſive parliaments: that he had no ſhare in the affair of Tournay, which was wholly tranſacted by that unfortunate nobleman who had thought fit to ſtep aſide: that, nevertheleſs, he would venture to ſay in his behalf, that, if that charge could be proved, it would not amount to treaſon: that, for his own part, he had always acted by the immediate directions and commands of the late queen, without offending againſt any known law; and being juſtified by his own conſcience, was unconcerned for the life of an inſignificant old man: that if miniſters of ſtate, acting by the immediate commands of their ſovereign, were to be accountable for their proceedings, it might, one day or other, be the caſe with all the members of that auguſt aſſembly: that he doubted not but their lordſhips, out of regard to themſelves, would give him an equitable hearing; and he hoped, that, in the courſe of the enquiry, it would appear, that he had merited, not only the indulgence, but even the favour of the government. My lords, ſaid he, I am now to take my leave of your lordſhips, and of this honourable houſe, perhaps for ever. I ſhall lay down my life, with pleaſure, in a cauſe favoured by my dear royal miſtreſs. When I conſider, that I am to be judged by the juſtice, honour, and virtue of my peers, I ſhall acquieſce, and retire with great content: and, my lords, God's will be done."

Before the queſtion for committing him was put, the duke of Shrewſbury having acquainted the houſe that the earl was very much indiſpoſed with the gravel, he was ſuffered to remain at his own houſe, in cuſtody of the black rod. In his way thither he was attended by a great concourſe of people, crying, "High-church, Ormond and Oxford for ever!" Next day he was brought to the bar, where he received a copy of the articles, and was allowed a month to prepare his anſwer: but, as if his enemies were apprehenſive of ſhewing him too much indulgence, it was reſolved to ſend him to the Tower on the ſixteenth day of July, notwithſtanding Dr. Mead declared that his life would be in imminent danger by being carried thither. The earl was attended to the Tower by a prodigious concourſe of people, who all pitied the condition of this great (though now fallen) ſtateſman, and openly exclaimed againſt his perſecutors. In ſhort, the nation in general was ſo exaſperated againſt the Whigs for their rancorous and bloody proceedings, that tumults were raiſed in Staffordſhire, and other parts of the kingdom, againſt the friends and adherents of the new miniſtry. A general ſpirit of diſcontent, ſo openly manifeſted, could not fail to fill them with alarms for their own ſafety; and it was thought expedient that the houſe of commons ſhould addreſs the king to put the laws againſt rioters vigorouſly in force. A new law, called the Proclamation, or Riot-Act, was prepared, and ſoon after received the royal aſſent, decreeing, that if any perſons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully aſſembled, ſhould continue together one hour, after having been required in his majeſty's name to diſperſe, by a juſtice of the peace, or other officer, and heard the proclamation againſt riots read in public, they ſhould be deemed guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy.

On the twentieth day of July the king went to the houſe of peers to give the royal aſſent to this and ſome other bills *, when he made a ſhort ſpeech to both houſes; in which he told them, that a rebellion was actually begun at home, and that the nation was threatened with an invaſion from abroad: he therefore expected that the commons would not leave the kingdom in a defenceleſs condition, but enable him to take ſuch meaſures as ſhould be neceſſary for the public ſafety. Warm and affectionate addreſſes were immediately preſented by the parliament, and both houſes deſired his majeſty to put the kingdom in a poſture of defence, by increaſing the number of forces both by ſea and land. At the ſame time they ſuſpended the Habeas Corpus act, by which his majeſty might detain the perſons of thoſe whom he ſhould ſuſpect of conſpiring againſt his perſon and government. A reward of one hundred thouſand pounds was offered to ſuch as ſhould ſeize the pretender, dead or alive. Sir George Byng was ſent to take the command of a fleet in the Downs, and ſir John Jennings was ſent to Scotland, where he hoiſted his flag on board the Oxford, as commander in chief of the ſquadron then upon the coaſts; general Erle was haſtened to his government of Portſmouth; the guards were encamped in Hyde-Park: in a word, no precaution was neglected to ſecure the peace of the kingdom at home.

In the midſt of theſe tranſactions the commons added ſix articles to theſe they had already exhibited againſt the earl of Oxford; and two days after, Mr. Walpole delivered the articles of impeachment againſt lord Bolinbroke, at the bar of the houſe of lords. The next day (Auguſt 5) a warm debate aroſe upon reading the articles againſt the duke of Ormond, in which ſeveral remarkable ſpeeches were made: the ſeveral articles, however, were agreed to by a great majority. The firſt article charged the duke with correſponding with marſhal Villars, the French general, while he commanded the Britiſh army in Flanders. The ſecond, that he wickedly promiſed and engaged that he would not attack the French army, nor engage in any ſiege againſt France. The third, that he did falſely, maliciouſly, wickedly, and traitorouſly, adhere to the French king; and, in purſuance of a wicked promiſe he had ſecretly made with the marſhal Villars, he endeavoured to perſuade the general of the confederate army to

* Other acts paſſed at this time were, 1. For continuing the impriſonment of the conſpirators againſt king William. 2. For the quakers affirmation, inſtead of their oath. 3. An act for the regulating the forces. 4. The malt-tax. Laſtly, An act to explain an act of 12 Will. III. for the further limitation of the crown, &c.

raiſe the ſiege of Queſnoy; and when he could not prevail, marched off with the queen's troops, and gave the enemy's general advice of it. The other articles are, in effect, his conduct in Flanders, reduced into a charge; and both he and the lord Bolingbroke being fled from juſtice, bills were brought in to ſummon them to ſurrender themſelves by the tenth of September, and in default thereof to attaint them of high-treaſon, which paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent.

On the thirty firſt of Auguſt the articles againſt the earl of Strafford were agreed to by the commons, and carried by Mr. Aiſlabie to the lords, when the earl made a long ſpeech in his own defence. He complained that his papers had been ſeized in an unprecedented manner. He ſaid, that if in his letters or diſcourſe he had dropped any unguarded expreſſions againſt ſome foreign miniſters, while he had the honour to repreſent the crown of Great Britain, he hoped they would not be accounted criminal by a Britiſh houſe of peers. He deſired he might be allowed a competent time to anſwer the articles brought againſt him, and to have duplicates of all the papers which had either been laid before the committee of ſecrecy, or remained in the hands of the government, to be uſed occaſionally in his juſtification. This requeſt was warmly oppoſed by ſeveral of the Whiggiſh noblemen, until the earl of Ilay obſerved, that in all civilized nations, all courts of judicature, except the Inquiſition, allowed the perſons arraigned all that was neceſſary for their juſtification; and that the houſe of peers of Great Britain ought not in this caſe to do any thing contrary to that honour and equity for which they were ſo juſtly renowned throughout all Europe. The houſe, influenced by theſe obſervations, reſolved that the earl ſhould be indulged with copies of ſuch papers he might think neceſſary for his defence *.

The duke of Ormond and the lord viſcount Bolingbroke having neglected to ſurrender themſelves within the time limited by the proclamation, the houſe of lords ordered the earl-marſhal to raze out of the liſt of peers their names and armorial bearings. Inventories were taken of their perſonal eſtates; and the duke's atchievement, as knight of the Garter, was taken from St. George's Chapel at Windſor.

By this time a rebellion was actually begun in Scotland, under the earl of Mar, who hoped to be ſupported by a ſtrong party in England. This nobleman, at the death of queen Anne, was ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, and was one of the firſt to congratulate the preſent ſovereign on his acceſſion; but not meeting with the countenance or encouragement which he expected, occaſioned by his having joined in the meaſures of the late miniſters, he, about the beginning of Auguſt, withdrew from London into the Highlands, where, prompted by reſentment and ambition, he reſolved to make an effort in favour of the pretender. The Scots were undoubtedly at this time univerſally diſguſted, by the introduction of the malt-tax, and ſome other grievances they had ſuffered in conſequence of the Union: and the Jacobites, who fondly and fooliſhly imagined, that all who were diſſatisfied from theſe cauſes entertained the ſame ſentiments with themſelves, tranſmitted a memorial to the pretender, in which they aſſured him that the nation was wholly diſaffected to the new government, and that his appearance in Britain would produce an immediate revolution.

The pretender, on receiving this invitation, reſolved to take advantage of this favourable diſpoſition. He had recourſe to the French king, who ſtill entertained a deſire of raiſing him to the throne of Great Britain, and would, in all probability, have ſupported him powerfully; but he was taken off by death on the firſt day of September. This event occaſioned a total change in the face of affairs: the regency of that kingdom had devolved to the duke of Orleans, who had neither the power nor the inclination to ſacrifice the treaſures of the ſtate he governed, to ſupport the intereſts of a wretched exile, who had very little proſpect of attaining that crown he laid a claim to. Beſides, the duke-regent could not, without manifeſt danger, begin his regency by breaking irretrievably with England, whoſe friendſhip it was at this time his intereſt to preſerve. However, to ſecure appearances, he furniſhed him with a ſum of money, and a ſmall quantity of arms, but never intended to ſupport him in earneſt.

Mean while the Jacobites had proceeded too far to think of retreating with any ſafety, and therefore determined to put their all upon the iſſue of the field; and the earl of Mar having conſulted with the marquiſſes of Huntley and Tullibardine, the earls of Southeſk and Mareſchal, the generals Hamilton and Gordon, and the other chiefs of the diſaffected clans; and having drawn together about three hundred of his own vaſſals, ſet up the ſtandard of the pretender at Brae-Mar on the fifth day of September, and then cauſed him to be proclaimed, firſt at Caſtletown, then at Perth, Aberdeen, Dundee, and ſeveral other places. On the firſt news of theſe proceedings, the government ordered the earls of Hume, Winton, and Kinnoul, the lord Deſkford, Lockart of Carnwath, Hume of Whitefield, and other ſuſpected perſons, to be ſeized and committed cloſe priſoners to the caſtle of Edinburgh. The ſquadron under ſir John Jennings alſo kept a good look-out upon the coaſts; but, notwithſtanding their utmoſt vigilance, two veſſels arrived from France, with arms, ammunition, and a good number of officers, who aſſured the earl of Mar the pretender would ſoon be with him in perſon. They at the ſame time acquainted him, that the duke of Ormond and the lord Bolingbroke, who had retired to France, hearing they were condemned and attainted by the parliament, had engaged in the ſervice of the pretender. This news gave great ſatisfaction to the rebel party for ſome time; but the death of Lewis XIV. ſtruck a general damp upon their ſpirits, and proved a terrible blow to their cauſe. The earl of Mar wrote repeated letters to the pretender to come over with the utmoſt expedition. In the mean time he aſſumed the title of lieutenant-general of the pretender's forces, publiſhed a declaration, exhorting the people to take up arms; and as there were ſtill hopes that the duke of Ormond would make a deſcent upon Great Britain, and depended upon a riſing in England, they were reſolved to puſh their deſign †.

* Proceed. of the Houſe of Lords. Tindal.

† Patten's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, 1715.

In the mean time the chevalier, finding that the duke of Orleans only amuſed him with empty promiſes, and that he could no longer expect the powerful ſuccours that Lewis XIV. the unwearied friend of his family, had on every favourable occaſion furniſhed them, applied to the Iriſh and Scottiſh regiments in the ſervice of France, on whoſe fidelity he knew he could depend; and thoſe, as well officers as private men, promiſed to ſhed the laſt drop of blood in their veins to procure his reſtoration: they would indeed have proved of infinite ſervice to the chevalier's cauſe, had they accompanied him to Scotland: but the vigilance of our miniſter at the court of France deprived him of their aſſiſtance alſo. This miniſter was the earl of Stair, who then reſided as ambaſſador at Paris. He was a nobleman of unqueſtioned honour and integrity; generous, humane, diſcerning, and reſolute: he had ſignalized himſelf by his military talents during the late war in the Netherlands, and he now acted in another ſphere with uncommon vigour, vigilancy, and addreſs. He detected the chevalier's ſcheme while it was yet in embryo, and gave ſuch early notice of it as enabled our court to take effectual meaſures for defeating the deſign. He had by dint of money won over an Engliſh prieſt, named Strickland, who was one of the pretender's chaplains, and a confidant of his. This man acquainted him with every ſtep that the pretender took, and every project he formed. By means of this ſpy lord Stair obtained a liſt of the French officers who had engaged to accompany the Chevalier into Scotland, with an exact account of the quantity of arms, ammunition, and proviſions that were to be embarked, and the number and names of the veſſels that were to carry them over; and made ſuch repeated and ſpirited remonſtrances to the duke-regent on this ſubject, that the latter found himſelf under a neceſſity of giving our ambaſſador proper ſatisfaction. Accordingly he diſpatched orders to all the ſea-ports, prohibiting the officers and men of the regiments above mentioned, to quit the kingdom on pain of being treated as deſerters. Thus the chevalier found himſelf in an inſtant deprived of the aſſiſtance he had placed ſuch dependance on; and was ſoon after glad to paſs over incog. to ſhew himſelf to his partiſans; not ſo much from any hope of being able to revive their courage by his preſence, as to acquaint them that they muſt no longer lay any ſtreſs upon the promiſes of aſſiſtance they had received from the court of France *.

Some of the adherents of the chevalier having made an attempt to ſurprize the caſtle of Edinburgh, which had been defeated by the vigilance and valour of colonel Stuart, lieutenant-governor of that fortreſs, general Wightman, who was then in Scotland, had orders to form a camp near Stirling, and diſtreſs the rebels as much as he could, till the arrival of the duke of Argyll, who, on the ninth of September, had been appointed commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, and ſoon after ſet out for that kingdom, accompanied by the duke of Roxburgh, the marquiſſes of Annandale and Tweedale, the earls of Sutherland, Selkirk, Loudon, Rothes, Haddington, and Fraſer, with ſeveral other Scots peers, who determined to ſhew their loyalty to king George, by raiſing their reſpective clans to oppoſe the rebels.

Mean while, a dangerous conſpiracy was diſcovered and prevented in England. Lieutenant-colonel Paul was impriſoned in the Gatehouſe for enliſting men in the ſervice of the pretender; the titular duke of Powis was committed to the Tower; the lords Lanſdowne and Dupplin were taken into cuſtody; and a warrant was iſſued for apprehending the earl of Jerſey. The king, by the mouth of Mr. Secretary Stanhope, deſired the conſent of the lower houſe to ſeize and detain the perſons of Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Harvey, Mr. Thomas Forſter, Mr. James Anſtis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaſton, who were members of the houſe, and ſuſpected of favouring the invaſion. The commons readily aſſented, and Harvey and Anſtis being in town, were immediately ſeized; Mr. Forſter took up arms in the North; Sir John Packington was, after examination before the council, honourably diſcharged; Mr. Kynaſton abſconded; Sir William Wyndham was ſeized at his own houſe in Somerſetſhire, by colonel Huſke and a meſſenger: he found means, however, to eſcape from him; but being cloſely purſued, he thought proper to ſurrender himſelf, and was committed to the Tower. His father-in-law, the duke of Somerſet, offered to become ſurety for his appearance; but the miniſtry rejected his bail, and even carried their reſentment ſo far as to remove the duke from his office of maſter of the horſe.

While theſe things were tranſacting, the king came, on the twenty-firſt of September, to the houſe of lords, and paſſed the bills that were ready. Then the chancellor read his majeſty's ſpeech, expreſſing his acknowlegement and ſatisfaction for the uncommon marks of their affection which he had received at this juncture; and the parliament was adjourned to the ſixth day of October †.

The friends of the houſe of Stuart were very numerous in the weſtern counties, where they made ſeveral tentatives towards an inſurrection, and had actually formed a plan for the ſeizing of Plymouth and Briſtol; all which attempts were prevented by the timely precautions of the government. On this occaſion, the univerſity of Oxford, who had generally diſtinguiſhed itſelf by its anti-revolution principles, felt the rod of power: a regiment of foot was quartered here to over awe the univerſity. The miniſtry, however, found it more difficult to ſuppreſs the inſurgents in the North; where the earl of Derwentwater, the lord Widdrington, Mr. Forſter, knight of the ſhire for Northumberland, and others, appeared in arms in October. Though their numbers were but ſmall, yet they proclaimed the pretender, firſt at Warkworth, then at Morpeth, Hexham, and other places. They were all horſe; not being able to entertain any foot for want of arms. They were at firſt ſtrengthened by the junction of ſome lords from the weſt of Scotland; who, by the inſtructions of Mar, had raiſed ſome forces to aſſiſt the rebellion, as the viſcount Kenmure, who ſet up the pretender's ſtandard at Loughmaben, the earls of Nithſdale, Carnwath, and Winton, who joined the Engliſh rebels with

* Chavanette, Nouvelle Hiſtoire d'Angleterre, tom. v. p. 20, 21.

† Tindal. Oldmixon. Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords.

their ſmall forces at Rothbury. Soon after, they marched to Kelſo, on the borders, and joined a body of Highlanders, whom the earl of Mar, after he had taken poſſeſſion of the fruitful county of Fife, had found means to ſend over the Firth, under the laird of Mackintoſh, and the lord Nairn.

General Carpenter having been ſent by the government in purſuit of the rebels, with Hotham's regiment of foot, Cobham's, Moleſworth's, and Churchill's dragoons, arrived at Newcaſtle on the eighteenth of October, from whence he ſoon ſet out to attack the rebels at Kelſo. At his approach they ſhifted their quarters, and marched to Jedburgh. Here they were much divided in their councils: brigadier Mackintoſh was for engaging the king's forces under general Carpenter, which were inferior in number; but Mr. Forſter, who had now aſſumed the title of general of the Engliſh rebels, was againſt it. The earl was for marching back, and joining the earl of Mar, but the Engliſh were for marching into England, which was at laſt agreed to: but here a mutiny began among the Highlanders, who refuſed to ſtir out of their own country; nor could all the menaces or entreaties of the leading men among them prevail to alter their reſolution; five hundred of them actually ſeparated and returned home.

From Jedburgh they marched to Hawick, from thence to Langholme, and thence to Longtown in Cumberland, ſtill endeavouring to avoid general Carpenter, who continued in purſuit of them. From Longtown they marched to Brampton, where Forſter produced his commiſſion of general, which had been ſent to him by the earl of Mar; and, after having proclaimed the pretender, he proceeded to Penrith, where the ſheriff, aſſiſted by the lord Lanſdown, and the biſhop of Carliſle, had drawn together the whole poſſe comitatus of Cumberland, amounting to nearly twelve thouſand men, who at firſt made a ſhew of oppoſing the rebels; but, upon their nearer approach, ſhamefully threw down their arms and fled. From Penrith, Forſter proceeded to Appleby, being joined by very few in all theſe marches; then to Kendal, and ſo to Kirkby-Lonſdale, and here ſome Lancaſhire papiſts, with their ſervants and tenants, joining them, they marched forward, and arrived at Preſton on the ſeventh of November. Here he having ſeized on ſix or ſeven pieces of cannon, proceeded to Preſton, and would have gone farther; but general Wills, who had marched againſt the rebels with ſix regiments of horſe and dragoons, had advanced to the bridge of Ribbel, before Forſter was informed of his approach; who, on hearing thereof, immediately ſhut himſelf up in the town, barricadoing the ſtreets, and making a proper diſpoſition of his men to receive the attack of the king's troops. General Wills came before the town on the twelfth of November, and ordered brigadier Honeywood to attack that end of it which leads to Lancaſter. The king's troops, however, met with ſo warm a reception, that they were obliged to deſiſt from the attack, after having loſt a conſiderable number of men. Next morning, general Carpenter, who had followed the rebels cloſe at the heels during their marches, arrived, and joining his troops to thoſe already before the place, it was now inveſted on all ſides.

Forſter, finding that all further reſiſtance would be as fatal as fruitleſs, ſent colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet to general Wills to deſire a capitulation. The general replied, he would not treat with rebels: they had killed ſeveral of the king's ſubjects, and they muſt expect to pay for their lives with the forfeit of their own. The colonel ſaid, that as the general was a man of honour, and an officer, he hoped he would ſhew mercy to people who were willing to ſubmit. Wills anſwered, that all he could do for them was, that in caſe of their ſurrendering at diſcretion, he would prevent his men from putting them to the ſword, until he ſhould receive farther orders. He granted them till the next morning to conſider what they would do, upon their delivering the earl of Derwentwater and Mackintoſh as hoſtages.

Forſter and his men accepted the terms propoſed: but the Highlanders declared they would periſh ſword in hand, rather than ſubmit in that manner; upon which general Wills would have ſent their chieftain Mackintoſh back, and have inſtantly attacked the town: in which caſe every man of them would have been cut in pieces. On a little reflection they did not chuſe to run that riſk, but with the reſt of the rebels ſubmitted themſelves priſoners at diſcretion, to the number of four hundred and thirty-ſix Engliſh, and above one thouſand Scots, many having found means to eſcape, and ſeveral had been killed in the attack. They were now diſarmed, and put under a ſtrong guard. All the noblemen and leaders were ſecured. Major Nairn, captain Lockhart, captain Shaftoe, and enſign Erſkine, were tried by a court-martial as deſerters, and executed. Lord Charles Murray, ſon of the duke of Athol, was likewiſe condemned for the ſame crime, but his ſentence was reſpited. The common men were impriſoned at Cheſter and Liverpool; the noblemen and officers of moſt conſideration were ſent to London, and committed to the Tower and other priſons *.

Let us now ſee what became of the rebels in Scotland. It is remarkable, that on the very day that thoſe under Forſter were ſubdued at Preſton, Sunday, November 13, the duke of Argyll, with about four thouſand men, engaged the rebel army under the earl of Mar, conſiſting of about eight or nine thouſand, at Sheriffmuir, near Dumblain, about four miles from Stirling. The battle was obſtinate and bloody; various accounts were given of it, and both ſides claimed the victory. What is certain from all the accounts is this, that the duke of Argyll, with the right of his army, ſoon put the left of the enemy to rout; but whilſt he was purſuing them a conſiderable way with great ſlaughter, the right of the rebels charged the left wing of the royal army with ſuch impetuoſity, that in a few minutes both horſe and foot were totally defeated, with great ſlaughter; and general Witham, who commanded them, fled at full gallop to Stirling, where he declared that the royal army was actually routed. Upon the whole, however, it appears by the conſequences, that the royaliſts had the victory; for the earl of Mar, immediately after the

* Patten. Boyer. Tindal. Annals of George I.

battle, retreated to Perth, and the deſign he had formed of croſſing the Forth to join his ſouthern friends was entirely fruſtrated, and never afterwards attempted. The earl of Ilay, brother to the duke of Argyll, was in the action, behaved with remarkable bravery, and was wounded in his arm and ſide. Among the ſlain were colonel Hamen and captain Armſtrong, his grace's aid de camp. About eight hundred of the rebels were ſlain, and many made priſoners, among whom were ſeveral perſons of diſtinction.

Soon after the rebels ſuſtained a more conſiderable blow, in the loſs of Inverneſs, from which ſir John Mackenzie was driven by Simon Fraſer, lord Lovat, who had hitherto adhered to the pretender's intereſt, but now declared in favour of the government. By this means a free communication was opened with the north of Scotland, where the earl of Sutherland had raiſed a ſtrong body of his vaſſals. The marquis of Huntley and the earl of Seaforth were obliged to abandon the rebel army, in order to ſecure their own territories, and in a little time ſubmitted to the king. A conſiderable number of the clan of the Fraſers, influenced by the example of their chief, lord Lovat, declared againſt the pretender; the marquis of Tullibardine withdrew from the army, to defend his own country; and the clans, ſeeing no likelihood of another action, began, as uſual, to return to their habitations, it being cuſtomary with thoſe people, never to remain long in the field, unleſs they are kept in conſtant employ *.

The reſt of November and all December both ſides remained quiet in their quarters; the duke of Argyll at Stirling, and the earl of Mar at Perth. In the mean time the pretender, notwithſtanding the deſperate ſituation of his affairs in Scotland, reſolved to viſit that kingdom; and poſting through France in diſguiſe, he embarked on board a ſmall veſſel at Dunkirk, and landed, on the twenty-ſecond of December, at Peterhead, with ſix gentlemen in his retinue, one of whom was the marquis of Tinmouth, ſon to the duke of Berwick. He paſſed through Aberdeen incog. to Feteroſſe, where he was met and complimented by the earl of Mar, the earl Mariſchall, general Hamilton, and others of his adherents: from Feteroſſe he went to Dundee, and from thence to Scone, two miles from Perth, where he made his public entry on the ninth of January. Here he publiſhed ſeveral proclamations, particularly one for the convention of the ſtates, and another for his coronation, and exerciſed other acts of royalty, which were all at an end almoſt as ſoon as they were aſſumed: for towards the end of January, the duke of Argyll, aſſiſted by lieutenant-general Cadogan and other general officers, who were ſent down to him, and reinforced by a good train of artillery and ſix thouſand Dutch troops, that were claimed of, and ſent over by, the States-general by virtue of treaty, marched from Stirling to attack the rebels at Perth, who, having now loſt all hopes of any ſuccours from France, upon his approach abandoned the place, and retired with the pretender to Dundee, and from thence to Montroſe; where finding they were cloſely purſued by the king's forces, on the fourteenth of February a council was held, in which it was reſolved that the pretender ſhould go off in the evening. It happened fortunately for him, that there was juſt ready in the harbour a ſmall ſhip that was deſigned to carry over a gentleman the chevalier was then to have ſent to a foreign court; this ſhip was now pitched upon to tranſport himſelf and ſome few of his particular friends, whom he had to attend him; theſe were the ears of Mar and Melfort, the lord Drummond, and ſome other chiefs. There were no leſs than nine men of war cruiſing off the coaſt at that time, but the night proved ſo dark, that there was no ſeeing a veſſel (eſpecially a ſmall one) at a quarter of a mile's diſtance; ſo going on board at nine o'clock in the evening, they put out to ſea, and got out of reach of the king's cruiſers before it was day-light; and coaſting along the German and Dutch ſhores, they arrived in a few days at Graveline, in France. The rebel army had been all along made to believe, that the chevalier was to go along with them; thus, removing all jealouſy, they were very tractable: but as ſoon as they found their prince had left them to ſhift for themſelves, they became deaf to all order and diſperſed; ſome ſubmitted, and ſome were taken priſoners †. Such was the iſſue of a rebellion that proved fatal to many noble families; and that, inſtead of promoting the intereſt of the Stuart family, ſerved only to ſtrengthen the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover. It muſt, however, be acknowleged, that this rebellion was, in a great degree, owing to the violent meaſures which the miniſtry had put in practice againſt their adverſaries; and which, by the diſcontent it cauſed in the nation, firſt gave encouragement to the Jacobite party to make an effort in favour of the pretender.

During the progreſs of the rebellion, the parliament of Ireland met at Dublin, and gave proofs of the warmeſt attachment to the preſent government. They paſſed bills for recognizing the king's title; for the ſecurity of his perſon and government; for ſetting a price upon the head of the pretender; for ſuppreſſing tumults and riotous aſſemblies; and for attainting the duke of Ormond. They granted the ſupplies without oppoſition. All ſuch members as had procured addreſſes to the late queen in favour of Sir Conſtantine Phipps, then lord-chancellor of Ireland, were obliged to acknowlege their fault, and were cenſured as guilty of a breach of privilege. They deſired the lords juſtices would iſſue a proclamation againſt the popiſh inhabitants of Limerick and Galway, who, preſuming upon their own interpretation of the articles granted by king William, claimed an exemption from the penalties impoſed upon papiſts. They engaged in an aſſociation to defend the king and the proteſtant ſucceſſion, againſt the pretender and all his open and ſecret abettors; and they reſolved, that whatever forces his majeſty ſhould think fit to raiſe for that purpoſe, they would enable him to defray the expence of the ſame. They voted the earl of Angleſey an enemy to the king and kingdom, becauſe he had adviſed the queen to break the army, and prorogued the parliament, when a bill was depending to attaint the pretender; and they addreſſed the king to remove him from his council and ſervice: a requeſt which was accordingly granted ‡. The lords juſtices granted orders for apprehending the earls of Antrim and

* Tindal. Hiſtorical Regiſter. Oldmixon. Annals of George I.

† Hiſtorical Regiſter. Annals of George I.
‡ Tindal. Harris's Hiſt. of Ireland.

Weſtmeath,

Weſtmeath, the lords Netterville, Cahir, Dillon, and other perſons ſuſpected of diſaffection to the government. Then they adjourned the parliament to the eighth day of March.

In the mean time the barrier treaty, after many difficulties and delays, which gave great reaſon to ſuſpect that the imperial court meant not to conclude it at all, was finally adjuſted, and ſigned at Antwerp by the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, the States-general, and the king of Great Britain, and ſent over to our court to be ratified. By this treaty, the bounds of the imperial dominions in the Netherlands, as alſo of the States-general, were determined, and the emperor became guarantee of the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover to the crown of Great Britain, as the States-general were before ‡.

On the nineth of January, 1716, the parliament met in England, when the king made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he told them he had reaſon to believe the pretender was landed in Scotland; he congratulated them on the ſucceſs of his arms in ſuppreſſing the rebellion; on the concluſion of the barrier-treaty between the emperor and the States-general, under his guaranty; on a convention with Spain, that would deliver the trade of England to that kingdom from the new impoſitions and hardſhips to which it was ſubjected, in conſequence of the late treaties: he likewiſe gave them to underſtand, that a treaty for renewing all former alliances between Great Britain and the States-general was almoſt concluded; and aſſured the commons, that he would freely give up all the eſtates that ſhould become forfeited to the crown by this rebellion, towards defraying the extraordinary expences incurred on his acceſſion.

Addreſſes of thanks were ſeverally preſented by both houſes. The commons, in theirs, declared, that they thought themſelves obliged, in juſtice to their injured country, to proſecute in the moſt rigorous and impartial manner the authors of thoſe deſtructive counſels, which had drawn down ſuch miſeries upon the nation. Their proceedings tallied exactly with their profeſſions: they began by expelling Mr. Forſter the houſe: they impeached the earls of Derwentwater, Nithſdale, Carnwath, and Winton, the viſcount of Kenmure, and the lords Widdrington and Nairn ‖. Theſe noblemen all pleaded guilty, except the earl of Winton, who petitioned for time to prepare for his defence.

On the twenty-fourth of January, the king coming to the parliament, to give the royal aſſent to the bill for continuing the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act, he told the two houſes, that the pretender was actually in Scotland, heading the rebellion, and aſſuming the ſtate and title of king of theſe realms; and demanded of the commons ſuch ſupplies as might diſcourage any foreign power from giving aſſiſtance to the rebels.

On the ninth of February, ſentence of death was paſſed on the ſix lords who had pleaded guilty, by the lord-chancellor Cowper, who was appointed lord high-ſteward upon the occaſion. Derwentwater and Kenmure were beheaded on Tower-hill, on the twenty-fourth of the ſame month: Nithſdale, who was to have been executed with them, had the good fortune to eſcape out of the Tower, the night before, diſguiſed in woman's apparel, furniſhed and conveyed to him by his wife; Winton eſcaped from the ſame priſon afterwards, as did Forſter and Mackintoſh out of Newgate. Some were executed in the country; eleven at Preſton, ſix at Wigan, and five at Mancheſter: ſeveral were hanged at Tyburn, particularly colonel Oxburgh, Mr. Paul a clergyman, and Mr. Hall who had been a juſtice of peace. In ſhort, ſome who were found guilty were tranſported, others reprieved, and thoſe who were untried or reprieved took the benefit of the act of grace which was afterwards paſſed: but the earl of Mar, the marquis of Tullibardine, and ſome others, who fled from Scotland, were attainted by act of parliament §.

While the peers were under ſentence of death, ſtrong applications were made, both to the throne and to the parliament, by their wives, relations, and friends, for the royal mercy to be extended towards them. The king was inflexible; the commons rejected their ſuit; but the houſe of lords, at the inſtance of the earl of Nottingham, who thought mercy might be remembered in the midſt of juſtice, agreed to an addreſs, praying his majeſty would reprieve ſuch of the condemned lords as ſhould deſerve his clemency. To this petition the king anſwered, "That on this and all other occaſions he would do what he thought moſt conſiſtent with the dignity of his crown and the ſafety of his people ¶." The lords were ordered for execution; and the miniſtry, in revenge for the earl of Nottingham's interfering in this buſineſs, procured his lordſhip to be diſmiſſed from his place of preſident of the council; and his brother, the earl of Aylesford, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, his ſon, lord Finch, one of the lords of the treaſury, and his kinſman, lord Guernſey, maſter of the jewel-office, were turned out at the ſame time.

The rebellion was now indeed ſuppreſſed, but the rigour exerciſed towards the delinquents rendered the miniſtry hateful to all who had a ſenſe of humanity. They perceived the effect their conduct had produced, they dreaded the meeting of a new parliament, which was now near at hand, and they reſolved to eſtabliſh their adminiſtration beyond the power of oppoſition to hurt, by a ſtep equally bold and unconſtitutional, viz. by bringing in a bill for enlarging the term of the continuance of parliaments. This is the famous Septennial Act, whereby this and future parliaments were continued ſeven years, unleſs ſooner diſſolved by the crown, inſtead of three years, as by the Triennial Act, paſſed in the reign of king William. There were very great and long debates upon this bill in both houſes: the true and zealous lovers of their country, as well Whigs as Tories, both in and out of the houſe, oppoſed it with all their force; they ſpoke, they wrote againſt it, and, by their arguments and diſcourſes, proved the danger which might reſult from it, beyond all contradiction. The miniſtry, however, were ſure of a majority; they let their adverſaries exhauſt their rhetoric, and when the queſtion for the bill came to be finally put, in the lords houſe, where it had been firſt introduced, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of ſixty-nine voices againſt thirty-ſix: nevertheleſs twenty-four lords proteſted againſt it; and in the commons, to whom it was afterwards ſent down, by a majority of two hundred and ſixty-

‡ Tindal.
‖ Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons.
§ Hiſtorical Regiſter. Annals of George I.
¶ Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords.

four againſt one hundred and twenty-one; and ſoon after received the royal aſſent. Such of my readers who may be deſirous to ſee the ſeveral arguments uſed for and againſt this bill, may have their curioſity ſatisfied by peruſing the Collection of Parliamentary Debates at this period, an abſtract only of which would be much too bulky for this work; I ſhall therefore content myſelf with obſerving, that, however neceſſary the miniſtry might repreſent this ſtatute to be at that juncture, when they alleged, by reaſon of the ſeditious and rebellious ſpirit that ſtill appeared in the nation, eſpecially among the common ſort, a new election might have thrown the kingdom into a flame; yet it has been thought by many wiſe, able, and diſpaſſionate perſons, that ſuch an act may prove dangerous to the conſtitution, as it muſt give miniſters a great influence over parliaments.

On the twenty-ſixth of April died that great lawyer and ſtateſman, the lord Somers; and ſome time before, Mr. Robert Walpole had been made firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury and chancellor of the exchequer.

The rebellion being now utterly quelled, and tranquility in great meaſure reſtored to theſe kingdoms, his majeſty reſolved to viſit his German dominions, where he foreſaw a ſtorm gathering from the quarter of Sweden. Charles XII. was extremely exaſperated againſt the elector of Hanover, about the affair of Bremen and Verden, and reſolved to be revenged on him as king of Great Britain. His majeſty had received intimations of ſome ſiniſter deſigns adopted by that prince againſt himſelf, and this had chiefly determined him to make a voyage to the continent: but as there was a clauſe in the act of ſettlement, whereby, after it took place, the ſovereign was not to go out of the kingdom without the conſent of parliament, this clauſe was repealed in a new bill, that paſſed through both houſes without any difficulty.

On the twenty-ſixth of June, his majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech upon the uſual topics, and intimated his deſign of viſiting his dominions in Germany; and gave them to underſtand, that he had conſtituted his beloved ſon, the prince of Wales, guardian of the kingdom in his abſence. About this time his majeſty was pleaſed to make ſeveral creations, among which ſir Richard Onſlow was made a baron, and the earl of Portland was raiſed to the dignity of a duke; general Cadogan, who had ſignalized himſelf in queen Anne's wars, and had been very ſerviceable in ſuppreſſing the rebellion in Scotland, was alſo made a lord, and afterwards an earl; ſir Henry St. John, father to the late lord Bolingbroke, was created baron St. John of Batterſea; prince Erneſt, the king's brother and biſhop of Oſnabrug, was created duke of York, and afterwards made a knight of the Garter, together with prince Frederic, ſon to the prince of Wales, and father to our preſent moſt gracious ſovereign: the duke of Devonſhire was now appointed preſident of the council in the room of the earl of Nottingham. Theſe promotions were attended with unexpected diſgraces: the duke of Argyll and his brother, the earl of Ilay, being deprived of all their employments. The removal of theſe noblemen was the more ſurpriſing, as they had all along been warm advocates for the proteſtant ſucceſſion; had the principal hand in extinguiſhing the rebellion in Scotland, which ſecured to his majeſty the peaceable poſſeſſion of his throne; and were firmly attached to the preſent government. Whatever was the cauſe, certain it is, they were not only diſmiſſed from the ſervice, but, to ſhew that there were no hopes of their being reſtored, their places were diſpoſed of; general Carpenter being appointed commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, and governor of the iſland of Minorca, in the room of the duke of Argyll; and the duke of Montroſe lord-regiſter of Scotland, in the room of the earl of Ilay *.

On the ſeventh of July the king embarked at Graveſend, landed on the ninth in Holland, through which he paſſed incognito to Hanover, and thence ſet out for Pyrmont, to drink the waters for his health. He had ſcarcely left England when the two parties that divided the nation, broke out into freſh animoſities and outrages againſt each other; the looſe diſorderly multitude being ready to run into any exceſſes that their reſpective leaders dictated. The Whigs had formed themſelves into ſocieties or clubs, which were uſed to meet at ſeveral houſes in the city and ſuburbs, called Mug-houſes, from the veſſels they uſed to drink out of, where Whiggiſh healths were toaſted. The Roebuck in Cheapſide was one of the moſt famous of thoſe mug-houſes; and that in Saliſbury-court, Fleet-ſtreet, became ſo by the following circumſtance. The company there having on ſome occaſion given extraordinary demonſtration of their hatred and animoſity to the leading men of the oppoſite party, by malicious healths and reflections, the mob of that party coming to the knowlege of it, were ſo enraged, that on the twentieth of July they came and attacked the mug-houſe, which was kept by one Mr. Read, and would have demoliſhed it, if the company there had not ſent for a reinforcement from another mug-houſe in Taviſtock-ſtreet. This made the aſſailants fly for the preſent, though many of them returned, and kept hovering about the houſe the two following days. At laſt, on the twenty-third, one Vaughan, who had been a blue-coat boy at Bridewell hoſpital, inſtigated the mob to go to the mug-houſe and revenge their late affront: they followed him with loud huzzas of "High-church and Ormond! down with the mug-houſe!" Mr. Read finding they intended to demoliſh his houſe, bid them keep off, or he would fire amongſt them; but they not regarding him, he diſcharged his piece, and killed Vaughan on the ſpot, for which he was afterwards tried and acquitted. The mob ſtill continuing their outrages, breaking the windows, pulling down the ſign, gutting the houſe, breaking and deſtroying the furniture, &c. the ſheriffs of London came and ordered the proclamation againſt riots to be read; but this not availing, a party of the guards were ordered to march to the place, and as ſoon as they approached, the mob diſperſed; but five of the rioters were taken, who, being tried and convicted, were hanged at the end of Saliſbury-court, in September †.

I have already obſerved, that the king's principal intent in going over to the continent was to ſecure his German dominions from the king of Sweden, and Great Britain from the deſigns of the pretender, who, laying hold of the enmity which Charles of Sweden now entertained againſt his Britannic ma-

* Hiſtorical Regiſter. Annals of George I. Tindal. † Tindal.

jeſty, prevailed on the Swede to eſpouſe his intereſt, and even to form a regular deſign for effecting his advancement to the throne of Great Britain. It was, indeed, amazing that a prince already overwhelmed by ſo many and ſuch powerful enemies, ſhould think of adding to their number by practices of this kind; but whoſoever conſiders the genius and ſpirit of Charles XII. will eaſily conceive that it was natural enough for him to embrace any expedient, how dangerous ſoever, which ſeemed to promiſe the diſſolving the confederacy by which he was oppreſſed. In order to guard againſt the attempts of his enemies, king George very prudently reſolved to contract alliances with foreign potentates.

The death of Lewis XIV. had greatly altered the ſtate of affairs between Great Britain and France. The regent, duke of Orleans, by virtue of king Philip's renunciation, and the death of all the princes in France ſprung from Lewis XIV. was become next heir to the minor king, and conſequently it was his intereſt to cultivate the friendſhip of ſuch ſtates as were likely to ſupport his title againſt the king of Spain, and particularly of England. King George was well aware of this, and reſolved to make his own advantage of it. He durſt not, as king of Great Britain, declare war againſt the Swedes, though he had done it as elector of Hanover; nor could he be reconciled with him, unleſs he reſtored the two duchies of Bremen and Verden; the only way therefore was, to compel that warlike prince to make peace. In this ſituation it was abſolutely neceſſary for king George to make alliances with ſuch powers as could moſt annoy him, in caſe they became his enemies. Accordingly, he began by ſounding the duke of Orleans, whom he found as ready as he could wiſh to enter into a league with him. The States-general, who only aimed at peace and ſecurity, as readily came into meaſures, from which they had much to expect, and little or nothing to fear. General Cadogan for England, the abbé du Blois for France, and the penſionary Heinſius for the States-general, negotiated this affair with ſo much ſecrecy, that the treaty was finiſhed almoſt before it was known to be in hand *.

By this treaty, which was known by the name of the Triple Alliance, the regent of France engaged that the pretender ſhould immediately depart from Avignon, where he then reſided, to the other ſide of the Alps, and never be ſuffered to return to Lorraine or France on any pretence whatſoever; that no rebellious ſubjects of Great Britain ſhould be allowed to reſide in that kingdom; and that the treaty of Utrecht, with reſpect to the demolition of Dunkirk, ſhould be fully executed to the ſatisfaction of his Britannic majeſty. The treaty alſo contained a mutual guaranty of all the places poſſeſſed by the contracting powers; of the proteſtant ſucceſſion on the throne of England, as well as of that of the duke of Orleans to the crown of France; and a defenſive alliance, ſtipulating the proportion of ſhips and forces to be furniſhed to that power, which ſhould be diſturbed at home, or invaded from abroad.

No ſooner this treaty came to be known than it excited great diſcontents, both in France and England. The people of the former nation exclaimed, that the regent had ſacrificed the honour and intereſt of France to his own ambitious views. In England, the party in oppoſition to the miniſtry found fault with this alliance, not without the appearance of reaſon on their ſide. They alleged, that the ſucceſſion was ſufficiently ſecured by the treaty of Utrecht; nor was there any occaſion for engaging foreign troops, which, on pretence of an invaſion, might be introduced at any time, to force upon the people the meaſures of a miniſtry, however deſtructive to the honour or real intereſt of the nation. The king of England and the regent little regarded theſe clamours, having each ſecured the point he had chiefly at heart.

As to the king of Spain, he was with good reaſon highly offended at this alliance, which he complained of in the bittereſt terms, and from this time took all meaſures to diſconcert this confederacy.

King George did not prove ſo ſucceſsful in his negotiations with Sweden as he had been in thoſe with France. Charles XII. would not hearken to any propoſals until Bremen and Verden ſhould be reſtored. His Britannic majeſty was equally determined not to part with thoſe which he conſidered as a fair purchaſe: in fine, the rupture between the courts of Hanover and Sweden became every day more implacable, and proved extremely prejudicial to the commerce of England, and had well nigh entailed upon the kingdom another invaſion, much more formidable than that which ſo lately miſcarried; for the diſaffected in England, ſtill purſuing their deſigns in favour of the pretender, turned their eyes on the king of Sweden to accompliſh it. Charles reliſhed the enterprize, which at once flattered his ambition and revenge; nor was it diſagreeable to the czar of Muſcovy, who was alſo applied to, and who had taken diſguſt againſt the elector of Hanover for having offered to join the Swede againſt the Ruſſians, provided he would ratify the ceſſion of Bremen and Verden.

Count Gyllemberg, the Swediſh reſident at London, was the perſon pitched upon to manage the conſpiracy in England, and baron Sparr at Paris, with the Engliſh Jacobites there, and other friends of the pretender; while baron Gortz, the prime miniſter and favourite of the king of Sweden, was diſpatched as envoy to the Hague, which he was to ſecure as the center of union to the ſeveral negotiations on this and the other ſide of the water. The ſcheme appears to have been very plauſible; a number of veſſels had been bought up, under different pretexts, which were appointed to rendezvous at the Swediſh port of Gottenburgh, about the latter end of the month of March, the ſeaſon when the eaſterly winds (which are fair for bringing over ſhips to England) generally prevail. On board theſe were to be embarked eight thouſand foot ſoldiers, and four thouſand horſe, all picked men; together with a formidable train of artillery, and proviſions and arms for fifteen or twenty thouſand men. The confederates had made themſelves ſo ſure of being joined by the malcontents here on their firſt landing, that the plot was entruſted to a very few perſons only in England; neither was there any formal treaty drawn up between the parties engaged in this affair: the mutual intereſt

* Tindal.

they

they had in the ſucceſs of their ſcheme was thought a tye more binding than the moſt ſolemn engagements. By the end of the year the project was ripe for execution, and was poſtponed only until the army ſhould be reduced, and the Dutch auxiliaries ſent back to their own country, which was expected to be done as ſoon as the parliament ſhould meet.

Theſe negotiations could not, however, be ſo privately managed but part of them tranſpired; and king George, who was then in Hanover, was informed of the intention of his enemies: upon which, he reſolved to return immediately to England, where he arrived towards the end of January, 1717. His firſt act was, to order a detachment of foot-guards to ſecure count Gyllemberg, the Swediſh miniſter, with all his papers. Baron Gortz, who had been in Holland, and was coming over to England to aſſiſt Gyllemberg in the conſpiracy, hearing what had happened to his colleague, and finding their projects were diſcovered, returned to Holland; and upon the Britiſh miniſter's application to the States, Gortz, with his two ſecretaries, and all his papers, were ſeized at Arnheim in Guelderland, after flying from place to place to avoid the purſuit he knew was made after him. By his and Gyllemberg's papers, the whole plot was diſcovered.

In the mean time, the other foreign miniſters at the court of London, alarmed at the ſeizure of the Swediſh envoy, complained to the miniſtry of this outrage committed againſt the law of nations. The two ſecretaries, Methuen and Stanhope, wrote circular letters to them, importing, that in a day or two they ſhould be made acquainted with the reaſons of this extraordinary proceeding. They were, generally, ſatisfied with this intimation; but the marquis de Monteleone, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, replied, that he was extremely ſorry no other way could be found to preſerve the peace of the kingdom than that of arreſting the perſon of a public miniſter, and ſeizing all his papers, which were the ſacred repoſitories of his maſter's ſecrets; and that, in whatever light thoſe two facts might ſeem to be underſtood, they very ſenſibly wounded the law of nations. This, however, was a mere cavil: the king of England had acted conſiſtently with the ſtricteſt principles of juſtice in impriſoning his enemy. As Gyllemberg, the Swediſh ambaſſador, had violated the law of nations, by conſpiring againſt the prince to whom he was ſent in public character, the Engliſh had an undoubted right to diſpenſe with the obſervance of the ſame law, by arreſting his perſon: but all the world was ſurprized to ſee the Dutch impriſon the baron de Gortz, in order to gratify the king of England, an inſtance of complaiſance not to be paralleled in hiſtory, and by which they not only violated a moſt ſacred law, by ſeizing the perſon of the prime miniſter of the king of Sweden, who had formed no plots againſt them, but they acted in direct contradiction to the ſpirit of that ineſtimable liberty which hath drawn ſo many ſtrangers of other nations into their country, and is the foundation of all their greatneſs †.

The parliament met on the twentieth of February, when, by his majeſty's command, Mr. Secretary Stanhope laid before them copies of letters between count Gyllemberg, the barons Gortz, Sparr, and others, relating to the deſign of raiſing a rebellion in his majeſty's dominions, to be ſupported by a force from Sweden. The letters being read in both houſes, occaſioned addreſſes full of the moſt lively expreſſions of loyalty and zeal, and of reſentment againſt the proceedings of the perſons engaged therein. The commons paſſed a bill prohibiting all commerce with Sweden, a branch of trade which was of the utmoſt conſequence to the Engliſh merchants. They voted ten thouſand ſeamen for the enſuing year, granted about a million for the maintenance of guards, garriſons, and land-forces, and paſſed the bill relating to mutiny and deſertion. The houſe likewiſe voted four and twenty thouſand pounds for the payment of four battalions of Munſter, and two of Saxe Gotha, which the king had taken into his ſervice to ſupply the place of ſuch as might be, during the rebellion, drawn from the garriſons of the States-general to the aſſiſtance of England. This vote was not carried without a violent debate. The demand was inveighed againſt as an impoſition, ſeeing no ſuch troops had ever ſerved. A motion was made for an addreſs, deſiring that the inſtructions of thoſe who had concluded the treaties might be laid before the houſe; but this was over-ruled by the majority. The ſupplies were raiſed by a land-tax of three ſhillings in the pound, and a malt-tax. Orders were alſo iſſued for Sir George Byng to ſail with a ſtrong ſquadron to block up the Swediſh ſhips in their harbours; the letters of Gortz and Gyllemberg were printed, in vindication of the conduct of the king of England towards the Swediſh miniſter. Charles XII. was in Scania when he received theſe printed letters, together with the news of the two miniſters being impriſoned, upon which he gave immediate orders for arreſting the Engliſh intendant at Stockholm, with all his family and domeſtics. The Dutch reſident was forbid the court, and ſtrictly watched in all his motions. Charles, mean while, neither avowed nor diſclaimed the proceedings of de Gortz: too proud to deny a ſcheme which he had once approved, and too wiſe to acknowlege a plot which had thus been ſtifled in its birth, he maintained a diſdainful ſilence towards England and Holland. The czar took a very different courſe: as his name was not expreſly mentioned, but only obſcurely hinted at, in the papers of Gortz and Gyllemberg, he wrote a long letter to the king of England, complimenting him upon the diſcovery of the plot, and aſſuring him of the moſt inviolable friendſhip. King George read his proteſtations without believing them, tho' he thought it moſt prudent in the preſent caſe to pretend that he did *. A plot contrived by private men, ſays Mr. de Voltaire, is annihilated the moment it is diſcovered; but a conſpiracy formed by kings, the more it is known the ſtronger it grows.

Before I proceed to the relation of the events of the year 1717, I muſt take notice that the Turks had, in the year 1715, made an irruption into Chriſtendom, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Peleponneſus, which the renowned Moroſini had taken from them about the cloſe of the ſeventeenth cen-

† Tindal's Annals of King George I. Voltaire.

* Tindal. Volt. Polit. State. Oldmixon.

tury, and which had been ceded to the Venetians by the peace of Carlowitz. The emperor, who guarantied that peace, found himſelf hereupon obliged to declare war againſt the Turks, and the ſupreme command of the Imperial troops was conferred on prince Eugene, who, about the autumn of the year 1716, obtained a complete victory over the infidels at Peterwaradin upon the Danube. The battle was fought on the fifth day of Auguſt, N. S. The Imperial army did not exceed ſixty thouſand men, that of the Turks amounted to an hundred and fifty thouſand, commanded by the grand vizir Ali, favourite of the ſultan Achmet III. who was mortally wounded in the engagement. The infidels were totally defeated, with the loſs of all their tents, artillery, and baggage; ſo that the victors gained an immenſe booty †. To return to England.

Notwithſtanding the commons had ſhewn themſelves ſo liberal in their ſupplies, the court was ſtill craving; and, on the third of April, Mr. ſecretary Stanhope brought a meſſage from his majeſty, demanding an extraordinary ſupply, that he might be the better enabled to ſecure his kingdoms againſt the danger with which they were threatened from Sweden: and Mr. Stanhope at the ſame time moved, that a ſupply ſhould be granted to his majeſty for that purpoſe. This meſſage rouſed the houſe from that indolent acquieſcence which they had hitherto fallen into, in regard to every propoſition of the court. Several members ſtood forth to oppoſe this motion; but no one diſtinguiſhed himſelf more on this occaſion than Mr. Shippen, who ſaid, it was a great misfortune that the king was as little acquainted with the parliamentary proceedings as the language of the country; that the meſſage was unparliamentary and unprecedented, and in his opinion penned by ſome foreign miniſter. He had been often told, that his majeſty had retrieved the honour and reputation of the nation; a truth which appeared in the flouriſhing condition of trade; that the ſupply demanded ſeemed to be inconſiſtent with the glorious advantages which his majeſty had obtained for the people. He was ſeconded by Mr. Hungerford, who declared, that for his part he could not underſtand what occaſion there was for new alliances; much leſs, that they ſhould be purchaſed with money. He expreſſed his ſurprize, that a nation, ſo lately the terror of France and Spain, ſhould now ſeem to fear ſo inconſiderable an enemy as the king of Sweden. The motion was ſupported by Mr. Boſcawen, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, and others; but ſome of the Whigs ſpoke againſt it; and Mr. Robert Walpole was ſilent. The ſpeaker and Mr. Smith, one of the tellers of the Exchequer, oppoſed this unparliamentary way of demanding the ſupply: the former propoſed, that part of the army ſhould be diſbanded, and the money applied towards the making good ſuch new engagements as were deemed neceſſary. After long and warm debates, it was, however, reſolved, that two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds be granted to his majeſty for the purpoſes mentioned in his meſſage *: but it was carried by a majority of only four voices.

This ſmall majority was owing to a miſunderſtanding about this time among the courtiers. To whatever cauſe it was owing, it is certain there was ſome difference between the king's friends, which occaſioned the removal of ſome, and the reſignation of others. So long ago as in December, the lord Townſhend, on the arrival of an expreſs from Hanover, was removed from his place of principal ſecretary of ſtate, to the great ſurprize of moſt people; and though after the king's return he was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, yet immediately after the debate on the above-mentioned ſupply, the granting of which he had vehemently oppoſed in the houſe of lords, he received a letter from Mr. Stanhope, acquainting him, that his majeſty returned him thanks for his paſt ſervices, but had no farther occaſion for him as lord-lieutenant of that kingdom. The very next day Mr. Robert Walpole waited on his majeſty, and reſigned his poſts of firſt commiſſioner of the Treaſury and chancellor of the Exchequer; as did Mr. Pulteney his of ſecretary at war, and Mr. Methuen that of ſecretary of ſtate: their example was followed ſoon after by the duke of Devonſhire, who quitted the preſidentſhip of the council; and now the miniſtry underwent an almoſt total revolution. The earl of Sunderland and Mr. Addiſon were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; Mr. Stanhope became firſt commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Craggs was declared ſecretary at war; the earl of Berkley was conſtituted firſt commiſſioner of the Admiralty, in the room of the earl of Orford, who reſigned; the duke of Bolton obtained the government of Ireland; and was ſucceeded in the poſt of lord-chamberlain by the duke of Newcaſtle.

The parliament, at his majeſty's deſire, had adjourned from the ſixteenth of April to the ſixth of May; when being met, he, by the mouth of the lord-chancellor, made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he gave them to underſtand, that the fleet under ſir George Byng, which had ſailed to the Baltic to obſerve the motion of the Swedes, was ſafely arrived in the Sound. He told them, that he had given orders for the reduction of ten thouſand ſoldiers, as well as directions to prepare an act of indemnity. He deſired they would take proper meaſures for reducing the public debts, with a juſt regard to parliamentary credit; and that they would go through the public buſineſs with all poſſible diſpatch and unanimity.

Agreeable to his majeſty's intimation in his ſpeech, the parliament now ſet about reducing the intereſt on the public debts, in order for leſſening the principal thereof gradually. Theſe debts were comprehended under the two heads of redeemable and irredeemable incumbrances. The firſt had been contracted with a redeemable intereſt; and theſe the public had a right to diſcharge: the others conſiſted of long and ſhort annuities, granted for a greater or leſs number of years, which could not be altered without the conſent of the proprietors. Mr. Robert Walpole had projected a ſcheme for leſſening the intereſt, and paying the capital of thoſe debts, before he left the Exchequer. His plan was approved; but when he reſigned his places, the miniſters made ſome ſmall alterations, which furniſhed him with a pretence for oppoſing the ſcheme. The government, however, in order

† Modern Univerſal Hiſtory. Voltaire.

* See Parliamentary Debates. Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons.

to carry this good and great end into execution with ſucceſs and ſecurity, treated with the Bank and South-ſea companies, to whom a great part of the national debts were due, and brought them to agree not only for the reduction of the intereſt on their own reſpective capitals from ſix to five per cent. but for the Bank's advancing or lending to the public (when wanted) two millions five hundred thouſand pounds, and the South-ſea company the ſum of two millions, at five per cent. intereſt, to be in readineſs for paying off ſuch of the proprietors of the orders of four lotteries in the reign of queen Anne, and of other redeemable annuities, as ſhould demand their principal money to be paid to them, inſtead of accepting of five per cent. in lieu of their preſent intereſt of ſix per cent. This ſalutary ſcheme was at length effected, in conſequence of three ſeveral acts paſſed this ſeſſion of parliament, under the names of the General-Fund act, the Bank act, and the South-ſea act.

By the firſt, entitled, "An act for redeeming the duties and revenues which were ſettled to pay off the principal and intereſt on the orders made forth on four lottery-acts, &c. commonly called the General Fund," the ſaid two companies were empowered to borrow money on their common ſeal, or to make calls on their proprietors for enabling them to advance to the public the two ſums above ſpecified; the ſaid reduction of intereſt to commence from and after Michaelmas 1727: for which intereſt a new annual fund was hereby eſtabliſhed, and has ever ſince been called the General-fund, amounting to ſeven hundred twenty-four thouſand eight hundred forty-nine pounds, ſix ſhillings, and ten pence. Hereby meaſures were ſo well concerted by the government, that all the proprietors of thoſe redeemable debts acquieſced in the ſaid reduction of their intereſt from ſix to five per cent. without borrowing any part of the ſaid two millions five hundred thouſand pounds of the Bank, or of the two millions South-ſea company, ſtipulated as before-mentioned *.

By the ſecond, entitled, "An act for redeeming the ſeveral funds of the Bank, purſuant to former proviſions of redemption," &c. † the governors and company declared themſelves willing to accept of five per cent. intereſt for all the debt due to that corporation, in lieu of their then allowances, and to advance the above-named two millions five hundred thouſand pounds, if called for; and the Bank was hereby to deliver up two millions in Exchequer-bills, for which they were to have an annuity of one hundred thouſand pounds, redeemable on one year's notice after Chriſtmas 1717. This is called the Aggregate Fund, firſt eſtabliſhed by an act of the firſt year of king George (cap. xii.) tho' not particularly applied to the leſſening of the national debts till now. Hereby alſo the Bank was to have three per cent. per ann. and one penny per cent. per diem (inſtead of two pence formerly allowed) for circulating of the ſum of two millions five hundred and ſixty-one thouſand and twenty-five pounds, being the remaining Exchequer-bills, till fully cancelled from Chriſtmas 1717; ſo that the whole capital of the Bank was hereby encreaſed to five millions three hundred ſeventy-five thouſand and twenty-ſeven pounds, ſeventeen ſhillings, and ten-pence. But their original capital of one million ſix hundred thouſand pounds was to continue at ſix per cent. intereſt, to the firſt of Auguſt 1742.

By the third, entitled, "An act for redeeming the yearly fund of the South-ſea company," &c. ‡ the South-ſea company's preſent capital being ten millions, and their preſent annual fund being ſix hundred thouſand pounds, their fund was now reduced from ſix to five per cent. i. e. from ſix hundred thouſand pounds to five hundred thouſand, from and after Midſummer 1718, beſides their yearly allowance of eight thouſand pounds for charges of management. The company was alſo hereby impowered to borrow money on their common ſeal, either for the purpoſes of this act, or for carrying on their trade, or other neceſſary occaſions, at ſuch intereſt as they ſhould think fit, and for any time not leſs than for ſix months; and altho' their fund may hereafter be redeemed, (viz. on one year's notice after Midſummer 1723) yet their trade and corporate capacity was hereby to continue for ever. This was, in the ſtyle of the Exchequer, called the South-ſea fund.

By all which ſavings, viz. by one per cent. on the funds before-named, and by one penny per cent. per day ſaved for the future on the Exchequer-bills hereafter to be circulated, a good beginning, or foundation, was laid for the famous ſinking fund, amounting to three hundred twenty-three thouſand four hundred and thirty-four pounds, ſeven ſhillings, and ſeven-pence half-penny, per ann. Moreover, for the greater conveniency of the proprietors of the before-named lottery orders, and debts at the Exchequer hereby ranged under this new general fund, they were brought from the Exchequer to the Bank, and erected into a tranſferable ſtock, at five per cent. intereſt. The ſaid yearly ſaving or ſurplus was hereby to be ſolely applicable to the diſcharge of the principal and intereſt of ſuch national debts as were contracted before Chriſtmas 1716.

Thus out of the before-named three funds, called the Aggregate, the General, and the South-ſea fund, was formed the Sinking Fund, being purely the ſurplus or ſavings out of thoſe funds by the ſeveral reductions now and afterwards made in the rates of intereſt and allowances; and as theſe have at different times been leſſened, and annual or other payments have been made to the creditors of the public act of the "Sinking Fund," it has proportionally encreaſed. As a proof of the great advantage ariſing from this reduction of the intereſt on the national funds, and the eſtabliſhment of a fund for farther leſſening the public debts, I ſhall here obſerve, that, inſtead of lowering the prices of the ſeveral ſtocks at market, they were found to riſe conſiderably in price; particularly South-ſea ſtock, which, at Lady-day of this year 1717, was but one hundred three-fourths per cent. but got up to eleven hundred and twelve one-half by Michaelmas following.

The earl of Oxford, who had now remained near two years a priſoner in the Tower, finding the ſeſſion likely to come to an end without taking his caſe into conſideration, preſented a petition to the houſe of Lords, praying, that his trial might

* See Stat. anno triceſimo Geo. I. cap. vii. † Ibid. cap. viii. ‡ Ibid. cap. ix.

be brought on. The lords aſſented to his requeſt: Weſtminſter-hall being prepared for the purpoſe, and the lord-chancellor Cowper conſtituted high-ſteward for the occaſion, the earl, on the twenty-fourth of June, was brought from the Tower by water, and conducted to the bar; when Mr. Hampden, one of the managers for the commons, recapitulated the charge againſt his lordſhip in a long ſpeech. Then Sir Joſeph Jekyll (lately made maſter of the rolls in the room of Sir John Trevor, deceaſed) ſtood up to make good the firſt article of the charge; but as he was proceeding, the lord Harcourt ſignified to their lordſhips, that he had a motion to make, and they accordingly adjourned to their own houſe. There he repreſented, that a great deal of time would be unneceſſarily conſumed in going through all the articles of the impeachment; that if the commons could make good the two articles for high treaſon, the earl of Oxford would forfeit both life and eſtate, and there would be an end of the matter; whereas, to proceed in the method propoſed by the commons, would draw out the trial to a prodigious length: and, that it would be a great hardſhip upon a peer, who had already undergone ſo long a confinement, to appear every day at their bar, like a traitor, and be, at laſt, found guilty only of high crimes and miſdemeanors. He therefore moved, that the commons might not be permitted to proceed in order to make good the articles againſt the earl of Oxford for high crimes and miſdemeanors, till judgment ſhould be firſt given upon the articles for high treaſon.

After a long debate this motion was carried in the affirmative: there aroſe upon this a difference between the two houſes, the commons being reſolved to proceed in their own way, and the lords as ſtrenuouſly adhering to theirs. The lower houſe demanded a free conference, which was refuſed by the upper. The diſpute grew more and more warm: the lords ſent a meſſage to the commons, importing, that they intended forthwith to proceed to the trial of the earl of Oxford. The commons anſwered this intimation, by adjourning themſelves to the third day of July. Hereupon the lords repairing to Weſtminſter-hall, took their places, ordered the earl to be brought to the bar, and cauſed proclamation to be made three times, for his accuſers to appear and make good the impeachment againſt him. Having waited for a quarter of an hour, they adjourned to their own houſe, where, one or two excepted, they gave their votes for the diſcharge of the earl of Oxford; then returning to the hall, they ordered him immediately to be ſet at liberty. The commons were enraged at the eſcape of this nobleman, whom they had marked out for deſtruction; and as a laſt effort of their malice, they reſolved that the king ſhould be addreſſed to except him out of the act of grace which was intended to be brought into the houſe. This addreſs his majeſty was pleaſed to comply with, and alſo forbade the earl to appear at court.

On the fifteenth day of July the earl of Sunderland delivered, in the houſe of peers, the act of grace, which paſſed through both houſes without any difficulty. From this indemnity were excepted, the earl of Oxford, Mr. Prior, Mr. Thomas Harley, Mr. Arthur Moore, Criſp, Nodes, Obryan, Kedmayne the printer, and Thomſon, the aſſaſſinators in Newgate confined ſince the reign of king William, and the clan of Macgregor * in Scotland. By virtue of this act, the earl of Carnwath, and the lords Widdrington and Nairn, were immediately diſcharged; but the lord Duffus was continued in priſon, with an allowance of three pounds per week. All the gentlemen who lay under ſentence of death in Newgate were diſmiſſed, as were thoſe that were detained, on account of the rebellion, in the Fleet, the Marſhalſea, and other priſons in the kingdom. The yearly value of the forfeited eſtates in England and Ireland amounted to forty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and twenty ſix pounds, eighteen ſhillings and five pence half-penny; the rents of thoſe in Scotland were eſtimated at twenty-nine thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-five pounds, ſix ſhillings, and eight pence, ſterling.

The act of grace being prepared for the royal aſſent, the very day on which it was preſented the king went to the houſe of peers in the afternoon; and having given his ſanction to all the bills that were ready, he cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech on the uſual topics.

A famous controverſy was begun and carried on about this time, occaſioned by Dr. Hoadley, biſhop of Bangor's ſermon before the king, entitled, "The nature of the kingdom of Chriſt, ſhewing it not to be of this world." This ſermon made a great noiſe, and innumerable pamphlets were wrote on both ſides. The biſhop was generally thought to have the better of his antagoniſts, who, not content with their oppoſition in a private capacity, thought to have ſilenced him by means of the convocation which was then ſitting. The lower houſe appointed a committee to draw up a repreſentation to the upper houſe, againſt the poſitions advanced in his ſermon, and in a farther performance of his, entitled, "A preſervative againſt the principles and practices of the non-jurors." The committee cenſured both; but, to put an end to theſe heats, the convocation was prorogued, and have ſcarce ever ſat ſince.

During theſe tranſactions, his majeſty had thought fit to appoint ſir John Norris envoy-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the czar of Muſcovy; and, as if things began to be ſo diſpoſed as to admit of a peace in the North, a reſolution was taken to diſcharge count Gyllemberg, and that baron Gortz ſhould be releaſed from his confinement in Holland, which was accordingly performed; yet the ſtorm did not entirely blow over,

* It ſeems the family or clan of Macgregors, alias Campbells, had been in rebellion in the time of king James I. and were reduced; but on king James's death they took up arms again, not ſo much on any ſtate account, as to plunder the Lowlands, and injure the country; whereupon a remarkable act paſſed againſt them. By this act they were all, at the age of ſixteen, to appear before the privy-council, and give ſurety for their good behaviour; and, in order to their extirpation, no miniſter, within the bounds of the Highlands, were to baptize any male child with the name of Gregor or Macgregor. The famous Rob Roy, head of the clans, being in the rebellion, occaſioned perhaps the exception, by which the whole family of the Macgregors were excluded the benefit of the act of grace.

but the Swediſh quarrel ſtill proved a ſource of new expence to the Britiſh nation.

In the ſpring of this year the czar made an excurſion to the court of Verſailles, where he propoſed to the duke of Orleans to conclude a treaty, which, had it taken place, would have completed the greatneſs of Muſcovy. His deſign was to compromiſe matters with the king of Sweden, who would yield to him ſome large provinces, to deprive the Danes of the empire of the Baltic Sea, to weaken the Engliſh by a civil war, and make all the trade of the North center in Ruſſia. With this view, he propoſed to the regent of France to act as mediator between Sweden and Muſcovy, and to make a league offenſive and defenſive with theſe two crowns and that of Spain. This propoſal, however, was rejected by the duke of Orleans, and communicated by him to king George. The czar, after leaving France, had an interview with baron Gortz at Amſterdam. This ſtateſman, now at liberty, behaved like an implacable enemy, prompted not only by the powerful motives by which he had been formerly actuated, but inſtigated by a ſpirit of revenge, on account of his late impriſonment. He aſſured the czar, that in leſs than three months he would, in conjunction with a ſingle plenipotentiary from Ruſſia, remove every obſtacle that retarded the concluſion of a peace with Sweden. Peter, over whom Gortz had acquired an abſolute aſcendancy, agreed to ſuſpend all operations againſt Sweden until that term ſhould be expired. A congreſs was opened at Abo, but the conferences were afterwards transferred to Aland. The articles were ſoon adjuſted, and an alliance formed that was wholly to change the face of affairs in Europe: the ſubſtance of which, as it was found among de Gortz's papers after his death, was as follows: the czar was to keep the whole of Livonia, and part of Ingria and Carelia, to himſelf, and to reſtore the reſt to Sweden. He was to join his efforts to thoſe of Charles XII. in order to reſtore Staniſlaus to the throne of Poland, and to enter that country with eighty thouſand Ruſſians, to dethrone the very king in whoſe defence he had waged a war of ten years continuance. He was to furniſh the king of Sweden with a number of ſhips, ſufficient to tranſport ten thouſand Swedes to England, and thirty thouſand to Germany. The united forces of Peter and Charles were to attack the king of England in his German dominions, eſpecially in Bremen and Verden, and were likewiſe to be employed in re-eſtabliſhing the duke of Holſtein, and compelling the king of Pruſſia to agree to a treaty, by which he would be deprived of thoſe territories which he had ſeized.

Baron Gortz ſet out from Aland for Fredericſtadt in Norway, which Charles was then beſieging, with the plan; but before he arrived, Charles was killed by a cannon-ball from the town, while he was viſiting the trenches. Gortz was immediately arreſted and brought to the ſcaffold by the nobles of Sweden, whoſe hatred he had incurred. The death of Charles produced an entire change in the face of affairs: Sweden was obliged to ſubmit, while the czar, the king of Denmark, and king George, as elector of Hanover, remained in poſſeſſion of what they had acquired. Although theſe affairs did not fall out till towards the end of the following year, I have thrown them together in this place, in order to prevent any farther recourſe to them †.

Soon after the cloſe of the ſeſſion of parliament in England, his majeſty received advice by count Volkra, the imperial miniſter, that prince Eugene had gained a deciſive victory over the Turks at Belgrade, which was followed by the ſurrender of that town, the key of the Ottoman empire. King George had not yet received the inveſtiture of the duchies of Bremen and Verden; and until that could be procured, it was neceſſary to eſpouſe with warmth the intereſts of the emperor. This begot a miſunderſtanding between our court and that of Spain. Philip V. taking advantage of the emperor's being engaged in a war with the Turks, had, at the inſtance of the cardinal Alberoni, his prime miniſter, equipped a ſtrong armament in the courſe of this year, the command of which was beſtowed upon the marquis de Leda, who, in purſuance of the order of his court, ſet ſail from Barcelona, and, landing at Cagliari, the capital of the iſland of Sardinia, which belonged to his Imperial majeſty, had reduced the whole iſland to ſubjection. This proceeding Philip pretended to juſtify by a manifeſto, in which he alledged, that the archduke (for he had not yet acknowleged Charles VI. as emperor) had, contrary to the faith of treaties, encouraged and ſupported the rebellion of his ſubjects in Catalonia, by frequent ſuccours from Naples and other places, and particularly that he had cauſed the grand inquiſitor of Spain to be ſeized, though furniſhed with a paſſport from his Holineſs. However, his Catholic majeſty promiſed, by the marquis Beretti Lardi, his ambaſſador at the Hague, to proceed no farther, and to ſuſpend all operations, that the powers of Europe might have time and opportunity to contrive expedients for adjuſting all differences, and ſecuring the peace and balance of power in Italy: and he even agreed to refer the deciſion of this important affair to the king of Great Britain and the States-general. Theſe powers undertook the office. Conferences were begun between the miniſters of the emperor, France, and Holland; and theſe produced, in the courſe of the following year, the famous quadruple alliance, which was intended to ſettle the affairs of Europe on a better foundation than the treaty of Utrecht had left them, and to fix the general tranquility for ever: yet, by unforeſeen accidents, to which human policy will ever be liable, this alliance proved the cauſe of an immediate war between us and Spain, and in its conſequences has been productive of innumerable troubles.

By this treaty, the terms of which were already fixed, though not executed till ſome months afterwards, it was ſtipulated, "That the king of Spain ſhould reſtore to the emperor, within two months after the ratification of the articles, the kingdom of Sardinia, and renounce all right and claim to the dominions of the emperor in Italy and the Netherlands; conſent to the emperor's being put in poſſeſſion of Sicily, and renounce the right of reverſion of that kingdom to the crown of Spain, as ſettled by the treaty of Utrecht; on condition, however, of having Sardinia in exchange: that

† Oldmixon. Tindal. Voltaire. Polit. State.

the

the emperor ſhould renounce, for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, all right and pretenſion to any dominions, of which the king of Spain was acknowleged rightful poſſeſſor, by the treaty of Utrecht: that he ſhould own Philip as lawful king of Spain and the Indies, and give him the titles and prerogatives belonging to that dignity: that the duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, ſhould be accounted as male fiefs of the empire, and ſhould deſcend, in default of male heirs, to the queen of Spain's eldeſt ſon; but that none of theſe duchies ſhould ever be poſſeſſed by a prince, who was at the ſame time king of Spain, nor ſhould the king of Spain ever take upon him the guardianſhip of that prince: that the king of Sicily ſhould reſtore that kingdom to the emperor, within two months after the ratification of the articles: that, in return, the emperor ſhould give to the king of Sicily, the iſland of Sardinia, which he ſhould enjoy, with the title of king, but the right of reverſion, in default of heirs male, ſhould be reſerved to the crown of Spain: that the kings of Spain and Sicily ſhould be allowed three months to conſider, whether they would accept to reject the terms propoſed; and if, contrary to the wiſhes of all Europe, they ſhould continue refractory, the meditators ſhould join their forces, and compel them to ſubmit: that, if any of the mediators ſhould be attacked, on account of the ſuccours lent to the emperor, the others ſhould declare war againſt the aggreſſor, and not lay down their arms till the emperor was put in poſſeſſion of Sicily, and eſtabliſhed in the firm enjoyment of his Italian dominions: that, if either of the kings ſhould accept the terms propoſed by the allies, he ſhould join his forces with thoſe of the mediators, in order to oblige the other to comply: and, finally, to ſhow that nothing but juſtice and peace was intended, it was expreſsly ſtipulated, that as ſoon as the emperor was put in poſſeſſion of Sicily, he ſhould renounce all pretenſions to Spain and the Indies, whether king Philip acceded or not, inaſmuch as the guaranty of the mediators would be to his Imperial majeſty, a ſecurity, equal to the renunciations of the Spaniſh monarch, for Sicily, the Italian dominions, and the Netherlands *.

The crown of Spain was highly diſpleaſed with this proviſion made for its intereſt; and though the emperor ſeemed to be very well contented at this juncture, yet, as ſoon as Spain was compelled to accept what was now offered her, he alſo grew diſſatisfied with this partition, and we have never ſince been able to keep them both in temper, or preſerve ourſelves from being involved in their quarrels, as the reader, in the courſe of this work, will be ſufficiently informed. Philip ſtill continuing to make great preparations by ſea and land, king George and the regent of France interpoſed their admonitions, but to no purpoſe. At length his Britannic majeſty reſolved to have recourſe to more ſubſtantial arguments, and ordered a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips of war to be fitted out with all expedition.

In this critical ſituation things were when the parliament met, on the twenty-firſt of November; but before I relate their tranſactions, I muſt take notice, that on the ſecond of November her royal highneſs the princeſs of Wales was brought to bed of a prince, who, on the twenty-eighth, was chriſtened by the name of George William, the ceremony of whoſe baptiſm occaſioned an unhappy difference between the king and the prince of Wales. It ſeems his royal highneſs had intended the biſhop of Oſnabrug, has uncle, ſhould have ſtood god-father; but his majeſty, in compliance with the cuſtom which preſcribed that one of the principal lords of the court, commonly the lord-chamberlain for the time being, ſhould ſtand as ſecond god-father, had ordered the duke of Newcaſtle to ſtand: the prince imagining the duke had officiouſly forced himſelf into this honour, expreſſed himſelf in very warm terms of reſentment to his grace, after the ceremony was over. The king being acquainted with this, and taking the prince's reſentment as expreſſed againſt himſelf, ſent him orders to leave St. James's; which he did, and went and reſided at Leiceſter-houſe, whither he was accompanied by the princeſs his conſort, though it was ſignified to her, that ſhe might ſtay at St. James's as long as ſhe judged convenient. The young princeſs and the young prince (who died in February following) remained at St. James's with his majeſty, orders having been given that her royal highneſs might have full liberty to viſit them whenever ſhe thought proper. After this, whenever the king went abroad, he committed the adminiſtration of the government to lords-juſtices. This difference farther divided the friends of the royal family; for as all in the king's ſervice were forbid to viſit the prince's court at Leiceſter-houſe, moſt of his royal highneſs's ſervants forbore going to St. James's.

The king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, acquainted them, that he had reduced the army to very near one half, ſince the beginning of laſt ſeſſion; he expreſſed his deſire, that all thoſe who were friends to the preſent happy eſtabliſhment, might unanimouſly concur in ſome proper method for the greater ſtrengthening the proteſtant intereſt, of which as the church of England was unqueſtionably the main ſupport and bulwark, ſo would ſhe reap the principal benefit of every advantage accruing from the union and mutual charity of all proteſtants. Addreſſes of thanks having been preſented by both houſes, the commons proceeded to take into conſideration the eſtimates and accounts, in order to ſettle the eſtabliſhment of the army, navy, and ordnance; ten thouſand men were voted for the ſea-ſervice, and the ſum of two hundred and twenty-four thouſand eight hundred and fifty-ſeven pounds was granted for defraying the expences of the navy.

On the fourth of December, the ſupply for the army fell under deliberation in the houſe of commons, when a very warm debate enſued upon the number of troops that ought to be maintained. Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Walpole, were for reſtricting them to twelve thouſand men only; the courtiers affirmed, that ſixteen thouſand were abſolutely neceſſary. In the courſe of the debate, Mr. Shippen having made uſe of ſome expreſſions highly reflecting upon the king's perſon and government, he was voted to the Tower by a great majority. At length the number of land-forces was fixed at ſixteen thouſand three hundred and forty-ſeven effective men; and

* Annals of George I. Political State. Tindal.

for the maintenance of them, the ſum of ſix hundred and fifty thouſand pounds was allotted.

About this period there appearing to be a conſiderable ſcarcity of ſilver coin in England, by reaſon our gold coin was rated too high in price; and the great ſir Iſaac Newton being thereupon conſulted by the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury, he adviſed the reduction of the value of guineas from twenty-one ſhillings and ſix pence, to twenty-one ſhillings; which was accordingly done by approbation of the houſe of commons, who addreſſed the king for that purpoſe; at which rate they have continued ever ſince: whereby, in ſome meaſure, the ſilver coin, which before had been exported in exchange for gold, was kept at home.

In the beginning of the year 1718, a deſign againſt the king's life was diſcovered; the author of which ſeemed fitter for Bedlam than Newgate. His name was James Shepheard, a young man under twenty, who, by frequenting Jacobite ſeminaries, and reading their books, had worked himſelf up to ſuch a pitch of enthuſiaſm, that he wiſhed ardently for an opportunity to aſſaſſinate the king, and actually wrote a letter to one Mr. Leake, a nonjuring clergyman, propoſing a ſcheme for effecting his horrid deſign, which he called "ſmiting the uſurper in his palace." Leake, terrified at ſuch a letter being left for him at his lodgings, went and communicated the contents of it to ſir John Fryer, an alderman of London, who adviſed him to ſecure the writer when he ſhould call for an anſwer: this was accordingly done, and being carried before the alderman, was by him committed to Newgate. The young traitor was ſo far from repenting of his execrable deſign, that upon his trial he openly avowed it, declaring that he thought it would have been a meritorious deed. He was accordingly convicted upon his own confeſſion, and executed at Tyburn on the ſeventeenth of March.

The ſame day the marquis de Paleotti, an Italian, and brother to the ducheſs of Shrewſbury, ſuffered the like fate, having been convicted and condemned for the murder of his own ſervant, in a tranſport of paſſion. Great interceſſion was made for him by his ſiſter the ducheſs, and ſome foreign miniſters; but his character was ſo deteſtable, that all the favour he could obtain, was to be executed by himſelf.

The principal affair which engaged the attention of the parliament this ſeſſion, and which produced much heat and altercation among the miniſters, was the bill for regulating the land-forces, and puniſhing mutiny and deſertion, which was conſidered as an encroachment on the liberties of the people and the conſtitution of the kingdom, inaſmuch as it eſtabliſhed martial law, and wreſted from the civil magiſtrate the cognizance of crimes and miſdemeanors committed by the officers and ſoldiers of the army. One of the principal arguments made uſe of by the promoters of the bill (among whom general Stanhope, lately created viſcount Mahon and baron Elvaſton, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf) was, that by the power of trying ſuch offenders being confined to the civil courts, the affair was frequently ſubject to ſo many delays, that before the trial could be brought on, the friends and relations of the delinquents had opportunity to exert their intereſt and procure their pardon; by which juſtice was eluded, and great encouragement given to mutiny and diſobedience. The futility of this argument was clearly expoſed, and the danger that might ariſe from ſuch a power veſted in the crown, amply ſet forth, by the gentlemen in the oppoſition. But what could an handful of perſons do againſt the much greater number of thoſe who were ready, for the ſake of preſerving their places, or their penſions, to ſacrifice the liberties and intereſts of their fellow-ſubjects to the will of a miniſter? After a violent debate, the bill was carried by a great majority in both houſes, though ſeveral lords entered their proteſts.

This affair being diſcuſſed, a bill was brought in, for veſting in truſtees the forfeited eſtates in Great Britain and Ireland, to be ſold for the uſe of the public; for giving relief to lawful creditors, by determining their claims; and for the more effectually bringing into the reſpective Exchequers, the rents and profits of the ſaid eſtates, till ſold. The time of claiming was prolonged; the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds was reſerved out of the eſtates of Scotland, for erecting ſchools; and eight thouſand pounds for building barracks in that part of the kingdom *.

The ſums granted by the houſe of commons for the ordinary of the navy being found inſufficient to anſwer the deſigns that had been formed by the adminiſtration, the king was prevailed on to ſend a meſſage to the commons, on the ſeventeenth of March, in the following terms:

"Geo. Rex.

"His majeſty being at preſent engaged in ſeveral negociations, of the utmoſt concern to the welfare of theſe kingdoms, and the tranquility of Europe, and having lately received information from abroad, which makes him judge that it will give weight to his endeavours, if a naval force ſhou'd be employed where it was neceſſary; does think fit to acquaint this houſe therewith; not doubting but that, in caſe he ſhould be obliged, at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year for the ſea-ſervice, the houſe will at their next meeting, provide for ſuch exceedings †".

This meſſage was brought to the houſe by Mr. Boſcawen; and an addreſs, promiſing to make good ſuch exceedings, if they were found neceſſary, was moved for, by Mr. William Strickland, and agreed to without a diviſion; which was highly agreeable to the court. The next day the king thought fit to make ſome alterations at the navy-board, and alſo to appoint the earl of Berkeley vice-admiral, and Matthew Aylmer, eſq. rear-admiral of Great Britain: the latter was ſoon after raiſed to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Ireland.

On the twenty-firſt of March the king went to the houſe of peers; and having paſſed the bills that were ready for the royal aſſent, ordered the parliament to be prorogued. Soon after, viz. on the eighth of April, earl Cowper, lord-chancellor, reſigned the great ſeal, which, after having been a ſhort time in commiſſion, was given to Thomas, lord Parker, lord chief juſtice of the king's Bench,

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons.

† Oldmixon. Polit. State. Proceed. of the Houſe of Commons.

afterwards created earl of Macclesfield; who was ſucceeded as lord chief-juſtice by ſir John Pratt About the ſame time, Mr. Lechmere was made attorney-general, in the room of ſir Edward Northey; the earl of Sunderland preſident of the council, and firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury; John Aiſlabie, eſq. chancellor of the Exchequer; lord Stanhope and James Craggs, junior, eſq. were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; the latter in the room of Joſeph Addiſon, eſq. to whoſe thoughtful and ſpeculative genius that office was not very agreeable. Lord Stanhope and lord Cadogan were ſoon afterwards made earls, by their reſpective names.

While theſe ſteps were taking, a great number of large ſhips were put into commiſſion, and ſuch other meaſures purſued as rendered it evident, that the fleet now fitting out would not prove a fleet of parade. The king of Spain, on his part, equipped a very conſiderable armament, which in the beginning of June ſet ſail; but the deſtination of it was not known. In the mean time, the marquis de Monteleone, ambaſſador from Spain, preſented a memorial to the Britiſh miniſtry, importing, that his maſter could not, without ſome degree of ſuſpicion, behold ſuch preparations, which ſeemed to indicate an hoſtile deſign; and would prove, if continued, deſtructive to the good intelligence that ſubſiſted between the two crowns. The reaſon the miniſtry aſſigned for acting with ſo much vigour was, their reſolution to maintain the neutrality of Italy, which they thought his Catholic majeſty had lately intringed, by ſeizing on the iſland of Sardinia. Mean while, the negotiations between the Engliſh and French produced the quadruple alliance, of which we have already ſpoken, and by which the king of England and the regent of France preſcribed a peace between the emperor, the king of Spain, and the king of Sicily; but his Catholic majeſty, foreſeeing that Sicily was to be delivered up to the emperor, had reſolved, by the advice of cardinal Alberoni, his prime miniſter, a man of infinite abilities and diſcernment, to ſeize that iſland for himſelf: thither it was the Spaniſh fleet was really bound.

About the middle of the month of March ſir George Byng was appointed admiral and commander in chief of the ſquadron intended for the Mediterranean; and on the twenty-fourth of May following he received his inſtructions, which were to this purpoſe: "That he ſhould, upon his arrival in the Mediterranean, make inſtances with both parties to ceaſe from uſing any further acts of hoſtility; but in caſe the Spaniards do ſtill inſiſt, with their ſhips of war and forces, to attack the kingdom of Naples, or other the territories of the emperor in Italy, or to land in any part of Italy, which can only be with a deſign to invade the emperor's dominions, againſt whom they have declared war by invading Sardinia; or if they ſhould endeavour to make themſelves maſters of the kingdom of Sicily, which muſt be with a deſign to invade the kingdom of Naples; in ſuch a caſe, you are, with all your power, to hinder and obſtruct the ſame. If it ſhould ſo happen that, at your arrival with the fleet under your command in the Mediterranean, the Spaniards ſhould already have landed any troops in Italy, in order to invade the emperor's territories, you ſhall endeavour amicably to diſſuade them from perſevering in ſuch an attempt, and offer them your aſſiſtance to help them to withdraw their troops, and put an end to all farther acts of hoſtility: but in caſe your friendly endeavours ſhall prove ineffectual, you ſhall, by keeping company with, or intercepting their ſhips or convoy; or, if it be neceſſary, by openly oppoſing them, defend the emperor's territories from any farther attempt."

The admiral ſailed the fifteenth of June, 1718, from Spithead, with twenty ſhips of the line of battle, two fire-ſhips, two bomb-veſſels, and a ſtore-ſhip. He arrived at Cape St. Vincent on the thirtieth day of that month, when he diſpatched his ſecretary, Mr. Allix, to Cadiz with a letter to colonel Stanhope (the late earl of Harrington) the king's envoy at Madrid, wherein he deſired that miniſter to acquaint the king of Spain with his arrival in theſe parts in his way to the Mediterranean, and to lay before him the inſtructions he was to act under with his ſquadron, of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter.

The envoy ſhewed the letter to cardinal Alberoni, who, upon reading it, told the colonel with ſome warmth, that his maſter would run all hazards, and even ſuffer himſelf to be drove out of Spain, rather than recal his troops, or conſent to any ſuſpenſion of arms; adding, that the Spaniards were not to be frightened; and he was ſo well convinced of their fleet's doing their duty, that if the admiral ſhould think fit to attack them, he ſhould be in no pain for the ſucceſs. Mr. Stanhope then ſhewed his eminence a liſt of the Britiſh ſquadron, deſiring him to peruſe it, and to compare its ſtrength with that of their own. The cardinal, after running over the paper, threw it on the ground in a great paſſion; which Mr. Stanhope perceiving, uſed all his endeavours to pacify him. At length he promiſed to lay the admiral's letter before the Catholic king, and to let the envoy know his majeſty's reſolution. It was, however, nine days before Mr. Stanhope could obtain this anſwer and ſend it away, the cardinal probably hoping that the admiral would delay taking vigorous meaſures in expectation of it, and perhaps put into ſome of the ports of Spain, and thereby gain time for the fleet and forces to ſecure a good footing in Sicily. At length, however, the admiral's own letter to Mr. Stanhope was ſent back, with a note under it, as follows:

"Sir, His Catholic majeſty has done me the honour to tell me, that the chevalier Byng may execute the order he has from the king his maſter.

Eſcurial, July 15, 1718.

The Cardinal ALBERONI.'

Mr. Stanhope ſeeing things tending to a rupture, gave private and early notice of his apprehenſions to the Engliſh merchants ſettled in the Spaniſh ſea-ports.

The admiral purſuing his voyage with unfavourable winds, was joined off Gibraltar by vice-admiral Cornwall with two ſhips of the line. On the twenty third of July he anchored with the ſquadron off Port Mahon. Here he received advice that the Spaniſh fleet had been ſeen the thirtieth of June off Naples, ſteering ſouth-eaſt; upon which he diſpatched away expreſſes to the governor of Milan and viceroy of Naples, to inform them of his arrival in the Mediterranean; and having relieved the garriſon of Minorca, he ſailed from

thence on the twenty-fifth of July, and arrived on the first of August in the bay of Naples, to the great satisfaction of the German government, who, by the lucky arrival of the admiral, were relieved from the terror they had been under of a Spanish invasion. Sir George Byng, on his arrival at Naples, was informed by the viceroy, count Dauhn, that the Spanish army, amounting to thirty thousand men, commanded by the marquis de Leda, had landed in Sicily, reduced Palermo and Messina, and were then employed in the siege of the citadel belonging to this last city. The viceroy at the same time acquainted the admiral, that he had resolved to embark two thousand German foot, under the command of general Wetzel, who were to take possession of the citadel of Messina and fort Salvador, in pursuance of an agreement with the duke of Savoy, who, finding that at all events he was to lose the island, contrived to lose it so as he might get something for it. The German forces were to be escorted by the British fleet, which sailed for that purpose from Naples on the sixth of August, and arrived on the ninth in view of the Faro of Messina *; in doubling which he discovered two Spanish scouts, and also learned from some of the country vessels, that the Spanish fleet was lying to, in order of battle; upon which the admiral immediately detached general Wetzel with the German troops to Reggio, under convoy of two ships of war; then he stood through the Faro after the Spanish scouts that led him to their main fleet, which before noon he discovered in line of battle, amounting to twenty-seven sail, large and small, besides two fire-ships, four bomb-vessels, and seven gallies; they were commanded in chief by Don Antonio de Castaneta, under whom were the four rear-admirals Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock.

On the sight of the English squadron they stood away large, but still in order of battle. The English admiral followed them all the rest of the day and the succeeding night. In the morning, being the eleventh of August, N. S. rear-admiral Mari, with six Spanish ships of war, and all the gallies, fire-ships, bomb-vessels, and store-ships, separated from the main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore; upon which sir George Byng detached captain George Walton, in the Canterbury of sixty guns, with five more ships, in pursuit of them; and they were soon engaged. The admiral himself continued to chace their main fleet, and about ten o'clock the battle began. The Spaniards were totally defeated, and all their admirals taken, except Cammock, who made his escape to Malta, with three ships of war and as many frigates. Notwithstanding this victory, the Spanish army still prosecuted the siege of Messina with such vigour, that the governor surrendered the place by capitulation on the twenty-ninth day of September, and the garrison was transported to Syracuse and Reggio. A treaty was now concluded at Vienna between the emperor and the duke of Savoy; they agreed to form an army for the conquest of Sardinia, in behalf of the duke, who, in the mean time, engaged to evacuate Sicily; but, until his troops should be conveyed from that island, he engaged that they should co-operate against the king of Spain.

That monarch, excessively provoked at the unexpected blow, which had in a manner totally destroyed the naval force he had been at so much pains and expence to rear, was not slow in expressing his resentment. On the first of September rear-admiral Guevara, with some ships under his command, entered the port of Cadiz, and made himself master of all the English ships that were there; and at the same time all the effects of the English merchants were seized in Malaga, and other ports of Spain, which, as soon as it was known here, produced reprisals on our part ‡: but it is now time to leave the Mediterranean, in order to give an account of what passed at home §.

The parliament met on the eleventh of November; and one of the first things they went upon was the affair of Spain, which had indeed engrossed all public conversation from the time of defeating their fleet, some looking upon that as one of the noblest exploits performed since the Revolution; while others considered it as an action dishonourable to England, being inconsistent with the rules of good faith, for the observance of which she had always been so famous; and when an address of congratulation to his majesty was moved for by lord Carteret on the success of his arms over the Spanish fleet, and to justify that measure, it was warmly opposed by the dukes of Buckingham, Devonshire, and Argyll; the earls of Nottingham, Cowper, Oxford, and Ilay; the lords North, Grey, and Harcourt, in the house of peers; and by Mr. Sheppard, Mr. Freeman, sir Thomas

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* Fare, or Faro of Messina, a narrow streight, seven miles over, between Italy and the island of Sicily; also the north-east point of the latter, at the entrance of the streight.

‡ Corbet's History of the Expedition to Sicily. Tindal. Hist. Regist. Hist. Europe, &c. &c.

§ The ministry having, in the course of the preceding year, formed the very laudable design of suppressing the pirates in the West Indies, who, since the close of the war, were become very numerous, and highly insolent, captain Woods Rogers was appointed governor of the Bahama Islands. On the 11th of April he sailed for Providence, which was to be the seat of his government; and after a short and easy passage arriving there, he took possession of the town of Nassau, of the fort belonging to it, and of the whole island, the people receiving him with all imaginable joy, and many of the pirates submitting immediately. He proceeded soon after to form a council, and settling the civil government in those islands, appointing civil and military officers, raising militia, and taking every other step necessary for procuring safety at home, and security from any thing that might be attempted from abroad; in which, by degrees, he succeeded. Some of the pirates, it is true, refused at first all terms, and did a great deal of mischief on the coast of Carolina; but when they saw that governor Rogers had thoroughly settled himself at Providence, and that the inhabitants of the Bahama islands found themselves obliged, through interest, to be honest, they began to doubt of their situation, and thought proper to go and beg that mercy which at first they refused; so that by the first of July, 1719, to which day the king's proclamation had been extended, there were not above three or four of those pirates who continued their trade; and two of them being taken, and their crews executed, the rest dispersed out of fear, and became thereby less terrible. Thus in a short time, and chiefly through the steady and prudent conduct of governor Rogers, this crew of villains were dissolved, who for many years had frighted the West Indies, and the northern colonies, coming at last to be so strong, that few merchantmen were safe, and withal so cruel and barbarous, that slavery amongst the Turks was preferable to falling into their hands. It had been happy for us if the management of the Spanish guarda-costas had been committed to the care of some man of a like spirit, who might have delivered the merchants from being plundered, without involving the nation in a war.

Hanmer,

Hanmer, Horatio Walpole, esq. and Robert Walpole, esq. in the house of commons, but without effect; for the address was carried by a great majority, and presented to his majesty. The parliament therein declare their entire satisfaction in those measures which the king had already taken for strengthening the protestant succession, and establishing a lasting tranquility in Europe, particularly in relation to the crown of Spain, and their resolution to enable him, in concurrence with his allies, not only to resent the injuries that crown had already done to our commerce, in breach of the treaties subsisting between the two nations, but to support him in the most effectual manner, in such farther measures as he shall judge necessary to complete the public tranquility in Europe, and to check the growth of that naval power which must otherwise prove dangerous to the trade of this kingdom, and the repose of Europe *.

On the nineteenth the commons voted thirteen thousand five hundred sailors, and twelve thousand four hundred and thirty-five men for the land-service. The whole estimate amounted to two millions two hundred and fifty-seven thousand five hundred and eighty-one pounds, nineteen shillings. The money was raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pounds, the malt-tax, and a lottery for half a million. The bills for the land and malt-tax were both presented and passed in one day; an instance of dispatch unknown for many years.

On the thirteenth of December earl Stanhope declared in the house of lords, that, in order to unite the hearts of the well affected to the present establishment, he had a bill to offer, under the title of "A bill for strengthening the protestant interest in these kingdoms." It was accordingly read, and appeared to be a bill for repealing the occasional conformity and schism bills, which, towards the end of last reign, had been enacted against the dissenters, as also some clauses in the corporation and test acts. The Tory lords were astonished at this motion, for which they were altogether unprepared. Nevertheless, they made a strenuous opposition, though it proved a fruitless one for the court party. After violent debates, the bill was passed and sent down to the lower house, where it likewise met with a strong opposition; in spite of which it was carried by the majority.

A rupture with Spain had, for some time, been considered as a thing unavoidable; but, on the seventeenth of December, it was put out of all doubt, his majesty on that day sending a message to both houses, intimating, that all his endeavours to procure redress for the injuries done to his subjects by the king of Spain proving ineffectual, he had found it necessary to declare war against that monarch. This message being read, a motion was made for an address to the king, assuring him that the commons would chearfully support him in the prosecution of the war, till Spain should be obliged to accept of reasonable terms of peace, and agree to such conditions of trade and commerce as the English were entitled to expect. On this occasion many bold things were said as to the expediency of a war with Spain, and especially with regard to the pretensions and intentions of those who made this war; for the ministry insisting strongly that it was made in favour of trade, and upon repeated complaints from the merchants: it was said that the ministers had shewn no great regard for the trade and interest of the nation, since it appeared by the answer given to the marquis de Monteleone's letter, that they would have passed by the violation of the treaties of commerce, provided Spain had accepted the terms of the quadruple alliance; and that his majesty did not seek to aggrandise himself by any new acquisition, but was rather inclined to sacrifice something of his own to procure the general quiet and tranquility: that nobody could yet tell how far that sacrifice was to extend; but certainly it was a very uncommon piece of condescension. This sacrifice was said to be the cession of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, which the regent had offered to the king of Spain, provided he would accede to the quadruple alliance. Mr. Horatio Walpole alleged, that the disposition of Sicily, in favour of the emperor, was a breach of the treaty of Utrecht; and Mr. Robert Walpole exclaimed warmly against the injustice of attacking the Spanish fleet before a declaration of war on either side. They were answered by Mr. Craggs, and sir Joseph Jekyll closed the debate with saying, that when this affair was first mentioned in the house, he had been backward to give his opinion, as not perfectly well understanding the merits of it; but having since had leisure to examine the several steps which had been taken in it, he was now fully convinced, that if there was any injustice, it was on the side of the king of Spain; and that the conduct of his majesty and his ministers was entirely agreeable to the law of nations, and the rules of justice and equity. After these and several other speeches, the address was carried by a majority of one hundred and seventy-eight against one hundred and seven, and presented next day †.

The ministry now continued the pursuit of their scheme, and took such vigorous measures for obliging Spain to accept the terms assigned her by the quadruple alliance, that she lost all patience, and resolved to attempt any thing that might either free her from this necessity, or serve to express her resentment against such as endeavoured to impose it on her. With this view cardinal Alberoni employed all his intrigues, power, and industry, to find the English and French such ample employment at home as should leave them no leisure for disturbing others. The prince de Cellamare, ambassador from Philip V. to the court of Versailles, acted the same part there as count Gyllemberg had done in London, by caballing with the French malcontents, who were numerous and powerful, against the duke of Orleans. A scheme was actually formed for seizing the person of the regent and that of the young king, and entirely change the face of that government; every thing was in readiness for putting this plot into execution, and the conspirators only waited for the last orders, when the whole mystery was discovered. It was to king George that the duke of Orleans owed the first intimation of a conspiracy being formed against his person and government; upon

* Proceedings of the House of Lords. Proceedings of the House of Commons. Chandler's Debates. Tindal.
† Chandler's Debates. Hist. Regist. Annals of King Geo. I.

which

which the regent took ſuch effectual meaſures for watching the conduct of all ſuſpected perſons, that the whole intrigue was brought to light *. The prince de Cellamare was treated in France nearly in the ſame manner as the Swediſh miniſter had been in England; and Alberoni, the firſt mover of this machine, had the vexation to find that he had, without any advantage from his project, offended, in the moſt ſenſible manner, a power whoſe reſentment could not but prove extremely prejudicial, not only to himſelf, but even to the whole Spaniſh monarchy.

At the very time that theſe things were tranſacting in France, and that the regent made diligent preparation for demanding, ſword in hand, reparation for the inſult he had received, the buſy cardinal was forming a ſcheme of a different nature againſt king George, by making an effort to eſtabliſh the pretender on his throne. The duke of Ormond repairing to Madrid, held conferences with his eminence, in which it was agreed to give the chevalier an invitation to come to Madrid, to put himſelf at the head of a large body of auxiliary forces which his Catholic majeſty propoſed to lend him, in order to aſſert with ſucceſs his pretenſions to the Britiſh crown. The chevalier did not ſuffer himſelf to be long intreated: he quitted the papal dominions (where he had lately taken refuge) by ſtealth, and got ſafely to Madrid, where he was received with great cordiality by the king of Spain, and treated as king of Great Britain. The earl of Stair, who was then our miniſter at the court of France, diſpatched the firſt certain intelligence of the deſigns of Spain, which were, to have ſent an armament of ten ſhips of war and tranſports, having on board ſix thouſand regular troops, with arms for twelve thouſand men, to be landed in the weſt of England, under the command of the duke of Ormond, with the title of captain-general of his moſt Catholic majeſty. He was provided with declarations in the name of that king, importing, that for many good reaſons he had ſent part of his troops, as auxiliaries to king James, to act for his intereſt in England and Scotland, and uſe their utmoſt endeavours for his reſtoration; and that the fear of ill ſucceſs might not deter any perſon from openly eſpouſing his intereſt, his moſt Catholic majeſty promiſed a ſafe retreat in his dominions to all ſuch as ſhould be obliged to leave their country, on account of the ſhare they might bear in this undertaking †.

Upon advice of theſe deſigns, the moſt effectual methods were taken here for defeating them. A fleet was immediately ordered to be got ready to put to ſea; a proclamation iſſued for apprehending James Butler, late duke of Ormond, with a promiſe of five thouſand pounds to the perſon that ſhould ſeize him; and an embargo was alſo laid on all ſhipping. On the tenth of March, 1719, his majeſty acquainted the parliament, that he had received certain intelligence of an invaſion, intended from Spain, in favour of the pretender. Both houſes hereupon concurred in an addreſs, promiſing to ſupport him againſt all his enemies: they deſired him to augment his forces by ſea and land, aſſuring him they would make good the extraordinary expence ‡. Upon this, orders were given for haſtening the fleet, which was fitted out with ſo much expedition, that on the fifth of April ſir John Norris ſailed from Spithead to the Weſtward with nine men of war, and on the twenty-ninth the earl of Berkley ſailed from St. Helen's with ſeven other ſhips to join him. The government likewiſe took ſome other very ſalutary meaſures to oppoſe this intended invaſion of the Spaniards. The troops in the weſt of England, where it was conjectured they deſigned to land, were reinforced by ſeveral regiments quartered in other parts of the kingdom; four battalions were brought over from Ireland. About the middle of April two Swiſs battalions arrived in the river of Thames, and three Dutch battalions arrived in the north of England. Beſides this, the French regent and the emperor ordered bodies of troops to march, ſo as to be in readineſs to be tranſported to England upon occaſion. Theſe preparations made by our king and his allies would have of themſelves been ſufficient to have defeated the invaſion, had it been actually carried into execution; but the elements fought the cauſe of the houſe of Hanover, and rendered ineffectual the deſigns of its enemies: for the Spaniſh fleet deſigned for this expedition, conſiſting of five ſhips of war, and about forty tranſports, having on board the duke of Ormond, and upwards of five thouſand men, a great quantity of ammunition, ſpare arms, and one million of pieces of eight, which ſailed from Cadiz on the twenty-third of February, O. S. being, on the twenty-eighth of that month, about fifty leagues to the weſtward of Cape Finiſterre, met with a violent ſtorm which laſted forty-eight hours, and entirely diſperſed them. What loſs they ſuſtained is uncertain; but ſeveral of their veſſels returned to the ports of Spain in a very ſhattered condition: a very ſmall part, however, of this embarkation, had ſomewhat a different fortune; for the earls Mareſchal and Seaforth, and the marquis of Tullibardine, with about four hundred men, moſtly Spaniards, on board three frigates and five tranſports, landed in the ſhire of Roſs in Scotland, where they were joined by fifteen or ſixteen hundred Scots, and had inſtructions to wait the duke Ormond's orders, and the account of his being landed in England, before they put themſelves in motion. The whole deſign, however, being quaſhed by the diſperſion of the Spaniſh fleet; and general Wightman being ſent with a body of regular troops from Inverneſs, fell upon theſe inſurgents at the paſs of Glenſhiel,

* The diſcovery, however, was partly owing to accident: the prince de Cellamare intruſted his diſpatches, for the greater ſecurity, to the abbé Portocarrero, and to a ſon of the marquis de Monteleone. They ſet out from Paris in a poſt-chaiſe, and were overturned on the road. The poſtilion obſerved, that Portocarrero was extremely anxious for the ſafety of his portmanteau, and heard him ſay he would not have loſt it for an hundred thouſand piſtoles. The man, at his return to Paris, informed the government of theſe circumſtances. The Spaniards being purſued, were overtaken and ſeized at Poitiers, with the portmanteau, in which the duke of Orleans found two letters that made him acquainted with the whole conſpiracy. The prince de Cellamare was immediately conducted to the frontiers of the kingdom: the duke and ducheſs of Maine, the marquis de Pompadour, the cardinal de Polignac, and many other perſons of diſtinction, were committed to different priſons.

† Lamberti. Polit. State. Annals Geo. I.

‡ Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords.

which they had made themſelves maſters of, and entirely defeated them, the Spaniards ſurrendering themſelves priſoners of war. Mareſchall, Seaforth, and Tullibardine, with ſome other officers, retired to one of the weſtern iſles, and from thence found means to make their eſcape to the continent *.

During theſe tranſactions the regent of France declared war againſt Spain; and though marſhal Villars, and ſome other officers of great rank, refuſed to command an army againſt a grandſon of France; yet the duke of Berwick, who, by the victory of Almanza, had fixed Philip V. upon his throne, accepted the command of theſe troops, which were appointed to invade his territories, in order to force him to ſuch conditions as were thought neceſſary for eſtabliſhing the general tranquility of Europe. It was the opinion of ſome ſhrewd politicians on this ſide the water, that this would be a war of parade only; but the event proved them to be greatly deceived; for the marquis de Cilly advanced, in the month of April, as far as Port Paſſage, where he found ſix men of war juſt finiſhed, upon the ſtocks; all which he burned, together with timber, maſts, and naval ſtores, to the value of half a million ſterling, which was a greater real loſs to the Spaniards than what they had ſuſtained by our beating their fleet in the Mediterranean. Soon after the duke of Berwick beſieged Fontarabia; both which actions ſhewed that the French were in earneſt †.

In the month of February this year, the Whig party brought into the houſe of lords "A bill for limiting the peerage;" by which it was propoſed that the number of Engliſh peers ſhould not be enlarged beyond the preſent number, which, upon failure of male-iſſue, might be ſupplied by new creations; and that, inſtead of the ſixteen elective peers from Scotland, twenty-five ſhould be made hereditary, on the part of that kingdom; and that this number, upon failure of heirs male, ſhould be ſupplied from the other members of the Scottiſh peerage.

Although this bill carried with it ſome reſtraint upon the prerogative of the crown; yet it was ſo far favoured by the court, that earl Stanhope delivered a meſſage from the king during its dependence in the houſe, importing, that as they had under conſideration the ſtate of the Britiſh peerage, his majeſty had ſo much at heart the ſettling it upon ſuch a foundation as might ſecure the freedom and conſtitution of parliaments in all future ages, that he was willing his prerogative ſhould not ſtand in the way of ſo great and neceſſary a work.

Long and violent were the debates on this bill: this meaſure having alarmed the generality of the Scottiſh peers, as well as the more diſtinguiſhed of the Engliſh commoners, who found themſelves precluded from the hopes of ever arriving at dignity and title, they did not fail to exclaim againſt it as a violent encroachment upon the conſtitution of the kingdom. In ſhort, the clamour became ſo univerſal, that earl Stanhope obſerved in the houſe, that as the bill had raiſed ſtrange apprehenſions, he thought it adviſable to delay the farther conſideration of it till a more proper opportunity. It was accordingly dropped, and the parliament prorogued on the eighteenth day of April, when his majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he thanked them for the zeal and affection they had ſhewn to his perſon and government during the late projected invaſion ‡. About the ſame time the duke of Argyll was created duke of Greenwich; the earl of Manchеſter, duke of Manchеſter; the earl of Caernarvon, duke of Chandos; and lieutenant-general Carpenter, baron Carpenter. Soon after, viz. on May 11, his majeſty having appointed lords-juſtices to govern in his abſence, ſet out for his German dominions, where he concluded a peace with Sweden. Charles XII. was now no more: the princeſs Ulrica, his ſiſter, had ſucceeded him on the throne, and entertained very different views from thoſe of that ambitious monarch: ſhe ſaw her kingdom exhauſted of men and money; unable to ſupport a war, ſhe ardently wiſhed for a good peace. The Swediſh council having conſented to make the ceſſion of Bremen and Verden to the elector of Hanover, all the difficulties which had hitherto retarded a pacification were removed: the duke of Orleans acted the part of mediator on this occaſion, being, as well as his Britannic majeſty, deſirous to reſtore the general tranquility of Europe. With this view king George, during his ſtay abroad, offered his mediation to bring about a peace between Sweden, the Danes, the Ruſſians, and the Poles. The czar, however rejected his mediation, and reſolved to proſecute his ſchemes of conqueſt. He ſent his fleet to the Scheuron, or Baties, of Sweden, where his troops landed, to the number of fifteen thouſand men, and committed the moſt ſhocking cruelties. To protect our new friends the Swedes againſt theſe deſtroyers, ſir John Norris was ordered into the Baltic with a large ſquadron, which joined the Swediſh fleet in the beginning of September. This junction of the Engliſh and Swedes broke all the meaſures of czar Peter the Great, who, dreading leſt his fleet ſhould experience the ſame fate with that of Spain in the Streights of Meſſina, thought proper to recal his ſhips; and the winter ſeaſon coming on, ſir John Norris returned home, and arrived ſafe in England about the latter end of November.

While the Spaniards were amuſing themſelves with chimerical notions of invaſions they were incapable of effecting againſt us, ſir George Byng, our admiral in the Mediterranean, was diſtreſſing them effectually; for having early in the ſpring ſailed from Port Mahon (where he had wintered) to Naples, he there adjuſted every thing for the reduction of Sicily; in which he acted with ſuch zeal, and met with ſo great ſucceſs, that not only the imperial army was tranſported into that iſland, and ſo well ſupplied with all things neceſſary from our fleet (which at the ſame time attended and diſturbed all the motions of the enemy's army) that it may truly be ſaid the ſucceſs of that expedition was as much owing to the Engliſh admiral as to count de Mercy, the German general; and that the Engliſh fleet did no leſs ſervice than the army. To enter into all the particulars of this Sicilian expedition would take up much more room

* Hiſtorical Regiſter. Memoires Politiques.
‡ Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords. Tindal.
† Memoires de Philippe, Duc d' Orleans. Voltaire.

than

than I have to ſpare. The reader may inform himſelf fully as to theſe circumſtances, by peruſing Corbet's Account of the Expedition to Sicily, which is a very ample hiſtory of that memorable war which embarraſſed us ſo much while it continued, and which has been buried in oblivion ever ſince. There is, however, one circumſtance which deſerves relation. The Imperialiſts having taken Meſſina, on the eighth of Auguſt, 1719, the admiral landed a body of Engliſh grenadiers, who very quickly made themſelves maſters of the tower of Faro; by which, having opened a free paſſage for their ſhips, he came to an anchor in Paradiſe Road; and this being obſerved by the commander of the Spaniſh men of war in the mole (the remains of the fleet which had eſcaped from the ſea-fight) he began to deſpair of getting out to ſea, and therefore unbent his ſails and unrigged the ſhips, and reſolved to wait their fate, which he knew muſt be the ſame with that of the citadel. This gave great ſatisfaction to our admiral, who now found himſelf at liberty to employ his ſhips in other ſervices, which had been for a long time employed in blocking up that port. But, while all things were in this proſperous condition, a diſpute aroſe among the allies about the diſpoſition of theſe ſhips, when taken. The admiral, in order to prevent all animoſity, propoſed to count de Mercy to erect a battery, and deſtroy them as they lay in the baſon. The count at firſt ſeemed unwilling to aſſent to this propoſal; but the admiral inſiſted on it with ſo much firmneſs, that a battery was raiſed, which in a little time ſunk and deſtroyed the ſhips, and thereby completed the ruin of the naval power of Spain. In a word, our admiral continued to exert his activity and talents in the Mediterranean, until he had ſeen the iſlands of Sicily and Sardinia evacuated by the Spaniards, and the mutual ceſſions executed between the emperor and the duke of Savoy; in conſequence of which, four battalions of Piedmonteſe troops were tranſported from Palermo to Sardinia, and took poſſeſſion of Cagliari in the name of their maſter *. On his return to England, the latter end of this year, he was, in reward for his ſervices, appointed treaſurer of the navy, and rear-admiral of Great Britain. In a little time he was ennobled by the title of viſcount Torrington, declared a privy-counſellor, and afterwards made a knight of the Bath, on the revival of that order.

The more effectually to humble Spain, and at the ſame time to convince the whole world that we could not only contrive, but execute an invaſion, the miniſtry propoſed the conqueſt of Corunna, and of Peru in South America. Four thouſand men, commanded by lord Cobham, were embarked at the Iſle of Wight, and ſailed on the twenty-firſt day of September, under the convoy of five ſhips of war, commanded by captain Mighels, who was to be joined by captain Johnſon, then cruizing off Fontarabia. When the ſquadron arrived on the coaſt of Galicia, it kept cruizing three days, in the ſtation appointed for Johnſon to join them; but he not appearing, and the danger of lying on the coaſt at this ſeaſon of the year with tranſports, rendering it neceſſary to take ſome meaſures of acting without him; and the wind offering fair for Vigo, his lordſhip took the reſolution to attempt the reduction of that place, in which he ſucceeded with very little difficulty, the citadel capitulating on honourable terms the fifth day after he appeared before it. This conqueſt is ſaid to have coſt us but two officers, and three or four men killed. There were in the town about ſixty pieces of large iron cannon which the enemy abandoned, and theſe they nailed and damaged as much as their time would give them leave; and in the citadel were forty-three pieces, of which fifteen were braſs, and two large mortars, beſides above two thouſand barrels of powder, and ſeveral cheſts of arms, amounting to eight thouſand muſquets; all of which ſtores and braſs ordnance were lodged there from on board the ſhips that were to have viſited Great Britain in the ſucceeding ſpring; and the very troops that gave up Vigo were alſo part of thoſe which were to have been employed in that expedition: ſeven ſhips were ſeized in the harbour, three of which were fitting up for privateers, one to carry twenty-four guns; the reſt were trading veſſels †.

Vigo being thus taken, lord Cobham ordered major-general Wade to embark with a thouſand men on board four tranſports, and to ſail to the upper end of the bay of Vigo, which he accordingly did; and having landed his men, marched to Ponta Vedra, which place ſurrundered without oppoſition. Here was alſo found a great quantity of braſs artillery, ſmall arms, and military ſtores, which had been intended for the invaſion of England. Major general Wade returned with his booty and troops to Vigo on the twenty-third of October. The next day lord Cobham, finding it would be impoſſible for him to maintain his ground any longer in Spain, ordered the forces to be embarked, as likewiſe the cannon, &c. which being done by the twenty-ſeventh, he ſailed that day for England, where he arrived about the middle of November, having loſt in the whole expedition about three hundred men only, killed, dead, or deſerted. The expedition to the Weſt Indies was long delayed by contrary winds, and at laſt prevented by the concluſion of the peace.

Spain was now obliged to drain the cup of humiliation to the very dregs, her enemies being not only too powerful for her to ſubdue, but even to think of reſiſting. The French had made themſelves maſters of Fontarabia and Roſes, two of the principal keys to the kingdom, and threatened to carry their victorious arms into its very bowels, while Philip V. had no longer a fleet to ſend to ſea, and ſaw his armies deſtroyed, the trade of the nation ruined, and his ſubjects deſponding and ripe for revolt. In this ſituation, he had recourſe to peace, as the only means to ſecure him the poſſeſſion of a throne which ſhook under him; and ſent orders to the duke de Boretti Landi, his miniſter at the Hague, to accede to the quadruple alliance. To complete his humiliation, he was obliged to diſmiſs cardinal Alberoni from his ſervice, and even baniſh him the kingdom. The king of England and the regent of France, to whom that miniſter had rendered himſelf perſonally diſagreeable, refuſing to hearken to any pro-

* See Exped. to Sicily. Hiſt. Reg. Polit. State, &c.

† See London Gazette, dated Whitehall, 12 Oct. 1719.

poſals while he continued in office. The war with Spain, though drawn out to a greater length than is here ſpecified, it was thought proper to comprehend it in one general view, that the reader might be able to form an idea of the whole, and might not have his attention diſtracted by foreign affairs, while purſuing the courſe of the Engliſh hiſtory *.

On the fourteenth day of November the king returned to England, and on the twenty-third opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech; in which he told them, that all Europe, as well as Great Britain, was on the point of being delivered from the calamities of war, by the influence of Britiſh arms and councils. He exhorted the commons to concert proper means for leſſening the debts of the nation. The addreſſes of both houſes were as warm as he could deſire: they in particular thanked him for having interpoſed in favour of the proteſtants of Hungary, Poland, and Germany, who had been oppreſſed by the practices of the popiſh clergy, and preſented to him a memorial containing the detail of their grievances.

The peerage-bill was now revived by the duke of Buckingham; and, notwithſtanding the vigorous oppoſition made by ſeveral members, paſſed through the upper houſe with great diſpatch; but when it was ſent down to the commons, Mr. Robert Walpole attacked it with great vehemence; it was alſo oppoſed by a conſiderable number of Whig members, and, after warm debates, rejected by a large majority. The next object that engroſſed the attention of the parliament, was a bill for better ſecuring the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain. This bill took its riſe from an appeal to the houſe of peers in England, by Maurice Anneſley, againſt a decree of the houſe of peers in Ireland, which the Britiſh houſe of peers received, and ordered the barons of the Exchequer in Ireland to put Mr. Anneſley in poſſeſſion of certain lands he had loſt by the decree in that kingdom. The barons obeyed this order, and the Iriſh houſe of peers paſſed a vote againſt them, as having acted in derogation to the king's prerogative in his high court of parliament in Ireland, as alſo of the rights and privileges of that kingdom and of the parliament thereof: they likewiſe ordered them to be taken into cuſtody of the uſher of the black-rod. They tranſmitted a long repreſentation to the king, demonſtrating their right to the final judicature of cauſes; and the duke of Leeds, in the upper houſe, urged fifteen reaſons to ſupport the claim of the Iriſh peers. Notwithſtanding theſe arguments the houſe of lords in England reſolved, "That the barons of the Exchequer in Ireland had acted with great courage, according to law, in ſupport of his majeſty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great Britain. They addreſſed the king to confer on them ſome marks of his royal favour, as a recompence for the ill uſage they had undergone. Finally, they prepared the bill, by which the Iriſh houſe of lords was deprived of all right to paſs ſentence, affirm or reſerve any judgment or decree, given or made in any court within that kingdom. The bill was carried by a conſiderable majority, and received the royal aſſent †.

The king had, in his ſpeech, earneſtly recommended the conſideration of all proper means for leſſening the debts of the nation: accordingly a ſcheme was laid to reduce all the public funds into one, for diſcharging that debt. The ſcheme was projected by ſir John Blount, who had been bred a ſcrivener, and was poſſeſſed of all the cunning, plauſibility, and boldneſs, requiſite for ſuch an undertaking. He communicated his plan to Mr. Aiſlabie, chancellor of the Exchequer, as well as to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, and the project was adopted.

In the month of January, 1720, the South Sea Company, of which Blount was one of the directors, propoſed to the houſe of commons to give three millions five hundred thouſand pounds, for the privilege of taking in all the irredeemable debts (amounting in all to very near eight hundred thouſand pounds per annum), and alſo the redeemable debts then at the Exchequer and Bank (moſtly bearing five per cent.) either by purchaſe from the proprietors, or by ſubſcriptions into their capital ſtock. This project exciting the jealouſy of the Bank of England, the directors of the latter company, on the very ſame day, offered above five millions for the ſame privilege. This rivalſhip proved, in effect, the bane of the whole plan; for a ſecond propoſal of the South Sea Company amounted to no leſs than ſeven millions and an half, in caſe thoſe debts ſhould be ſubſcribed, and in that proportion for any part of them; and alſo farther propoſed to pay to the uſe of the public one year's purchaſe of all ſuch of the long irredeemable annuities as ſhould not be brought into their capital. The Bank made a ſecond propoſal ſtill more advantageous to the public in ſundry reſpects, and therein obliged themſelves to give ſeventeen hundred pounds Bank ſtock for every hundred pounds irredeemable long annuities. But the South Sea Company being reſolved, at any rate, to obtain the liberty of taking in the public debts, and fluſhed with their late ſucceſs in taking in the greateſt part of the annuities of the lottery of 1710, carried their aims ſo far as to offer to incorporate all the funds of the Bank, Eaſt India Company, and the Exchequer, into their own capital: but although that was not reliſhed, the very rumour of ſuch a ſcheme raiſed their ſtock to one hundred and twenty-ſix per cent. Let any perſon of common underſtanding conſider one moment how it could be poſſible for either company to effect what they now propoſed (ſo as not to be loſers themſelves), without egregiouſly deceiving and injuring the proprietors of theſe debts; was it not therefore moſt unaccountable in a Britiſh parliament and miniſtry, to give encouragement to a propoſal of ſo obviouſly pernicious a nature? Such, however, was the caſe; and while this affair of the South Sea Company was debating in the houſe of commons, the ſtock of that company roſe gradually from one hundred and twenty-ſix, to above three hundred, and advanced to near four hundred; but,

* The celebrated Joſeph Addiſon, eſq. ſome time ſecretary of ſtate, well known for his fine genius, diſplayed in the Spectator and other elegant writings, died in June this year, 1719; and not long before, that eminent phyſician ſir Samuel Garth departed this life, famous, as well for his knowlege in the art of poetry, as for his ſkill in his profeſſion: he was phyſician general to the army.

In November, John Matthews, a printer in Little Britain, was executed at Tyburn, for printing and publiſhing a treaſonable libel, intitled Vox Populi Vox Dei, in which the pretender's right to the crown of theſe realms was aſſerted, in breach of the ſtatute of the fourth of queen Anne, which makes the aſſerting any ſuch thing in writing or printing, high treaſon.

† Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords.

after ſome fluctuation ſettled at about three hundred and thirty, in which ſtate, with little variation, it continued to the end of March. This great riſe was chiefly owing to the rejection of a motion for a clauſe in the South Sea bill, to fix what ſhare in the capital ſtock of the company the proprietors of the annuities ſhould have, who would voluntarily ſubſcribe; or how many years purchaſe in money they ſhould receive upon ſubſcribing; at the choice of the proprietors. In concluſion, the South Sea company's laſt propoſal was accepted in parliament, and a bill brought in, on the ſecond of April, 1720, "for enabling that company to increaſe their preſent capital ſtock by redeeming ſuch public debts and incumbrances as are therein mentioned; and for raiſing money to be applied for leſſening ſeveral of the public debts and incumbrances; and for calling in the preſent Exchequer-bills remaining uncancelled, and for making forth new bills in lieu thereof, to be circulated and exchanged upon demand, at or near the Exchequer."

This bill paſſed the commons by a very great majority (one hundred and ſeventy-two againſt fifty-five), and was ſent to the lords for their concurrence, where it occaſioned a long debate, being vigorouſly oppoſed by the lord North and Grey, the earl Cowper, the dukes of Wharton, Buckingham, and other peers. They urged what afterwards proved but too true: "That it was calculated for the enriching of a few, and the ruin of many: that it countenanced the pernicious practice of ſtock-jobbing, thereby diverting the proper genius of the people from trade and induſtry: that the artificial raiſing of South Sea ſtock ſo high as its then price, while the bill was depending [viz. 319l. per cent.] was a dangerous bait for decoying the unwary to their ruin, by a falſe propoſal of gain, to part with what they had gotten with labour and induſtry, for imaginary wealth: that it would give foreigners an opportunity of perhaps trebling the great ſums they already poſſeſſed in our funds, and it would thereby drain the kingdom of its treaſure, when they ſhould realize their ſtock: that a national bargain ſhould wiſely be made, with more advantage to the public than to individuals; but this ſcheme was quite the reverſe, ſince, if the South Sea ſtock ſhould be kept up at three hundred per cent. its old members would gain above thirty millions, whilſt the public was only to avail themſelves of but a quarter of that ſum: that although neither of the propoſals of the two rival companies were fit to be received, yet that of the Bank was fairer, as they declared plainly what they would give the long annuitants in their ſtock: but if, nevertheleſs, the South Sea company's propoſals ſhould be accepted, the riſe of their ſtock ſhould be limited, for preventing the pernicious effects of ſtock-jobbing in ſo high a degree as was like to happen."

To all which, and much more ſaid againſt the ſcheme, the earl of Sunderland, and others of the miniſterial advocates, anſwered, by declaring, that thoſe who encouraged the ſcheme of the South Sea company, had nothing in view but the eaſing the nation of part of the heavy load of debts under which it laboured; that the managers for that company had undoubtedly a proſpect of gain, either to themſelves or to their corporation; but that when the ſcheme was accepted, neither the miniſtry nor the company could foreſee this great riſe of their ſtock; that if it had continued as it was when the bargain was ſtruck, viz. at one hundred and thirty-ſeven per cent. the public would have been the greater gainer; and laſtly, that it was but reaſonable that the South Sea company ſhould enjoy the profits procured to it by the wiſe management and induſtry of the directors, which would enable it to make large dividends, and thereby accompliſh the purpoſe of the ſcheme. After theſe and ſome other ſpeeches, the bill paſſed without amendment, and on the ſeventh of April received the royal aſſent *.

By this act the company was declared willing, and was accordingly authorized, to take in, by purchaſe or ſubſcription, the irredeemable debts of the nation, ſtated at ſixteen millions five hundred forty ſix thouſand four hundred and eighty-two pounds, ſeven ſhillings, and one penny farthing, at ſuch times as they ſhould find convenient, before the firſt day of March of the enſuing year, without any compulſion of any of the proprietors, at ſuch rates and prices as ſhould be agreed upon between the company and reſpective proprietors.

For the liberty of taking in the national debts, and increaſing their capital ſtock accordingly, the company conſented that their preſent and to be increaſed annuity ſhould be continued at the rate of five per cent. till midſummer, 1727; and from thence to be reduced to four per cent. and to be redeemable by parliament. In conſideration of this and other advantages, expreſſed in the act, the company declared themſelves willing to make ſuch payments into the receipt of the Exchequer as were therein ſpecified, for the uſe of the public, to be applied to the diſcharge of the public debts incurred before Chriſtmas, 1716.

The ſum they were obliged to pay for the liberty of taking in the redeemable debts, four years and a half purchaſe for all the long and ſhort annuities that ſhould be ſubſcribed, and one year's purchaſe for ſuch long annuities as ſhould not be ſubſcribed, amounted, on the execution of the act, to about ſeven millions. For enabling the company to raiſe this ſum, they were impowered to make calls for money from their members, to open books of ſubſcription, to grant annuities redeemable by the company, to borrow money upon any contract or bill, under their common ſeal, or on the credit of their capital ſtock; without, however, making any addition to the company's annuities.

It was enacted, that out of the firſt moneys ariſing from the ſums paid by the company into the Exchequer, ſuch public debts carrying intereſt at five per cent. incurred before the twenty-fifth of November, 1716, founded upon any former act of parliament, as were now redeemable, or might be redeemed before the twenty-fifth day of December, 1722, ſhould be diſcharged in the firſt place; and that all the remainder ſhould be applied towards paying off ſo much of the capital ſtock of the company as ſhould then carry intereſt at five per cent. It was likewiſe provided, that after Midſummer, 1722, the company ſhould not be paid off in any ſum leſs than one million at a time †.

Such was the nature of the South Sea ſcheme; which, however promiſing in appearance, was afterwards productive of ſo much miſchief to the nation.

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords. Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Chandler's Debates. Polit. State. Hiſt. Reg. Anderſon.

† See Stat. 6 George I. cap. iii.

The year 1720 is remarkable beyond any other which can be pitch upon by hiſtorians, for extraordinary and romantic projects, propoſals and undertakings, both private and national, and which therefore might be recorded as a perpetual memento to all legiſlators and miniſters of our own nation, never to leave it in the power of any ſett of deſigning men hereafter to put in practice ſo ſhameful and baneful an impoſition on the credulity of the people, thereby diverted from their lawful induſtry.

Among the ſeveral projects ſet on foot at this period, the two principal were for eſtabliſhing the two companies of the Royal Aſſurance, headed by lord Onſlow, and of the London Aſſurance, by the lord Chetwynd; who hearing that the civil liſt was conſiderably in arrear, they offered to the miniſtry ſixty thouſand pounds, towards the diſcharge of thoſe incumbrances, provided they might obtain the king's charter, with a parliamentary ſanction, for the eſtabliſhment of their reſpective companies. The propoſal was accepted, and the king imparted it to the houſe of commons, deſiring their concurrence. A bill was immediately framed, and paſſed, enabling his majeſty to grant letters of incorporation to the two companies; which ſoon obtained the royal aſſent *.

On the eleventh of June the king put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he ſignified his intention of viſiting his German dominions; for which he actually ſet out ſome few days after the prorogation of the parliament. But before his departure from Great Britain he was reconciled to the prince of Wales, chiefly through the mediation of the duke of Devonſhire and Mr. Robert Walpole, who, with lord Cowper, lord Townſhend, Mr. Methuen, and Mr. Pulteney, were received into favour, and re-aſſociated with the miniſtry. The earls of Dorſet and Bridgewater were advanced to the title of dukes, the lord viſcount Caſtleton was made an earl, Hugh Boſcawen was created lord viſcount Falmouth, John Wallop viſcount Lymington, Matthew Ducie Morton, and John Barrington of Becket, were both of them promoted to the dignity of barons.

While the king was employed abroad in reconciling the reſpective intereſts of the different ſtates of Europe, the South-ſea ſcheme produced a kind of national phrenzy in England, and nothing was now minded but the buſineſs of ſtock-jobbing. Exchange-alley, where theſe affairs were tranſacted, was in a continual hurry, where crowds of all ranks and qualities daily reſorted, on a report being propagated that Gibraltar and Mahon would be given up to the Spaniards for ſome places in Peru, by which means the Engliſh trade to the South-ſea would be protected and enlarged. This rumour, diffuſed with great induſtry, inſpired the people with ſuch extravagant hopes, that in five days after paſſing the bill, no leſs than two millions of original ſtock was ſubſcribed. It would be altogether inconſiſtent with the deſign of a general hiſtory, and afford very little entertainment to the reader, ſhould I enter into a detail of the proceedings, or explain the various or unwarrantable acts that were practiſed to enhance the value of the ſtocks: ſuffice it to ſay, that by the promiſe of larger dividends, and other illegal acts, Blount, the firſt projector (who, with very moderate talents, led all the other directors) raiſed the ſtock of the company to above 1000 l. per cent. The deſperate, who ventured firſt, were generally gainers, while the wiſer and more ſedate, who came in later, were many of them great ſufferers; and ſo the Wrongheads (as was then the term) had the better of the Longheads.

"This, of all others (to uſe the words of a modern author †) is the moſt unfavourable æra for an hiſtorian: a reader of any ſentiment and imagination cannot be entertained or intereſted by a dry detail of ſuch tranſactions as admit of no warmth, no colouring, nor embelliſhment; a detail of which ſerves only to exhibit an inanimated picture of taſteleſs vice, and mean degeneracy." This was the æra of intereſted projects, inſpired by a venal ſpirit of adventure, and deſervedly called *Bubbles*, which grew up from the corruption of the great bubble, or South-ſea ſtock. They were near one hundred in number, and it was reckoned that almoſt a million and a half was won or loſt in them. In ſhort, the nation was ſo tranſported with a ſpirit of gaming, that people became a prey to the moſt impudent impoſtors; and this infatuation continued to prevail till the eighth of September, when the ſtock began to fall faſter than it had roſe, having nothing but an imaginary foundation to ſupport it, till by Michaelmas-day it ſunk to 150. Some of the leading men of the nation, who were deeply concerned in theſe fraudulent practices, ſeeing the price of ſtocks ſinking daily, employed all their intereſt with the Bank to ſupport the South ſea; that corporation agreed, or, more properly ſpeaking, it was reported that it had agreed, to take a quantity of the South-ſea ſtock at 400 per cent. in payment for three millions ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds, redeemable debt, which the company was to repay on Lady-day and Michaelmas of the enſuing year. This was afterwards called the Bank-contract, the very ſurmiſe of which had run up South-ſea ſtock prodigiouſly, which however fell ſoon after as faſt, when it was found that the ſaid ſuppoſed contract was no reality, but a mere temporary and very unjuſt expedient, to quiet the clamours of the people; for the directors of the Bank finding their property in danger of being ſwept away by the portentous tide of ruin, which now bore down every thing before it, renounced their agreement, which they were not obliged to perform; and the South-ſea company being deprived of this ſupport, ſoon ſunk under its own weight; in conſequence of which, many ancient and good families were impoveriſhed or ruined, whilſt a few upſtarts got thouſands. Public credit received a terrible ſhock: the nation was thrown into a dangerous ferment, and nothing was heard but the ravings of grief, diſappointment, and deſpair. Succeſſive

* This was the original riſe of the preſent two very uſeful and flouriſhing inſurance corporations, who are alſo empowered to lend money on bottomree; and each of them afterwards obtained charters for inſuring from loſs by fire: yet neither of them are, by the before-mentioned ſtatute, nor by their conſequent charters, excluſive in any reſpect relating to private perſons, who may and ſtill do enjoy and practiſe inſurance on ſhips and merchandize as formerly; but with reſpect to all other corporarions they are both excluſive, excepting however the Eaſt India and Soth Sea companies, both which continue to advance money (ſays the ſtatute) by bottomree on their own ſhips.

† Smollett.

ceſſive expreſſes were diſpatched to Hanover, repreſenting to the king the ſtate of affairs, and earneſtly preſſing him to haſten his return. He accordingly ſhortened his ſtay in Germany, and arrived in England in the month of November.

The parliament being re-aſſembled on the eighth day of December, his majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, acquainting them, that during his abſence from England, the face of our affairs abroad had become more favourable: the peace in the South, he ſaid, wanted only the form of a congreſs, and that in the North was brought much nearer to a concluſion: he promiſed to lay before them, at a proper time, the ſeveral treaties he had entered into, by which they would perceive the ſucceſs of his endeavours to eſtabliſh a peace throughout Europe, and to ſecure and ſupport the proteſtant religion: he expreſſed his concern for the unhappy turn of affairs, which had ſo deeply affected the public credit at home; and he earneſtly deſired the houſe of commons to conſider of the moſt effectual and ſpeedy methods to reſtore the national credit, and fix it upon a laſting foundation.

The lower houſe was too much intereſted in the calamity to poſtpone the conſideration of that ſubject: the members ſeemed to lay aſide all party-diſtinction, and vie with each other in promoting an enquiry: they ordered the directors to produce an account of all their proceedings. Sir Joſeph Jekyll moved that a ſelect committee ſhould be appointed to examine the particulars of theſe tranſactions. In the courſe of the debate, Mr. Walpole told the houſe he had formed a ſcheme for reſtoring public credit, which was, to ingraft nine millions of the South-ſea ſtock into the Bank of England, and the like ſum into the Eaſt India company, on certain conditions. This ſcheme was approved of, and a bill for that purpoſe was prepared, paſſed through both houſes, and received the royal aſſent. Another bill was enacted into a law for reſtraining the ſub-governor, deputy-governor, directors, treaſurer, under-treaſurer, caſhier, ſecretary, and accountants, from quitting the kingdom for the ſpace of one year; and for diſcovering their eſtates and effects, ſo as to prevent them from being tranſported or alienated; a committee of ſecrecy was choſen by ballot to examine all books, papers, and proceedings, relating to the execution of the South-ſea act.

The lords ſhewed an equal earneſtneſs with the commons to proſecute the enquiry into this iniquitous tranſaction, though divers members in both houſes were deeply involved in the guilt of it. The ſub governor, the deputy-governor, the directors and officers of the South-ſea company, were examined at the bar of the houſe, when all of them were declared criminal, and ſeverely reprimanded for their illegal conduct. Soon after, a bill was brought in to diſable them from enjoying any office in that company, or in the Eaſt India company, or in the Bank of England. Three brokers were examined, and made great diſcoveries. Mr. Knight, the treaſurer of the South-ſea company, who had been intruſted with the ſecrets of the whole affair, thought proper to withdraw himſelf from the kingdom. A proclamation was iſſued for apprehending him, and another for preventing any of the directors from eſcaping as he had done. About the ſame time, at the deſire of the committee of ſecrecy, the books and papers of Knight, Surman, and Turner, were ordered to be ſecured, and their bodies (thoſe of the two laſt) taken into cuſtody, together with thoſe of ſir George Caſwell, ſir John Blount, ſir John Lambert, ſir John Fellows, and Mr. Grigſby; ſir Theodore Janſſen, ſir Robert Chapman, Mr. Sawbridge, and Mr. Eyles, members of the lower houſe, were expelled from their ſeats, and impriſoned. Mr. Aiſlabie reſigned his employments of chancellor of the Exchequer and lord of the Treaſury; and orders were given to remove all directors of the South-ſea company from any places they might enjoy under the government *.

In the beginning of February, 1721, the lords propoſed to have examined ſir John Blount, the principal projector of the South-ſea ſcheme, in hopes that his evidence would give them great lights into that myſterious tranſaction; but Blount effectually diſappointed them, by refuſing even to be ſworn to ſuch interrogatories as ſhould be put to him, alleging, that he had already been examined before the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, and that concerning ſuch a variety of affairs, that unleſs he had a copy of his examination he could not remember every particular; and as no man was obliged to accuſe himſelf, he would not run the riſk of being guilty of prevarication. The lords were provoked at this frivolous excuſe; but having had intimation that Blount's deſign was to engage the two houſes in a quarrel, they thought proper to ſacrifice their reſentment to the preſervation of that unity which was neceſſary between the two houſes during the ſettling of this great and national concern. In the debate how they ſhould proceed in this unprecedented caſe, the duke of Wharton made ſuch ſevere reflections on the miniſtry, that earl Stanhope, conſidering himſelf perſonally levelled at, replied with ſuch vehemence as produced a violent head-ach, and obliged him to quit the houſe and retire home. He was bled and cupped that night, and the next morning was pretty well recovered; but in the evening of the ſame day he fell into a drowſineſs, which was ſucceeded by a ſuffocation, in which he inſtantly expired. The king deeply regretted the loſs of a ſubject, who at all times, and on all occaſions, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal for the houſe of Hanover. Lord viſcount Townſhend was appointed to fill his place of ſecretary. Two days after the death of earl Stanhope, Mr. James Craggs, the other ſecretary, was ſeized with the ſmall-pox, of which he died the next day, viz. the ſixteenth of February. Thus in the ſpace of eleven days England loſt two ſecretaries of ſtate. The lord Carteret ſucceeded Mr. Craggs in his place.

Knight, the caſhier of the South-ſea company, being ſeized at Tirlemont, by the vigilance of Mr. Gandot, ſecretary to Mr. Leathes, the Britiſh reſident at Bruſſels, was confined in the citadel of Antwerp; but the ſtates of Antwerp inſiſting upon their privilege, called the Joyful Entry, granted by the emperor Charles V. and ſolemnly recognized by all his ſucceſſors, that no perſon apprehend-

* Tindal. Annals. Hiſt. Reg.

ed for any crime in Brabant ſhould be tried in any other country, refuſed to deliver him up to the meſſenger ſent over from hence by the government: and while expreſſes were paſſing to and fro on this occaſion, Mr. Knight found means to make his eſcape from his priſon in Antwerp. Several members of the houſe of commons were very loud in their invectives againſt the puſillanimity and little influence of our miniſtry abroad, who were to be ſatisfied with ſuch a frivolous excuſe, as they called it, and had not peremptorily inſiſted on Knight's being immediately ſent over. On this occaſion we have a remarkable inſtance how party animoſity and national pride will ſometimes blind the moſt able and diſcerning. How elſe are we to account for the proceedings of the houſe of commons on this occaſion? Is it not ſurpriſing that a nation, which had ſpilt ſeas of blood in defence of its own liberties, ſhould yet repreſent the preſervation of liberty in another ſtate as a frivolous pretence, and cenſure a miniſtry for not inſiſting upon the violation of it? The Engliſh had fooliſhly ſuffered themſelves to be deſpiſed and ruined, with their eyes open; and therefore, to ſave them from the effects of their folly, or rather to give them an opportunity of puniſhing the perſon who had taken advantage of that folly, the Brabantines muſt be deprived of their liberties! The truth however ſeems to be, that it was never the deſign or wiſh of many of the leading men at home, that Knight ſhould ever be compelled to reviſit his native country; they were ſenſible he knew enough to make them tremble.

A ſufficient diſcovery was, however, made by the ſecret committee, to convince the world that there had been tranſacted a ſcene of the deepeſt villainy and fraud that hell ever contrived to ruin a nation (theſe are the very words of one of that committee in the houſe of commons.) In ſome of the books falſe and fictitious entries had been made; in others, entries with blanks; and ſome entries with razures and alterations; in others, leaves had been torn out. It appeared alſo that, before any ſubſcription could be made, a fictitious ſtock of five hundred and ſeventy-four thouſand pounds had been diſpoſed of by the directors, to facilitate the paſſing the bill. Great part of this was diſtributed among the earl of Sunderland, Mr. Craggs, ſenior, the ducheſs of Kendal, the counteſs of Platen and her two nieces, Mr. ſecretary Craggs, and Mr. Aiſlabie, chancellor of the Exchequer. In conſequence of the commons report, the houſe came to ſeveral ſevere, though juſt reſolutions, againſt the directors and officers of the South-ſea company; and a bill was prepared for the relief of the unhappy ſufferers, out of the eſtates of the delinquents. The earl of Sunderland and Mr. Stanhope, one of the ſecretaries of the Treaſury, who was likewiſe charged with fraudulent practices on this occaſion, had the good fortune to obtain a majority in their favour, and ſo were acquitted, though Sunderland thought proper to reſign his place of firſt commiſſioner of the Treaſury, in which Mr. Robert Walpole was reinſtated; but Mr. Aiſlabie did not eſcape ſo eaſily: the evidences againſt him were ſo ſtrong, that he was expelled the houſe, committed to the Tower, and almoſt the whole of his eſtate ſequeſtered. Sir John Blount, the projector of this deſtructive ſcheme, had fled the land about the ſame time with Knight. Mr. Craggs, ſenior, died before his affair came before the houſe: however, they reſolved that he was a notorious accomplice with Robert Knight, and ſome of the directors, in carrying on their ſcandalous practices; and therefore, that all the eſtate of which he was poſſeſſed, from the firſt day of December, 1719, ſhould be applied towards the relief of the unhappy ſufferers in the South-ſea company. The ſum of two millions fourteen thouſand pounds was confiſcated out of the joint eſtates of the ſeveral directors, towards making good the damage ſuſtained by the company, after a certain allowance had been deducted from each, according to their conduct and circumſtances *. This was

* The reader will not, perhaps, be diſpleaſed to ſee the following liſt of the eſtates amaſſed by theſe ſons of rapine, and of the allowances made them by the juſtice of the nation.

	Inventories. l.	s.	d.	Allowances. l.	s.	d.
Sir John Fellows, ſub-governor	243,096	0	6 —	10,000	0	0
Mr. Charles Joye, deputy-governor	40,105	2	0 —	5,000	0	0
Mr. Aſtell	27,750	19	8¾ —	5,000	0	0
Sir John Blount	183,349	10	8¾ —	1,000	0	0
Sir Lambert Blackwell	83,529	17	11 —	10,000	0	0
Sir Roger Chaplain	45,875	14	5 —	10,000	0	0
Sir William Chapman	39,161	6	8½ —	10,000	0	0
Mr. Cheſter	140,372	15	6 —	10,000	0	0
Mr. Child	52,437	19	1 —	10,000	0	0
Mr. Delaport	17,151	4	6 —	10,000	0	0
Mr. Eyles	34,329	16	7 —	20,000	0	0
Mr. Edmondſon	5,365	0	0 —	3,000	0	0
Mr. Gibbon	106,543	5	6 —	10,000	0	0
Mr. Gore	38,936	15	5 —	20,000	0	0
Mr. Hawes	40,031	0	2¼ —	31	0	2
Sir William Hammond	22,707	4	2 —	10,000	0	0
Mr. Horſey	19,962	5	3 —	10,000	0	0
Mr. Holditch	39,527	10	4 —	5,000	0	0
Sir Theodore Janſſen	243,244	5	11 —	50,000	0	0
Sir Jacob Jacobſon	11,481	4	0 —	11,000	0	0
Mr. Ingram	16,795	0	0 —	12,000	0	0
Sir John Lambert	72,508	1	5 —	5,000	0	0
Sir Harcourt Maſters	11,814	12	3½ —	5,000	0	0
Mr. Morley	1,869	10	3 —	10,000	0	0
Mr. Page	34,817	12	3 —	1,800	0	0
Mr. Raymond	64,373	6	3 —	30,000	0	0
Mr. Read	117,297	16	0 —	10,000	0	0
Mr. Reynolds	18,368	13	2 —	14,000	0	0
Mr. Sawbridge	77,254	1	8 —	5,000	0	0
Mr. Tillard	19,175	14	4 —	15,000	0	0
Mr. Turner	881	17	6 —	800	0	0
Mr. Surman, deputy-caſhier	121,321	10	0 —	5,000	0	0
Mr. Grigſby	31,687	6	0 —	2,000	0	0

done

done by an act of parliament, which received the royal assent on July 29, 1721; and on August 10 his majesty passed the bill for restoring public credit †.

By these wise and vigorous resolutions of the parliament, the South-sea company was soon in a condition to fulfil their engagements with the public, and the calamities of the people, which had been carried to the most outrageous height, were in great measure appeased, and tranquility restored to the nation. Mr. Robert Walpole had shewed himself particularly assiduous in settling this distracted affair, and restoring the credit of the nation, which endeared him greatly to his sovereign, who now took him into full favour. Besides being appointed chancellor of the Exchequer and first lord of the Treasury, he was about two years after honoured with the order of the Bath, then of the Garter, and continued prime minister to the end of this reign, and fifteen years after.

The supplies in this session were voted very late; nor even at length were they granted with the usual chearfulness and alacrity: in order therefore to quicken their proceedings, his majesty thought proper, on the sixteenth day of June, to acquaint the commons that he had agreed to pay a subsidy to Sweden, and hoped they would enable him to make good his engagements. This intimation produced a violent debate: the leaders of the opposition desired to know whether this subsidy, amounting to seventy-two thousand pounds, was to be paid to Sweden, exclusive of the expence of maintaining a strong fleet in the Baltic? They alleged, that most of our treaties made with that crown had been inconsistent and contradictory: they acknowleged that hemp was a very necessary commodity; but then they thought it might be had from our American colonies, by giving a proper encouragement to the culture of it there, at a cheaper rate than we were now furnished with it either from Sweden or Norway. These and several other objections were answered by the court-party, who having the majority in the house, they carried the subsidy in the affirmative.

In less than three weeks after this demand, the patience of the commons was put to a second trial, by another message from the king, informing them that the debts of the civil list amounted to five hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and that his majesty hoped they would empower him to raise this sum upon the revenue, as he proposed it should be replaced on the civil list, and reimbursed by a deduction from the salaries and wages of all officers, and the pensions and other payments from the crown. The Tory members were greatly alarmed at this second message, which they considered as a very new and unusual method of acting, not only in regard to the manner in which it was done, but also the time, when, by reason of the advanced season of the year, so many members had retired into the country, on the conviction that no farther business of consequence remained to be transacted. Mr. Shippen, who on every occasion distinguished himself by his opposition to the measures of the court (sometimes with justice and reason on his side, but not unfrequently from the mere motives of rancour and animosity) remarked, that the ways and means of raising supplies had always been left to the direction of the commons; but that in this juncture, not only the sum, but the manner of raising it, was prescribed to them, which was reducing the house to the level of a parliament of Paris. All his arguments, or those of his party, however, though supported with all the power of rhetoric and popularity, were rendered of no effect by the decisive sentence of a MAJORITY: the king's request was granted, and at the same time an act passed for a general pardon; and on the tenth day of August his majesty closed the session with a speech, in which he declared, that he entertained a most sincere concern for the sufferings of the innocent, and a just indignation against the guilty, in the affair of the South-sea scheme: that he had readily given his assent to such bills as they had presented to him for punishing the authors of the late misfortunes, and for obtaining restitution and satisfaction to those who had been injured by them in such a notorious manner: that they could not fail to have observed the discontents occasioned by this unhappy event, which had been industriously fomented and inflamed by wicked and seditious libels; but he doubted not but by their prudent conduct in their several counties, all the enemies of this government, who flattered themselves with the prospect of blowing up the present complaints into popular disaffection, would be finally disappointed in their designs and expectations.

These professions were judged necessary at this time, to obviate the ill effects that had been produced in the minds of the people, by the insinuations of the discontented party, who had industriously whispered about that the king himself was not free from connections with the projectors of the South-sea scheme: that it was at his desire the demand of Knight's being surrendered had been rejected; and that he secretly favoured the directors and their accomplices. From the strictest review of the character of his majesty, however, it is but justice to acknowlege, that if ever he seemed

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Some alterations were afterwards made in these allowances; Mr. Astell had 10,000 l. instead of 5,000 l. sir John Blount, 5,000 l. instead of 1,000 l. sir Lambert Blackwell, 15,000 l. instead of 10,000 l. and Mr. Hawes, 5,000 l. instead of 31 l. 2 d. A motion was made to reduce sir Theodore Janssen's allowance to 30,000 l. but it was rejected. Tindal.

† The whole capital stock at the end of the year 1720, amounted to about thirty-seven millions eight hundred thousand pounds. The stock allotted to all the proprietors did not exceed twenty-four millions five hundred thousand pounds: the remaining capital stock belonged to the company in their corporate capacity. It was the profit arising from the execution of the South-sea scheme; and out of this the bill enacted that seven millions should be paid to the public. The present act likewise directed several additions to be made to the stock of the proprietors, out of that possessed by the company in their own right: it made a particular distribution of stock, amounting to two millions two hundred thousand pounds; and upon remitting five millions of the seven to be paid to the public, annihilated two millions of their capital. It was enacted, that after these distributions, the remaining capital stock should be divided amongst all the proprietors: this dividend amounted to thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight-pence per cent. and deprived the company of eight millions nine hundred thousand pounds. They had lent above eleven millions on stock unredeemed, of which the par discharged all the debtors upon their paying ten per cent. Upon this article the company's loss exceeded six millions nine hundred thousand pounds; for many debtors refused to make any payment. The proprietors of the stock loudly complained of their being deprived of two millions, and the parliament in the sequel revived that sum, which had been annihilated.

to deviate from the principles of government, it ought to be attributed to the ſuggeſtions of a venal and corrupt miniſtry.

I muſt not forget to mention, that in the courſe of this ſeſſion a remarkable bill was debated in the houſe of lords, for the more effectual ſuppreſſing of blaſphemy and prophaneneſs. There was certainly too much occaſion for ſuch a bill, the rapid circulation of money, the ſudden elevation of perſons of the meaneſt rank, and the almoſt total diſſolution of property, occaſioned by the infamous South-ſea ſcheme having introduced a ſurpriſing profligacy of life and manners: but as the bill chiefly tended to ſet up a ſort of inquiſition on mens conſciences, with regard to ſome ſpeculative points wherein good and ſober Chriſtians differ, it met with ſuch a rational oppoſition that it came to nothing.

Beſides the lords Townſhend and Carteret being appointed ſecretaries of ſtate, the earl of Ilay was conſtituted keeper of the privy-ſeal of Scotland, and the earl of Bute admitted a lord of the bed-chamber. On the fifteenth of April this year, the princeſs of Wales was happily delivered of a prince named William Auguſtus, the late illuſtrious duke of Cumberland. I ſhall obſerve here once for all, that his royal highneſs the prince of Wales had afterwards in this reign two daughters, the princeſs Mary and Louiſa. In the courſe of this year pope Clement XI. died. A dreadful plague raging at Marſeilles, a proclamation was publiſhed, forbidding any perſon to come into England from any part of France, between the Bay of Biſcay and Dunkirk, without certificates of health.

In June the treaty of peace between Great Britain and Spain was ſigned at Madrid. At the ſame time a defenſive alliance was concluded between Great Britain, France, and Spain. Peace was alſo reſtored to the North by a treaty concluded between Ruſſia and Sweden. To conclude, king George made a treaty this year with the Moors of Africa, which gave great umbrage to the Spaniards *.

The French having for a conſiderable time formed a project to join their colony of Canada to that of Louiſiana, and alſo to obtain a port in the Ocean, they for thoſe ends began very early after the treaty of Utrecht to extend their limits on that continent; and although the fifteenth article of that treaty had abſolutely excluded them from moleſting or encroaching on the five Indian nations of the Iroquois, as being particularly ſubject to the Britiſh crown; yet in this year they ſeized on the moſt important paſs of Niagara, and fortified the ſame, whereby they were the better able to command the lakes, and to form the plan of extending their power to the river Ohio, and to carry their chain of forts and ſettlements from thence to the Miſſiſſippi. This fort they held till the year 1759. In the mean time, they had, by a thouſand arts, debauched theſe five Indian nations ſo far, that they were brought to murder great numbers of our people who had ſettled amongſt them.

Nothing more material paſſed either at home or abroad, in reſpect to Engliſh affairs, this ſummer. The parliament being aſſembled again on the nineteenth day of October, continued ſitting till the month of March, when the ſupplies being granted, and the buſineſs of the ſeſſion diſpatched as the court was pleaſed to dictate, it was diſſolved, and another convoked by proclamation. The moſt remarkable tranſaction of this ſeſſion was, the reſolving, on account of the great abuſe that had been made of the liberty of proteſting, that ſuch lords as might enter proteſtations, with reaſons, ſhould do it before two o'clock the next day, and ſign them before the houſe riſes. It was the earl of Sunderland who made the motion that led to this reſolution. Thus ended the firſt ſeptennial parliament, and which had, during its exiſtence, ſet a ſtrong example of implicit ſubmiſſion to the will of a court. In the election of members for the enſuing parliament, the Whigs, by their ſuperior intereſt, gained an inconteſtible majority, and conſequently the ſame diſpoſitions prevailed in this aſſembly as in the preceding one.

On the nineteenth of April, 1722, died Charles Spencer, earl of Sunderland, groom of the ſtole to his majeſty, and who had been ſecretary of ſtate, preſident of the council, and held other high offices under the government. He quitted life under the load of popular odium, from his ſuppoſed connexions with the directors of the South Sea company. He was a miniſter of abilities, but violent, impetuous, and headſtrong. His death was ſoon followed by that of his father-in-law the great duke of Marlborough, whoſe faculties had been for ſome time greatly impaired: he was interred in Weſtminſter abbey, with ſuch profuſion of funeral pomp as evinced the pride and oſtentation, much more than the taſte and concern of thoſe who directed his obſequies. He was ſucceeded as maſter of the ordnance and colonel of the firſt regiment of foot-guards by the earl of Cadogan.

In the beginning of May the nation was alarmed with the report of a new conſpiracy formed againſt his majeſty's perſon and government. It was ſaid that the king had received the firſt information of it from the duke of Orleans, regent of France. Theſe general reports were adjudged ſufficient to ſpread the certainty of a plot univerſally. The troops were aſſembled, augmented, and encamped in ſeveral parts of the kingdom: a fleet was fitted out with the greateſt diligence: lieutenant-general M'Cartney was diſpatched to Ireland, to bring over ſome troops from that kingdom; ſome ſuſpected perſons were apprehended in Scotland; the States of Holland were deſired to have their auxiliary or guaranty troops in readineſs to be embarked; and colonel Churchill was ſent to the court of France with a private commiſſion. The lord Townſhend wrote a letter to the mayor of London, by the king's command, ſignifying his majeſty's having received unqueſtionable advices, that ſeveral of his ſubjects had entered into a wicked conſpiracy, in concert with traitors abroad, for raiſing a rebellion in favour of a popiſh pretender; but that he was firmly aſſured the authors of it neither were, or would be ſupported by any foreign power. This letter was immediately anſwered by an affectionate addreſs from the court of aldermen: the example of London was followed by many other cities and boroughs. The king had determined to viſit Hanover, and actually ſettled the regency, in

* Oldmixon. Annals. Hiſt. Regiſt. Polit. State. Debates in Parliament. Tindal.

which

which the prince of Wales was not included: but now this intended journey was laid aſide; the court was removed to Kenſington, and the prince retired to Richmond. In a word, ſuch precautions were taken, as if the utmoſt danger threatened the ſtate, and the pretender, at the head of an innumerable armed force, had already ſet foot in the kingdom.

In order to ſtamp the appearance of reality upon this imaginary conſpiracy, and to juſtify the meaſures that had occaſioned ſuch a conſternation, it was neceſſary to produce a number of perſons as agents or promoters of it. The two firſt perſons taken up on ſuſpicion were Mr. Chriſtopher Layer, a young counſellor of the Temple, and Dr. Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter. This prelate could not boaſt of an illuſtrious deſcent; but this defect, if it may be allowed ſo to call it, was amply compenſated by the eminent virtues and ſhining qualities which adorned his character. To his merit alone he was indebted for the high rank he held in the church: he was a conſummate divine, an eloquent preacher, and endowed with the moſt accompliſhed and refined talents; he was an admirer and patron of polite literature, which he ever encouraged in thoſe who cultivated it. To theſe qualifications he joined an inflexible honeſty, which no circumſtances of time or intereſt could alter, by which he had juſtly acquired the love and eſteem of the moſt reſpectable perſonages in the kingdom: but he was unfortunate enough to have incurred the hatred of the miniſtry by being at the head of the rigid Tories. His ſentiments with regard to monarchical power and the high-church had firſt diſplayed themſelves under the preceding reign; he was one of the moſt zealous advocates for Dr. Sacheverel, in that grand affair which proved the downfall of Marlborough and the Whig faction. In a word, his high rank, and the great influence he had over the Tory party, ſeems to have been his principal crime; and by all that can be gathered from the accounts of this period, it was in order effectually to remove him out of their way that the Whigs invented a plot, which made ſo great a noiſe at the time of its pretended diſcovery, and which, by the event, ſeems to have exiſted only in the minds of thoſe who claimed the merit of its detection; for the perſons ſaid to be concerned in it, muſt have been infatuated to a degree of frenzy, ſince they were charged with having made application to the regent of France, who was well known to be intimately connected with the king of Great Britain. It is by no means improbable, that the party who firſt ſet this pretended plot on foot, might have provided ſuch letters for the inſpection of his majeſty, as might induce him to give credit to the report, and have occaſioned his expreſſing himſelf in the manner he did, as well in his letter to the city, as afterwards to the two houſes on the aſſembling of the new parliament.

However this might be, the biſhop of Rocheſter was, immediately on his being apprehended, committed to the Tower for high-treaſon, and was ſoon after followed by the earl of Orrery, the lord North and Grey, Mr. Cochran, and Mr. Smith, from Scotland: Mr. George Kelly an Iriſh clergyman, Mr. Robert Cotton of Huntingdonſhire, Mr. Bingley, Mr. Fleetwood, Neynoe, an Iriſh prieſt, and ſeveral other perſons, were alſo taken into cuſtody; and Mr. Shippen, the perpetual arraigner of miniſterial meaſures, had his houſe ſearched. Loud and univerſal were the complaints of all moderate perſons, and thoſe who had a true regard for our happy conſtitution, at ſeeing meaſures purſued that favoured rather of deſpotic power, than the regular proceedings of juſtice in a free country. Theſe clamours, however, were induſtriouſly kept from the ears of the ſovereign, who, doubtleſs, conſcious of the rectitude of his own conduct, paſſed the ſummer of this year in pleaſurable progreſſes through the kingdom, in which he was attended by the prince of Wales.

The new parliament aſſembling on the ninth of October, his majeſty laid before them the nature of the conſpiracy: he ſaid, the conſpirators had, by their emiſſaries, made the ſtrongeſt inſtances for ſucours from foreign powers, but were diſappointed in their expectations: nevertheleſs, confiding in their numbers, they reſolved once more, upon their own ſtrength, to attempt the ſubverſion of his government: he ſaid, they had provided conſiderable ſums of money, engaged great numbers of officers abroad, ſecured large quantities of arms and ammunition; and had not the plot been timely diſcovered, the whole nation, and particularly the city of London, would have been involved in blood and confuſion: he expatiated upon the mildneſs and integrity of his government, and inveighed againſt the ingratitude, the implacability, and madneſs, of the diſaffected; concluding with an aſſurance, that he would ſteadily adhere to the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and continue to make the laws of the realm the rule and meaſure of all his actions.

When we repeat that the miniſtry had procured an undoubted majority in the houſe of commons, it may be ſuppoſed that the addreſs on this occaſion was ſuch as thoſe in power thought proper to dictate; and, as a finiſhing ſtroke, a bill was brought into the houſe for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus act for one whole year. Complaiſant as the parliament were, they were by no means unanimous in agreeing to ſuch an unuſual length of time, which was, in effect, arming the miniſters with an unlimited power, during that period, over the liberties of the people. The houſe of commons in particular ſhewed themſelves ſo much averſe to ſuch an unconſtitutional meaſure, that Mr. Walpole, now the faſt friend of the miniſtry, had recourſe to ſtate tricks to alarm their apprehenſions; and a dreadful ſtory was coined of a deſign to ſeize the Bank and the Exchequer, and then proclaim the pretender in the Royal Exchange. Abſurd as ſuch a notion muſt appear to every man of common underſtanding, it had its effect: the bill was paſſed, and, we may readily ſuppoſe, did not wait long for the royal aſſent. New attachments, in conſequence of freſh informations, were now iſſued forth againſt ſeveral perſons of rank and diſtinction: the duke of Norfolk was brought from Bath under cuſtody of a king's meſſenger, examined before the council, and committed to the Tower on ſuſpicion of high-treaſon.

As a further proof of the plot, the original and printed copy of a declaration ſigned by the pretender, was ſent to the houſe of peers; a production that ſeemed rather the effect of a diſtempered brain, than the mature or ſerious propoſal of a perſon who had been taught to look upon himſelf as an injured prince, and would have been moſt

properly replied to by ſilent contempt. The lords, however, thought proper to give it a ſerious peruſal, and to paſs a ſolemn reſolve, importing, that it was a falſe, ſcandalous, and traitorous libel, and ordered it to be burnt at the Royal Exchange. The commons too concurred in this reſolve, and joined the lords in an addreſs, ſignifying their aſtoniſhment and indignation at the inſolence of the pretender, and aſſuring his majeſty that they were determined to ſupport his title to the crown with their lives and fortunes. Let us, however, peruſe this doughty performance, which was judged worthy the animadverſions of the moſt reſpectable aſſembly in the univerſe. It was dated at Lucca, on the 20th day of September 1722, and appeared to be a propoſal addreſſed to the ſubjects of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as to all foreign princes and ſtates. In this paper the pretender, who thought proper to aſſume the title of James Rex, affected to talk of the late violations of the freedom of elections; conſpiracies invented to give a colour to new oppreſſions; infamous informers; and the ſtate of proſcription, in which he ſuppoſed every honeſt man to be. He then very gravely propoſed, that, if king George would reſign to him the throne of Great Britain, he would, in return, beſtow upon him the title of king in his native dominions, and invite all other ſtates to confirm it. He likewiſe promiſed to leave to king George his ſucceſſion in the Britiſh dominions ſecure, whenever, in due courſe, his natural right ſhould take place.

On the twenty-firſt of November, Layer, one of thoſe who had been confined as accomplices in the plot now under conſideration, was brought to his trial at the bar of the King's Bench. His indictment ſet forth, "That he had been employed in forming a moſt traitorous and horrid plot and conſpiracy againſt his majeſty and his government, by enliſting men for the pretender's ſervice, in order to ſtir up a rebellion; and alſo that he had held correſpondence with the pretender, by carrying letters and treaſonable papers to him beyond ſeas, and from him to the diſaffected in this kingdom." After a trial of ſeventeen hours he was brought in guilty by the jury, and received ſentence of death. He was reprieved from time to time, in hopes of his making diſcoveries; but he either could not or would not ſatisfy theſe expectations, and was at length drawn on a ſledge to Tyburn, and there hanged and quartered, his head being afterwards fixed up at Temple-Bar.

Bills were now brought in for inflicting pains and penalties againſt John Plunket and George Kelly, who were by theſe acts to be kept in cloſe cuſtody during his majeſty's pleaſure, in any priſon in Great Britain; and that they ſhould not attempt to eſcape, on pain of death, to be inflicted upon them and their aſſiſtants.

Mr. Yonge made a motion in the houſe of commons for a bill of the ſame nature againſt the biſhop of Rocheſter, of whoſe guilt there was no other evidence but conjectures and hearſay; all the proofs that could be brought againſt that prelate being reduced to two copies of letters in cyphers, directed to him, to which his proſecutors gave ſuch turn as beſt ſuited their views. The biſhop, finding how matters were likely to go in the lower houſe, ſent a letter to the ſpeaker (Mr. ſpeaker Compton) importing, that he ſhould decline giving the houſe any trouble, contenting himſelf with the opportunity of making his defence before another, of which he had the honour to be a member. Counſel being then heard upon the bill, it was committed to a grand committee, on the ſixth day of April, 1723, when moſt of the Tory members having abſented themſelves from the houſe, as not chuſing to give a ſanction by their preſence to meaſures they thought unjuſt, and knew they could not over-rule; it was then moved that the biſhop ſhould be deprived of his office and benefice, baniſhed the kingdom, and be guilty of felony if he returned; and that it ſhould not be in the king's power to pardon him, without the conſent of parliament; but that he, nevertheleſs, ſhould not forfeit his goods and chattels.

The bill being paſſed, was ſent up to the lords: the biſhop was brought to his trial before them on the ninth of May, when, after he had been heard by himſelf and counſel, the houſe, reſolving itſelf into a grand committee, went through the bill, and on the fifteenth had the third reading, when a motion being made for paſſing it, there aroſe a very long and warm debate. The bill was ſupported by the duke of Argyll, the earl of Seafield, and the lord Lechmere, who uſed every argument they could deviſe to ſhew the guilt of the biſhop, and prove the ſufficiency of the evidence brought to ſupport the charge. On the other hand, earl Cowper, lord Bathurſt, the duke of Wharton, and lord Gower, defended him with no leſs energy. They demonſtrated the danger and injuſtice of ſwerving in ſuch an extraordinary manner as was now done, from the fixed rules of evidence: that ſuch a practice would for ever ſully the luſtre and glory of that illuſtrious houſe: that the admitting of the precarious and uncertain evidence of the clerks of the Poſt-office, was a very dangerous precedent, eſpecially as in this caſe it was taken for granted that thoſe clerks might carry the ſimilitudes of hands four months in their minds. They deſired to know from whom theſe clerks had received the authority to intercept and open letters, eſpecially thoſe of a lord of parliament; and whether the clerks who copied theſe letters had themſelves intercepted the originals? and whether they had received them from any other perſon? They applauded the biſhop for his noble firmneſs in refuſing to anſwer before the houſe of commons, whoſe proceedings (ſaid earl Cowper) in this unprecedented manner againſt a peer of the realm, is ſuch an incroachment on the prerogative of the peerage, that if this houſe ſubmits to it by paſſing the bill, we may be termed the laſt of Britiſh peers, for giving up our privileges *. Notwithſtanding theſe and many other reaſons, equally obvious and forcible, the bill was paſſed by a majority, and afterwards received the royal aſſent. Doctor Freind, the celebrated phyſician, who was a member of the lower houſe, and had exerted himſelf in a diſtinguiſhed manner in defence of the perſecuted biſhop, was, ſoon after the trial, taken into cuſtody, on ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices.

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords. Debates in Parliament.

Two other affairs, which made a great talk, was brought before the parliament this ſeſſion; the one was the Harburgh lottery, and the other the Oſtend Eaſt India company. The lottery took its name from the place where it was to be drawn, the town and port of Harburgh, on the river Elbe, within the king's German dominions, where the projector was to ſettle a trade for the woollen-manufacture between England and Germany. The houſe of commons having appointed a committee to examine into this, and other lotteries then carrying on in London, found that this latter was an infamous fraudulent undertaking, ſet on foot with a deſign to enſnare the unwary, many of whom had been drawn in, to their great loſs; whereupon a bill was brought into the lower houſe, and paſſed, to ſuppreſs this lottery, and to oblige the managers of it to refund to the contributors the ſum they had deluded them of. At the ſame time that houſe reſolved to expel from amongſt them the lord viſcount Barrington, of the kingdom of Ireland, for having been concerned in carrying on that fraudulent undertaking *.

The affair of the Oſtend company was as follows: The emperor Charles VI. deſirous to get over the inconvenience he was put to in time of war, for raiſing the neceſſary ſums to carry it on, turned his attention towards commerce, and took ſuch meaſures as he thought moſt likely to eſtabliſh it in his dominion. Oſtend, a ſea-port town of the Auſtrian Netherlands, offered him all the advantages that could favour ſuch a deſign, by the beauty and commodiouſneſs of its harbour. The emperor therefore fixed upon it to be the center of that commerce he had propoſed, and began to eſtabliſh an Eaſt India company there, offering to thoſe who became contributors, ſuch advantages as were moſt likely to allure perſons of a mercantile diſpoſition. There was indeed one obſtacle to the eſtabliſhment of this company which the imperial council had not foreſeen, or at leaſt thought proper to take no notice of; this was, that by the treaty of Munſter the inhabitants of the Netherlands, then under the dominion of the crown of Spain, were expreſsly excluded from all right of trading to the Eaſt Indies. This clauſe had been inſerted at the poſitive inſtances of the Dutch, who were apprehenſive, that if their neighbours were allowed to trade directly to the Indies, they would in time bring into their ports all the riches which had hitherto centered in thoſe of Holland. The Engliſh alſo thought themſelves equally intereſted to oppoſe ſuch a trade; and therefore, upon the emperor's firſt erecting this company in 1716, both they and the Dutch made loud complaints at the court of Vienna, but without receiving any redreſs; and the Oſtenders ſtill continuing their trade to the Eaſt Indies under the emperor's protection and commiſſion, the parliament taking into conſideration the great detriment the Engliſh Eaſt India company had already received, and was likely farther to receive, by this Oſtend company, an act was paſſed this ſeſſion, entitled, "An act for the better ſecuring the lawful trade of his majeſty's ſubjects to and from the Eaſt Indies, and for the more effectual preventing all his majeſty's ſubjects from trading thither under foreign commiſſions;" by which any ſubject ſubſcribing, or being concerned in encouraging any ſubſcription to promote the Eaſt India company in the Auſtrian Netherlands, was declared guilty of a high crime and miſdemeanor †. Notwithſtanding this prohibition, many merchants of England engaged in the ſcheme, and the company was actually eſtabliſhed, to the great damage of the Engliſh, French, and Dutch companies.

About the ſame time an act paſſed, by which the two millions of the South-ſea company which had been annihilated, were revived, added to the capital, and divided among the proprietors. A third law was made, for the more effectual execution of juſtice in that part of Southwark called the Mint, where a great number of debtors had taken ſanctuary, on pretence of its being a privileged place. On the twenty-ſeventh day of May the king cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he thanked the parliament for the repeated inſtances they had given of their zeal and affection for his perſon and government, and of their inviolable attachment to the intereſt and welfare of their country ‡.

His majeſty having been detained in England all the laſt year by the affair of the plot, ſet out for his German dominions the very inſtant the parliament broke up. Lords-juſtices were appointed to govern in his abſence; but the prince, though now in his forty-firſt year, was ſtill excluded from the regency; a ſufficient proof that the ſuppoſed reconciliation in the royal family exiſted only in outward appearance. It is remarkable, that the lord Harcourt, formerly ſo ſtrictly united with the earl of Oſtend and queen Anne's other miniſters, and who had defended them with ſo much zeal, was one of the lords juſtices. Before the king left England, he was pleaſed to raiſe the ſon of Mr. Robert Walpole to the peerage, an honour the father had refuſed. Several church-promotions were alſo made; and thoſe who were in confinement on account of the plot, were either releaſed or admitted to bail. A man of war was appointed to convoy the biſhop of Rocheſter over to France, the place he had pitched upon for his aſylum during his exile; and the royal pardon was granted to lord Bolingbroke, who owed this indulgence to the earneſt ſollicitation of the lord Harcourt, though it was vehemently oppoſed at the council-board by Mr. Walpole. On the third day of June his majeſty embarked for Holland, and after ſtaying two days with his brother the biſhop of Oſnabrug, he arrived in perfect health at his palace of Herenhauſen in Hanover, on the eleventh of the ſame month ‡.

The king was attended to Hanover by the ſecretaries of ſtate, the lords Townſhend and Carteret, who were eſteemed able negotiators. Affairs now ſeemed to take a new turn on the continent. A congreſs had been held at Cambray, and another at Brunſwick, in order to ſettle the intereſts of the ſeveral princes of Europe; but matters had been drawn out to ſuch a tedious length, that theſe princes entered into ſeparate negotiations to attain their ſeveral purpoſes.

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* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Tindal.
† See Stat. 5 Geo. I.
‡ Ibid. Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons.
§ Hiſt. Reg. Annals Geo. I. Tindal.

The czar and the court of Sweden were on the point of concluding a treaty that ſeemed to threaten the loſs of Bremen and Verden, lately annexed to the electorate of Hanover: the regent of France, and Philip V. king of Spain, had adjuſted all their differences, and their reconciliation was cemented by a double marriage, mademoiſelle de Montpellier, ſecond daughter to the duke of Orleans, being betrothed to the prince of Aſturias, and another daughter to Don Carlos, eldeſt ſon of Philip V. by his ſecond wife. Theſe two princes offered new treaties to England, more advantageous than thoſe already ſubſiſting; but at the ſame time peremptorily demanded the reſtitution of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon; and alſo deſired that his Britannic majeſty would openly declare againſt the Oſtend company. King George was not a little embarraſſed how to act amidſt ſuch jarring intereſts: he was fearful that if he diſguſted the emperor, he might join the czar and the court of Sweden, and promote the deſigns they had formed in favour of the duke of Holſtein's pretenſions to Sleſwick, which our king had guarantied to his Daniſh majeſty. All Italy at this time exclaimed againſt the treaty of London. Memorials were ſent againſt the proceedings of the congreſs of Cambray from the pope, the king of Sardinia, the dukes of Tuſcany, Parma, and Modena, whoſe claims upon the houſe of Auſtria were now ſupported by France: in fine, every thing preſaged a ſudden and ruinous war. In this critical dilemma, king George acquitted himſelf in a manner that was the ſurprize and admiration of all Europe; by his artful and prudent negotiations, he prevented the diſagreeing powers from breaking out into an open rupture: he could not indeed prevail on the court of Vienna to relax in its diſputes with Spain, nor to give up the Oſtend Company; but the emperor promiſed faithfully to obſerve the treaties which he had concluded. His majeſty made a journey to the court of Berlin, while the two Britiſh ſecretaries of ſtate who attended him had frequent conferences with the king of Pruſſia's miniſters, in order to conclude an alliance, to prevent the deſigns of the czar in favour of the duke of Holſtein; but this never took effect *.

While his majeſty continued abroad, he received advice of the death of Philip duke of Orleans, regent of France; an event which gave the king no little concern, as a mutual eſteem had long prevailed between them, owing in a great meaſure to their circumſtances and intereſts being a good deal alike. His majeſty, apprehenſive that the death of the duke might occaſion an alteration in the ſentiments of the French court not altogether for his intereſt, determined to return as ſoon as poſſible to England; but being detained ſome time in Holland by contrary winds, he had, during his abode there, the ſatisfaction to receive the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from France of the good diſpoſition of that court to cultivate, and even improve, the union eſtabliſhed by the late duke of Orleans between the two crowns.

During the king's abſence, the nation loſt a worthy nobleman by the death of earl Cowper, who had twice diſcharged the high office of lord-chancellor with equal diſcernment and integrity. He was profoundly ſkilled in the laws of his country, was bleſſed with a great and penetrating apprehenſion, and diſtinguiſhed by the clearneſs and preciſion of his judgment.

The king arrived in England on the nineteenth day of December, and on the ninth of January, 1724, his majeſty opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech, in which he recommends to the commons the care of the public debts, and expreſſes his ſatisfaction at ſeeing the ſinking fund improved and augmented ſo as to put the debt of the nation into a method of being ſpeedily and gradually diſcharged. We may here, not improperly, take notice of the increaſe of the famous ſinking fund, erected by act in the parliament in the year 1717, named the Sinking Fund; which increaſe proceeded from the ſurpluſſes of the other three already deſcribed funds, either by paying off part of their capital or principal debt, or elſe by a reduction of the rate of their intereſt, payable by the public. The ſaid Sinking Fund therefore, we may obſerve, was now encreaſed to ſix hundred and fifty-three thouſand pounds, and was ſtill more conſiderably augmented afterwards. And now the commons, in compliance with his majeſty's intimation in his ſpeech, proceeded to take into conſideration the public debts of the kingdom, and a bill was brought in for leſſening the ſame; by which it was provided, that the annuities of five per cent. charged on the general fund by a former act, except ſuch as had been ſubſcribed into the South-ſea, together with the unſubſcribed blanks of the lottery in the year 1714, ſhould be paid off at Lady-day 1724, with the money ariſing from the Sinking Fund. The ſupplies next engroſſed the attention of the commons, who acquitted themſelves therein to the entire ſatisfaction of the court. They voted ten thouſand ſeamen at four pounds per month each, and the army was continued on the ſame footing as laſt year. This latter affair, however, was not determined without occaſioning great altercations, ſeveral worthy patriots oppoſing, with all their might, the keeping up ſo large a force in time of peace; yet it was carried againſt them, as indeed almoſt every other meaſure now was, by the venal retainers of the miniſtry; and it was reſolved that the number of effectual men for the year 1724 (including one thouſand eight hundred and fifteen invalids) ſhould be eighteen thouſand two hundred and ſixty-four: the expence of the year was provided for by the land-tax and malt-tax.

There had been for ſome time very loud complaints made, by the trading part of the nation, of the abuſe of protections granted by foreign miniſters, peers, and members of parliament, under which profligate perſons uſed to ſcreen themſelves from the proſecution of their legal creditors. It was therefore reſolved by the lower houſe, on taking this matter into their ſerious conſideration, that all protections granted by members of that houſe ſhould be declared void, and immediately withdrawn; that none ſhould be granted for the future; and that if any member ſhould preſume to contravene this order, he ſhould make ſatisfaction to the party injured, and be liable to the cenſure of the houſe. The lords made a declaration to the

* Polit. State. Oldmixon. Tindal.

ſame purpoſe, with an exception of menial ſervants, and thoſe neceſſarily employed about the eſtates of peers.

No matter of importance now remaining to be diſcuſſed by the great aſſembly of the nation, his majeſty, on the twenty-fourth of April, came to the houſe of peers, and, after a ſhort ſpeech to both houſes, in which he particularly thanked the commons for the care and pains they had taken towards augmenting the Sinking Fund, and improving the public revenues, by putting them under a ſtricter management, the parliament was prorogued †.

A little before the cloſe of the ſeſſion, his majeſty was pleaſed to make ſome alterations in the great offices, by appointing the duke of Newcaſtle to be ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of the lord Carteret, who was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland; the duke of Grafton was appointed lord-chamberlain; the lord Falmouth and Mr. Edgcombe, vice-treaſurers of Ireland; Mr. Yonge, a commiſſioner of the Treaſury; and Mr. Pelham, ſecretary at war. Sir Robert Raymond was made a judge of the court of King's Bench, and was ſucceeded in his former poſt of attorney-general by ſir Philip Yorke (afterwards earl of Hardwick, and lord-chancellor of England); and ſir Clement Wearg was made ſollicitor general, in the room of ſir Philip Yorke. About the ſame time, Mr Horatio Walpole, brother to Mr. Robert Walpole, was ſent to the court of France with the character of ambaſſador-extraordinary‡.

I ſhould think myſelf inexcuſable, did I paſs over unnoticed the ſtriking proof his majeſty gave at this time of his royal regard for the encouragement and promotion of learning, in his circular letter of May 16 this year, (1724) ſent to the two univerſities; wherein, having taken notice that no proviſion had hitherto been made in either for the ſtudy of Modern Languages and Modern Hiſtory, and of the inconveniencies ariſing from that defect, he ſays, "In order to remedy theſe and the like inconveniencies, we have determined to appoint two perſons, of ſober converſation and prudent conduct, of the degree of Maſter of Arts, Bachelor of Laws, or of ſome higher degree in one of the ſaid univerſities, ſkilled in modern hiſtory, and in the knowlege of modern languages, to be nominated by us, to be our profeſſors of modern hiſtory, one in the univerſity of Cambridge, and the other for that of Oxford, who ſhall be obliged to read lectures in the public ſchools at ſuch times as ſhall be appointed. And we have farther determined, That each of the ſaid profeſſors ſhall have a ſtipend of four hundred pounds per annum each, and out of the ſaid ſtipend ſhall be obliged to maintain, with ſufficient ſalaries, in the univerſity, perſons at leaſt well qualified to teach and inſtruct in writing and ſpeaking the ſaid languages; which ſaid teachers ſhall be under the direction of the profeſſors reſpectively, and be obliged to inſtruct *gratis*, in the modern languages, twenty ſcholars in each univerſity, to be nominated by us; and each ſcholar ſo nominated ſhall be obliged to learn two at leaſt of the ſaid languages, &c." Accordingly, Mr. Gregory of Chriſt-church, Oxford, and Mr. Samuel Harris, Fellow of Peter-houſe, Cambridge, were nominated and appointed the two firſt profeſſors. For a farther encouragement to the univerſities, the king was pleaſed to order that his lord-almoner ſhould chuſe, out of the members of Oxford and Cambridge, twenty-four preachers, to officiate alternately in the chapel at Whitehall, with a ſalary of thirty pounds per annum each.

On the twenty-firſt of May this year died Robert Harley, earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, who had been a munificent patron of genius and literature; and the month following the famous Dr. Henry Sacheverel, who had made ſo great a noiſe during the laſt reign, departed this life, after having bequeathed a legacy of five hundred pounds to his friend and patron Dr. Atterbury, the deprived biſhop of Rocheſter.

As to foreign affairs, one of the moſt remarkable events this year, was the abdication of Philip V. of Spain, who, retiring with his queen to the monaſtery of St. Ildefonſo, ſent the marquis de Grimaldi, his principal ſecretary of ſtate, to his ſon don Lewis, prince of Aſturias, with a ſolemn renunciation of the crown, and a letter of advice, in which we can diſcern nothing remarkable, either in the ſtyle or ſentiments. Amongſt other inſtructions, he ſays, "Preſerve ever a great devotion for the moſt holy Virgin, and put yourſelf, as well as your kingdom, under her protection, ſeeing you cannot by any other means better obtain what may be needful for you and for them." We conceive that this will be a ſufficient ſpecimen to our readers, of the abilities and good ſenſe of this monarch. The renunciation was publiſhed throughout the whole Spaniſh monarchy, and the council reſolved, that Lewis, as acknowleged prince of Spain, might aſſume the reins of government without aſſembling the cortes, or eſtates of the kingdom *.

This year a moſt bloody edict was publiſhed in France againſt the proteſtants reſiding in that kingdom, ordering, "that whoever performed any exerciſe of the reformed religion, if a man, ſhould be ſent to the gallies; if a woman, ſhould be ſhaved and committed to priſon; that the proteſtant preachers and teachers ſhould be put to death; and all who held communication directly or indirectly with them, be condemned to the gallies. Our government intereſting itſelf in the ſufferings of their perſecuted brethren, ſent orders to Mr. Horace Walpole, to make preſſing inſtances to the French court in behalf of the proteſtants: all the anſwer he could obtain, however, was, "that the king's edicts muſt be obeyed."

Great Britain at this period enjoyed profound tranquility. The government had triumphed over all oppoſition, and, notwithſtanding the heavy load of taxes under which the people laboured, yet, ſuch is the ſpirit and genius of the Britiſh nation for commerce, it was obſerved ſtill to be conſtantly flouriſhing ¶.

† Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Annals. Tindal.

‡ Hiſt. Reg. Annal.

* Polit. Stat. Tindal.

¶ Eraſmus Philips, eſq. an author of good credit, gives us an inſtance thereof in his pamphlet, publiſhed in the year 1726, entitled, "The ſtate of the nation in reſpect to her common debts and money;" wherein he acquaints us, that from the year 1701, to the year 1723, the amount of the Britiſh cuſtoms was ſo conſiderable, that the *neat money* paid into the Exchequer, on an average, for the ſaid twenty-three years, was one million four hundred forty-ſix thouſand twenty-two pounds per annum, even excluſive of ſeizures; and with ſeizures it amounted to one million four hundred ſixty-ſeven thouſand five hundred and ninety-three pounds neat money per annum.

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This year being barren of ſuch events as deſerve a place in hiſtory, we ſhall therefore only mention the parliament, which met on the twelfth of November, and ſeemed to be aſſembled for no other purpoſe than that of eſtabliſhing funds for the expence of the enſuing year; though the ſeſſion was diſtinguiſhed by one remarkable incident, namely, the trial of the earl of Macclesfield, who, on the reſignation of the earl Cowper, in 1718, had been made lord high-chancellor. There having been great complaints concerning ſome abuſes in relation to the maſters in chancery, which, though practiſed before, were now grown to an enormous height, the earl of Macclesfield, who had incurred the general reproach of the nation on account of his connivance at certain venal practices touching the ſale of places and the money of ſuitors depoſited in the court of Chancery, found it neceſſary to reſign the great-ſeal in the beginning of January, 1725. He was afterwards impeached for high crimes and miſdemeanors; and being found guilty, on trial, of the above mal-practices, he was fined thirty thouſand pounds, and committed to the Tower till he ſhould pay the ſum, which he did at the end of ſix weeks, and was then diſcharged. Sir Peter King, created baron of Oakham, ſucceeded him in the office of chancellor; and an act was paſſed for the relief of the ſuitors in the court of Chancery.

Whilſt the earl of Macclesfield's affair was under conſideration, the famous act was paſſed "for regulating elections in the city of London, and for preſerving the peace, good order, and government of the city." In this law, which is now the rule for all the elections in the city, there is a clauſe, by which the right of election of aldermen and common-council men belongs to freemen being houſholders, paying ſcot and lot to the amount of thirty ſhillings, provided they have inhabited houſes of ten pounds per annum rent, twelve calendar months. This, and ſome other particulars, occaſioned a petition of the freemen of London againſt the bill, while it was depending; and when paſſed into an act, it gave great offence to the citizens, who proceeded ſo riotouſly on the occaſion, that the government thought proper to double the guards at St. James's, Leiceſter and Somerſet-houſes; and ſuch other precautions were taken, as reduced all things to their former ſtate of tranquility. In this ſame ſeſſion Henry St. John, lord viſcount Bolingbroke (who, having made his peace with his majeſty, was come over to England) was, upon his humble petition, after ſome debate, admitted to enjoy his eſtates, and an act paſſed for that purpoſe, though he was never reſtored to his title.

On the eighth of April, his majeſty ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons by Mr. Robert Walpole, importing, "that having been engaged in ſome extraordinary expences, he hoped he ſhould be enabled to raiſe a ſum of money by making uſe of the funds lately eſtabliſhed for the payment of the civil liſt annuities, in order to diſcharge the debts contracted in the civil government." This meſſage occaſioned very warm debates in the houſe. Mr. William Pulteney (afterwards ſo very famous for his oppoſition to the Walpolian adminiſtration, and ſubſequent degeneracy), who was then cofferer of the houſhold, and began to be diſſatisfied with the meaſures of the miniſtry, moved for an addreſs, "That an account ſhould be laid before the houſe, of all moneys paid for ſecret ſervice, penſions, and bounties, from the twenty-fifth of March, 1701, to the twenty-fifth of the ſame month in the preſent year." His motion was agreed to; the addreſs was voted; and it was then moved to conſider the king's meſſage; but Mr. Pulteney urged, that this conſideration ſhould be poſtponed until the houſe ſhould have examined the papers that were the ſubject of the addreſs. "He could not (he ſaid) without ſurprize hear of a debt of above five hundred thouſand pounds being contracted in three years: but there was no room to wonder (he continued) at the earneſtneſs ſome perſons ſhewed to make good the deficiencies of the civil liſt, the revenues of which were in a manner ſhared between them and their friends." He concluded with expreſſing his deſire of being informed, whether this ſum of half a million was all that was due? Theſe ſarcaſms were evidently aimed at Walpole, who, with unembarraſſed compoſure (which he ever oppoſed to all the darts levelled at him by his opponents) took upon him to anſwer Mr. Pulteney's objections. The reſult of this debate was, that the majority paſſed a bill, enabling his majeſty to raiſe a ſum not exceeding one million, by exchequer bills, loans, or otherwiſe, on the credit of the deductions of ſix pence per pound, directed by an act of parliament of the ſeventh year of his majeſty, and of the civil-liſt revenues, at an intereſt not exceeding three pounds per cent. till payment of the principal.

An act being paſſed for diſarming the Scottiſh Highlanders, that for the elections of the city of London, a third for reducing the intereſt of ſeveral Bank annuities from five to four per cent. with ſome other bills of a private nature, the parliament was prorogued in May, after the king had, in a ſpeech to both houſes, thanked them, in the moſt cordial manner, for the repeated inſtances they had given of their duty and affection to him, and their zeal for the honour and intereſt of their country. Then, having appointed lords-juſtices to rule the nation in his abſence, he ſet out, on the third of June, for his German dominions *.

Immediately after this ſeſſion of parliament, the king revived the order of knights of the Bath, of which prince William (the late duke of Cumberland) was the firſt, and the duke of Montague was appointed grand-maſter. Among the knights were Mr. Robert Walpole, and his ſon lord Walpole. The whole number was thirty-eight, including the ſovereign. Several promotions were likewiſe made: Mr. Methuen was appointed treaſurer of the houſehold, and the earl of Lincoln cofferer in the room of Mr. Pulteney, who reſigned that place in diſguſt. Soon after ſir Robert Walpole was honoured by his majeſty with the order of the Garter.

The ſtate of affairs on the continent had by this time undergone a conſiderable change. Lewis the young king of Spain, dying ſoon after his advancement to the throne, his father Philip reſumed the ſovereign rule, which he had quitted, and now reſigned himſelf entirely to the hands of the queen, a princeſs of deep intrigue and unbounded ambition. The long-depending mediation of Great

* Polit. State. Debates in Parliament. Oldmixon. Tindal.

Britain and France at the congreſs of Cambray, for compromiſing the differences between the emperor and the king of Spain, coming to nothing, by the Spaniſh court's being extremely irritated at the French king, Lewis XV. for ſending back the infanta of Spain, to whom he had been eſpouſed; and king George declining to act without France; the queen of Spain, diſappointed in this quarter, propoſed a private negociation to the court of Vienna, which readily accepted the offer. The conferences were immediately opened, and conducted under the direction of the baron de Riperda, a native of Holland, who had renounced the proteſtant religion, and engaged in the ſervice of his catholic majeſty. The firſt treaty of Vienna, as it is called, was quickly concluded, and ſigned the thirteenth of April, 1725, and the next day a treaty of commerce was alſo ſigned.

By the treaty of peace, the emperor acknowleged Philip as king of Spain and the Indies, and promiſed not to moleſt him in the poſſeſſion of thoſe dominions that were ſecured to him by the treaty of Utrecht. Philip renounced all pretenſions to the dominions in Italy and the Netherlands, adjudged to the emperor by the treaty of London, 1722. Charles granted the inveſtiture of the dukedoms of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, to the eldeſt ſon of the queen of Spain, failing heirs in the preſent poſſeſſors, as maſculine fiefs of the empire. Spain guarantied the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, according to the pragmatic ſanction, by which the dominions of that houſe were ſettled on the emperor's heirs of either ſex, and declared to be a perpetual, indiviſible, and inſeparable feoffment to the primogeniture.

None of the powers of Europe had any reaſon to take umbrage at this treaty; but the caſe was very different with the treaty of commerce, which was deemed highly prejudicial to the intereſt of Great Britain, as the Oſtend company, which the emperor had eſtabliſhed, was to be ſupported by it; and the reſtitution of Gibraltar and Port Mahon to the Spaniards ſeemed to be the conſequence thereof; and it was even ſaid, that there were ſecret articles in favour of the pretender. However that might be, all Europe was aſtoniſhed to ſee Philip V. and Charles VI. formerly irreconcileable enemies, now united in the ſtrongeſt bonds of friendſhip; and affairs deviated from their natural courſe to ſuch a degree, that the miniſtry of Madrid governed the court of Vienna for a whole year.

By the treaty concluded at Vienna, already related, we have ſeen, that the imperial court, whoſe intention had conſtantly been to exclude the French branch which reigned over Spain, from all acceſs to Italy, ſo far loſt ſight of its firſt views, as to admit a ſon of Philip V. (duke of Anjou) and Elizabeth of Parma, his ſecond wife, into that very country, from which they formerly laboured to exclude every Frenchman and every Spaniard. Though the ſucceſſion of Parma and the grand-duchy of Tuſcany was not made public, don Carlos was introduced with ſix thouſand Spaniards, and it coſt Spain only twenty thouſand piſtoles, which were paid at Vienna. The imperial forces were now augmented to a conſiderable number, and other powers were ſolicited to engage in this alliance, to which the czar actually acceded*.

This imprudent ſtep of the emperor's council was by no means one of thoſe, which, in ſome inſtances, are productive of happy conſequences: it coſt Charles very dear in the ſequel. In the mean time the king of Great Britain took the alarm, and, in order to counteract the deſigns of theſe new allies, he projected a defenſive treaty between England, France, and Pruſſia, known by the name of the treaty of Hanover. This alliance, limited to the term of fifteen years, was ſigned at Hanover, while his majeſty was there, on the third of September, 1725. It contained a mutual guaranty of the dominions poſſeſſed by the contracting parties, their rights and privileges, thoſe of commerce in particular, with an agreement to procure ſatisfaction to the proteſtants of Thorn, in Poland, who had been oppreſſed by the papiſts, contrary to the treaty of Oliva. Nothing can be more clear, than that the apprehenſion of the emperor's making ſome attempts upon king George's German dominions, had been the principal motive for concluding the treaty of Hanover; though, in order to make it go down with the Engliſh at home, and ſecure the approbation of the Britiſh parliament, the miniſtry repreſented it as an engagement that had been contracted purely for the advantage and glory of England.

His majeſty having taken theſe neceſſary precautions at Hanover, ſet out on his return to England in the middle of December, and came to Helvoetſluys, where ſir John Norris waited with the convoy and yachts, and where his majeſty embarked in the Carolina yacht on New-year's day, about one in the afternoon. Towards ſeven that evening there aroſe a moſt violent tempeſt, which continued ſo high, and the ſea ſo boiſterous for thirty-ſix hours, that the whole fleet was in the utmoſt danger; at length, however, his majeſty with great difficulty landed at Rye, on the fourth day, from whence he proceeded by land to London.

In the courſe of this year was erected Guy's hoſpital, at the ſole expence of Thomas Guy, formerly a bookſeller in London, afterwards member of parliament for Tamworth, who left a benefaction of two hundred thouſand pounds for the ſupport of that charitable eſtabliſhment.

The duke of Wharton having ruined his fortune by riot and debauchery, repaired this year to the court of Vienna, from whence he proceeded to Rome, and offered his ſervice to the pretender, where he received the order of the Garter, and the title of duke of Northumberland. He was ſent by the pretender, with credentials, to the court of Madrid, where king George was no ſooner informed of his arrival, than he diſpatched a meſſenger with a letter under the privy-ſeal, commanding him, upon his allegiance, to return immediately to England. This letter being delivered to him, as he rode through the ſtreets in a coach, he loudly exclaimed againſt the inſolence of a Britiſh officer of juſtice in executing a ſummons upon him within ſight of his Catholic majeſty's palace; he even threatened to preſent a memorial on the ſubject to the court of Spain, and demand juſtice againſt the Engliſh meſſenger; but Philip, being privately acquainted with the matter, abſolutely refuſed to interpoſe his authority. The duke afterwards abjured the Proteſtant religion, married a lady of the queen of Spain's bed-chamber, and obtained the

* Polit. State. Voltaire. Tindal.

rank and appointments of a lieutenant-colonel in the Spaniſh ſervice*.

On the twentieth of January, 1726, the parliament met, when his majeſty, in his ſpeech, gave them to underſtand, "That the diſtreſſed condition of ſome of their proteſtant brethren abroad, and the negociations and engagements contracted by ſome foreign powers, which ſeem to have laid the foundation of new troubles and diſturbances in Europe, and to threaten his ſubjects with the loſs of ſeveral of the moſt advantageous branches of their trade, had obliged him to concert with other powers ſuch meaſures as might give a check to the ambitious views of thoſe who were endeavouring to render themſelves formidable, and put a ſtop to the farther progreſs of ſuch dangerous deſigns. He told them, that the enemies to his government were already very buſy by their inſtruments and emiſſaries in thoſe courts, whoſe meaſures ſeemed moſt to favour their purpoſes, in ſoliciting and promoting the cauſe of the pretender; but he perſuaded himſelf, notwithſtanding the countenance and encouragement they might either have received, or expected to receive, that the proviſion made by his parliament for the ſafety and defence of his kingdoms, would effectually ſecure them from all danger of foreign invaſion, or domeſtic inſurrection: that, when the world ſhould ſee, that they would not ſuffer the Britiſh crown and nation to be inſulted with impunity, thoſe, who moſt envied the tranquility and happineſs of this kingdom, and were endeavouring to make it ſubſervient to their ambitious projects, would have ſome regard to their own intereſt and circumſtances, before they preſumed to make any attempt upon ſo brave a people, ſtrengthened and ſupported by powerful alliances, and, however deſirous of peace, able and ready to defend themſelves againſt all aggreſſors: that ſuch reſolutions, and ſuch meaſures, if timely taken, would, he was ſatisfied, be the moſt effectual means of preventing a war, and preſerving to his people the bleſſings of peace and proſperity†".

Addreſſes ſuitable to this ſpeech were preſented by both houſes; and the commons proceeded to conſider of the ſupply, when, in ſpite of all the oppoſition made by Pulteney, who now began to ſet himſelf up to thwart every meaſure of the court, the ſame number of land-forces, and the ſame proviſion for them, were voted. Mr. Pulteney then endeavoured to get a committee appointed for taking the ſtate of the public debts; but in this he was likewiſe baffled, moſt of the Tories then in the houſe being againſt it.

The treaties of Hanover and Vienna being laid before the commons, they were debated in a very full houſe, no leſs than four hundred and twenty members being preſent. The debate was opened by Mr. Horace Walpole, ambaſſador at the court of France, who, in a long and ſtudied ſpeech, entered into a detail of the affairs of Europe ſince the treaty of Utrecht. He recapitulated the ſubſtance of the barrier-treaty; the defenſive alliance with the emperor; another with the moſt Chriſtian king and the States-general; a ſubſequent convention; the quadruple alliance; the congreſs of Cambray; the treaty of Vienna, and that of Hanover: he explained the motive of each agreement. The treaty of commerce between the emperor and Spain had been entered into, he ſaid, chiefly with a deſign to countenance and ſupport the Eaſt India company eſtabliſhed at Oſtend, which interfered ſo eſſentially with the Eaſt India companies of England and Holland, and was directly contrary to ſeveral ſolemn treaties in force. He expatiated on the dangers to which the ballance of power would be expoſed, ſhould the iſſue male of the projected marriage between the emperor's eldeſt daughter and don Carlos, the infant of Spain, ever poſſeſs the imperial dignity and the kingdom of Spain together. He finiſhed with ſaying, "That it had been in order to prevent the farther progreſs and final execution of theſe dangerous and deſtructive deſigns, that the king had concluded the treaty of Hanover, the nature of which had been already laid before them; and that from a candid compariſon of all circumſtances, he believed he might ſafely infer, that his majeſty had diſcovered the moſt conſummate wiſdom in all the meaſures he had taken." One cannot without ſome degree of indignation reflect, that this very man, who now expreſſed ſuch apprehenſion at the proſpect of the power of the houſe of Auſtria and Spain being immediately united in one perſon, had been the moſt violent in exclaiming againſt that article of the treaty of Utrecht, which prevented the union of thoſe two crowns. For this and other inſtances of verſatility, this gentleman became afterwards to be ludicrouſly termed the Balance Maſter.

This ſpeech, however, occaſioned a great debate: it was alleged by the members in the oppoſition, that the treaty of Hanover would engage the Britiſh nation in a war for the defence of the king's German dominions, contrary to an expreſs proviſion in the act of limitation. To this it was replied by the other ſide, that the true meaning and intent of that limitation, was not wholly and for ever to deprive his majeſty's foreign dominions of any aſſiſtance from this nation, but only to reſtrain the ſovereign for the future from engaging the nation in a war for the defence of any dominions not belonging to the crown of Great Britain, without the conſent of parliament. Mr. Pelham ſaid, that, for his own part, he was of opinion, that if, in the preſent juncture of affairs, his majeſty's foreign dominions ſhould be attacked or inſulted, this nation ought to ſtand by and ſupport his majeſty againſt all his enemies; he therefore moved for an addreſs to his majeſty, approving the alliance he had concluded at Hanover, in order to obviate and diſappoint the dangerous views and conſequences of the treaty of peace between the emperor and the king of Spain, and promiſing to ſupport his majeſty againſt all inſults and attacks that ſhould be made upor any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain ‡.

In vain did Mr. Shippen, and others of the Tory members, exhauſt all their eloquence to impreſs on the minds of the aſſembly a ſenſe of the dangerous conſequences to this kingdom that muſt attend our having a connexion with the concerns of the continent; the oppoſition was ſo inconſiderable, that the addreſs was voted by a majority of two hundred and eighty-five againſt one hun-

* Parliamentary Debates. Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Tindal. † Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Tindal. ‡ Parliamentary Debates. Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Tindal.

dred and ſeven, and was preſented on the nineteenth of February, to which his majeſty returned the following anſwer:

"Gentlemen,

"I return you my thanks for this particular mark of your duty, affection, and confidence in me: your aſſurances, not to ſuffer my foreign dominions to be expoſed or inſulted, on account of the meaſures I have taken for the intereſt of theſe kingdoms, will, I hope, be a means to preſerve the tranquility of Europe. I have no views of ambition to gratify; I have no thought of aggrandizing myſelf, or extending any part of my dominions at the expence of the other; and as my honour is the common cauſe and concern of my ſubjects, their particular intereſt ſhall, upon all occaſions, be my conſtant care."

There was a pretty warm debate in the houſe of lords about the treaty of Hanover, but as the court party was all-powerful, they carried an addreſs, to much the ſame purport as that of the commons, which was preſented at the ſame time, and received the like anſwer from the throne *.

The extenſion of the malt-tax to Scotland was productive of great diſturbances in that kingdom, the people abſolutely refuſing to pay it. At Glaſgow, in particular, the populace roſe, and in a riotous manner broke into and rifled the houſe of Mr. Daniel Campbell, their repreſentative in parliament, who had voted for the bill, and maltreated ſome exciſemen who had attempted to viſit the houſes of the maltſters. Upon this the commiſſioners had recourſe to general Wade, commander in chief of the Britiſh forces in Scotland, who ordered captain Buſhel, with two companies of foot, to march to Glaſgow, in order to appeaſe this diſturbance. The captain obeyed his orders; but the rabble aſſembling in a prodigious multitude, and arming themſelves with ſuch offenſive weapons as they could pick up, attacked this ſmall detachment with the utmoſt fury. The captain, conſcious of his own inability to reſiſt ſuch a numerous and enraged multitude, thought proper to retreat to Dunbarton, where he got in ſafety, though purſued by the mob to the diſtance of ſix miles.

No ſooner was general Wade informed of this tranſaction, than, aſſembling a good body of forces, and being accompanied by Duncan Forbes, lord-advocate, he marched into and took poſſeſſion of Glaſgow, when, being informed that the magiſtrates had been moſt ſhamefully remiſs in their duty, on occaſion of the late riot, he thought proper to have them apprehended and conveyed priſoners to Edinburgh caſtle: they were, however, ſoon releaſed from their confinement by the lords juſticiaries, who having taken cognizance of the affair, declared them innocent. Some of the rabble however, were puniſhed for the riot, and four of them ſentenced to be ſcourged and tranſported ‖.

This diſturbance had happened towards the cloſe of the laſt ſummer; and Mr. Daniel Campbell having petitioned the houſe of commons this ſeſſion, that he might be indemnified for the damage he had ſuſtained from the mob, a bill paſſed in his favour, granting him a certain ſum, to be raiſed by an impoſition of two pennies Scots upon all beer and ale brewed within the city of Glaſgow.

A bill was alſo brought in, empowering the commiſſioners of the Treaſury to compound with Mr. Richard Hampden, late treaſurer of the navy, for a debt he owed to the crown, amounting to forty-eight thouſand pounds. This deficiency was occaſioned by his engaging in the South ſea ſcheme. The king recommended his petition; and the houſe complied with his requeſt, in conſideration of his great-grandfather, the famous John Hampden, who made ſuch a noble ſtand againſt the arbitrary impoſition of ſhip money in the commencement of the civil war §.

On the twenty-fourth day of March the king ſent a meſſage to the houſe by ſir Paul Methuen, deſiring the aſſiſtance of his parliament, by an extraordinary ſupply, to enable him to encreaſe his naval force, and to take ſuch other meaſures as ſhould be found neceſſary in the preſent critical conjuncture of affairs. This meſſage occaſioned a debate of ſix hours, but it was at laſt reſolved, by a very great majority, to comply with his majeſty's demand †: but as this demand had not been communicated to the lords, though the king mentioned "the aſſiſtance of the parliament," it gave great umbrage to many of the peers.

The earl of Strafford in particular inſiſted that the meſſage was unprecedented, and ſtruck at the ancient privileges of the peers, who are the great ſtanding council of the ſovereign, the hereditary guardians of the liberties and properties of the people, and, next to their ſovereign, the principal part of the legiſlature; therefore ought to be conſulted in all matters of public concern. His lordſhip therefore moved that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, to know who adviſed him to ſend ſuch a meſſage to the commons, without at the ſame time communicating it to the peers.

Lord Bathurſt alſo obſerved, that the appellation of *parliament* being given to the commons excluſively of the lords, was certainly a new and unprecedented ſtile, and very different from the language of former times. If the lords, he ſaid, ſuffered themſelves to be overlooked and neglected in this inſtance, they might come at laſt to be voted uſeleſs, as had formerly been the caſe; and therefore, leſt any conſequence of this kind ſhould enſue, he was for the addreſs. Theſe efforts of the oppoſite party, however, were very little regarded by the miniſtry: the affair was dropt; and the ſupplies ordinary and extraordinary being granted, with every thing elſe which the court thought proper to aſk, his majeſty diſmiſſed the parliament on the twenty-fourth of May 1726 ‡.

I ſhall now take a ſhort view of the ſtate of affairs abroad.

As ſoon as the courts of Vienna and Madrid apprehended that their views were croſſed, and the ends propoſed by their conjunction utterly diſappointed, by the counter-alliance at Hanover, they immediately reſolved to have recourſe to ulterior negotiations, in order to increaſe the number of their allies; and when they ſhould find themſelves

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords. Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons.

‖ Tindal.

§ Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Anna's of Geo. I.

† Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons.

‡ Parliamentary Debates. Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords. Tindal.

ſufficiently

ſufficiently powerful, to reſort to open force. To render this ſcheme more effectual, the emperor began to execute projects in the North, in which he met at firſt with ſome extraordinary ſucceſs. Peter the Great, czar of Muſcovy, was now dead ‡, and his empreſs Catherine had ſucceeded him on the throne. This princeſs had conceived a diſtaſte to the Britiſh court, and had, by ſome Scottiſh people about her, been drawn to believe it might prove no difficult matter to ſet up the ſon of the late king James II. and ſo overturn the government in Britain. The ſame ſcheme had been propoſed and countenanced at the imperial court by ſome of the miniſters. The Spaniſh court readily adopted that or any other expedient which might procure them Gibraltar, and facilitate their acquiſitions in Italy, then, and ſtill, the great objects of their policy. Thus the Hanover alliance, originally contrived for the ſecuring that electorate, proved the means of bringing it into ſome degree of danger. It has generally been ſaid, and I believe with truth, that the ſecretary of ſtate, then abroad with his majeſty, was the ſole, or at leaſt the principal, adviſer in that affair, which gave a new turn to our politics, and engaged us in a ſcheme for humbling the houſe of Auſtria, which we had ſo long, and even ſo lately, ſupported.

However this might be, the Engliſh miniſtry, who had now all things in their own power, and were at full liberty to act as they thought fit, reſolved to ſupport the Hanoverian alliance; and therefore, as ſoon as they were informed of the ſchemes planning by the allies of Vienna, they exerted their utmoſt efforts to diſappoint them; and, without truſting to their good allies the French, or to their ſlow aſſiſtance, they choſe the ſhorteſt and moſt expeditious method poſſible of aſſerting themſelves. With this view it was reſolved to ſend a ſtrong fleet into the Baltic, to awe the czarina, to bring round Denmark, and to keep ſteady Sweden. It was likewiſe thought requiſite to have another ſtrong ſquadron on the coaſt of Spain, to intimidate his Catholic majeſty, and render any efforts he might make for the recovery of Gibraltar ineffectual: and, to ſum up all, as they very well knew that money was not only the ſinews of war, but the great bond of friendſhip among princes, they determined to ſend a conſiderable force to the Indies, in order to block up the galleons, as the ſhorteſt means of diſſolving the union between their Imperial and Catholic majeſties; being ſatisfied, if the former could not receive his ſubſidies, the latter could never rely on his aſſiſtance §. Such were the plans on both ſides at this critical juncture. We come now to ſee how theſe were carried into execution.

The command of the fleet intended for the Baltic was given to ſir Charles Wager, vice-admiral of the red, who had under him ſir George Walton, rear-admiral of the blue. The ſquadron they were to command conſiſted of twenty ſhips of the line, one frigate, and two fire-ſhips. Sir Charles having received his final inſtructions, ſet ſail from the Nore on the ſeventeenth of April, and on the twenty-third of the ſame month the fleet came to an anchor in the road of Copenhagen. The next day ſir Charles preſented to the king of Denmark a letter, with which he was charged by king George; and ſoon after quitting Copenhagen, he anchored with his fleet near Stockholm. Having had an audience of his Swediſh majeſty, by whom he was moſt graciouſly received, he ſailed with his ſquadron to the iſland of Narginan, within a few leagues of Revel. About the ſame time a ſquadron of Dutch men of war ſailed from Copenhagen for the iſland of Bornholm, in order to join the Britiſh ſquadron.

Sir Charles Wager took the firſt opportunity of ſending a letter he had been charged with to the czarina, incloſed to her admiral Apraxin, who was then lying in the road of Cronſlot with ſixteen Ruſſian men of war, beſides a great number of gallies. Our king, in his letter to the czarina, expoſtulated very freely with her majeſty on the ſubject of the armaments by ſea and land which ſhe had been for ſome time preparing, as alſo on the intrigues which her miniſters had lately entered into with the agents of the pretender. The Ruſſian court was not a little nettled at this appearance of a Britiſh fleet upon their coaſts, and was inclined to have come to extremities rather than endure it: but maturer reflection convincing them that the Ruſſian fleet was in no condition to venture an engagement with that of Great Britain, it was reſolved in council to order the ſhips and gallies to be laid up; and the empreſs wrote a letter to king George, by way of anſwer to that which ſhe had received from him. In this letter ſhe expreſſed her ſurprize that ſhe had not received his majeſty's letter until his fleet was at anchor in one of her ports, ſince it would have been more agreeable to the cuſtom eſtabliſhed among ſovereigns, and to the amity which had ſo long ſubſiſted between her kingdoms and the crown of Great Britain, to expoſtulate with her on her armaments, and expect her anſwers, before he had proceeded to ſuch an offenſive meaſure. She aſſured him that nothing was farther from her thoughts than any deſign to trouble the peace of the North; and with regard to the pretender, it was, ſhe ſaid, a frivolous and ſtale accuſation, which had been frequently uſed as a pretext to cover all the unkind ſteps taken againſt the Ruſſian empire.

This letter was dated the fifteenth of June, 1726; and our fleet being ſoon after joined by the Daniſh ſquadron, they both remained before Revel till the twenty-eighth of September, when admiral Wager, having received certain intelligence that the Ruſſians would not be able to attempt any thing that year, ſailed for Copenhagen, and from thence home, arriving ſafely at the Nore on the firſt of November ¶.

The fleet that was ſent to the coaſt of Spain was commanded by ſir John Jennings, and conſiſted of nine large ſhips of war, which were afterwards joined in the Mediterranean by ſeveral ſhips that were cruizing there. The admiral ſailed on the twentieth of July from St. Helen's with a good body of land-forces on board, and on the third of Auguſt entered the bay of St. Antonio; then he viſited Liſbon, from whence he directed his courſe to the bay of Bulls, near Cadiz, and cruized off Cape St. Mary's, ſo as to alarm the coaſt of Spain, and fill Madrid with conſternation.

‡ The czar died on the 28th of January, 1726. § Polit. Stat. Campbell. ¶ Hiſt. Reg. Annal. Tindal. Naval Hiſt.

It would be tedious, and little intereſting, was I to enter into a minute detail of the motions of this ſquadron, which returned to Spithead ſoon after. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that it anſwered perfectly the ends propoſed by it, by alarming the court of Spain to ſuch a degree as to make them diſavow the engagements they had entered into with the court of Vienna, to the prejudice of Great Britain, and abandon the deſigns they had formed in favour of the pretender, at the inſtigation of the dukes of Ormond and Wharton, and the earl Mariſchal, who were then at Madrid. Philip even diſmiſſed from his ſervice the duke de Ripperda, who had been lately prime miniſter, and was the perſon who had negotiated the treaty of Vienna, and by whoſe intrigues the Spaniſh court and ours had been embroiled. The duke dreading the reſentment of his enemies, took ſhelter, at the time of his diſgrace, in the houſe of colonel Stanhope, (afterwards earl of Harrington) then our ambaſſador at Madrid; and though he was taken from thence by force, yet the terror of a Britiſh ſquadron upon the coaſt prevailed on the Spaniſh court to lay aſide all thoughts of proceeding againſt him capitally, which they before intended, for having betrayed to the Britiſh miniſtry thoſe very deſigns which had occaſioned the ſending of this fleet; and he ſoon after made his eſcape from the caſtle of Segovia, and took refuge in England *. Such were the events that attended the expedition of ſir John Jennings on the coaſt of Spain. Let us proceed to the tranſactions in the Weſt Indies.

The command of the ſquadron deſtined for this ſervice was conferred upon rear-admiral Hoſier, an excellent officer. He ſailed from Plymouth on the ninth of April; and though he had a very quick paſſage, yet the Spaniards had previous notice of his deſign, by an advice-boat from Cadiz; ſo that before he reached the Baſtimentos, the treaſure which had been on board the galleons, amounting to about ſix millions and an half ſterling, and which he had been ſent to intercept, or at leaſt to prevent their ſailing for Europe, was unladen and carried back to Panama, on the other ſide the Iſthmus. However, the admiral, who arrived at Porto-Bello in the beginning of June, continued there ſix months, till his ſquadron, which had been the terror, became the jeſt of the Spaniards. A little before Chriſtmas he weighed, and ſailed for Jamaica, after having loſt the greateſt part of his men †.

In the mean time our court complained loudly of the violation of the law of nations, in taking by force, out of the houſe of the Britiſh ambaſſador, the duke de Ripperda, who had fled for ſhelter thither. This act the Spaniſh miniſters attempted to excuſe. Memorials and letters paſſed between the two courts, and every thing ſeemed to portend an immediate rupture. The king of Spain purchaſed ſhips of war, began to make preparations for ſome important undertaking, and aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand men at St. Roch, on pretence of rebuilding the caſtle of Old Gibraltar, which is on the oppoſite ſide of the bay to the garriſon of that name in our poſſeſſion. In the month of Auguſt this year the States-general acceded to the treaty of Hanover; but the king of Pruſſia, though his majeſty's ſon-in-law, ſuffered himſelf to be detached from the alliance by the emperor, who promiſed to ſupport his pretenſions to the duchies of Bergues and Juliers ‡.

Such was the ſituation of affairs abroad, when the parliament of Great Britain met on the ſeventeenth day of January, 1727. The king opened the ſeſſion with a long energetic ſpeech, highly reflecting upon the princes of whom mention was made. He obſerved, that the proceedings and tranſactions of the emperor and the king of Spain, and the ſecret offenſive alliances concluded between them, had laid the foundations of a moſt exorbitant and formidable power: that they were directly levelled againſt the moſt valuable and darling intereſts and privileges of the Engliſh nation, which muſt either give up Gibraltar to Spain, and acquieſce in the emperor's uſurped exerciſe of commerce, or reſolve vigorouſly to defend their undoubted rights againſt thoſe reciprocal engagements, contracted in defiance and violation of all national faith, and the moſt ſolemn treaties. He aſſured them that one of theſe ſecret articles was the placing the pretender on the throne of Great Britain; and another, the reduction of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon. Theſe fatal combinations, he ſaid, were not confined to thoſe parts of the world alone, but had alſo extended themſelves to Ruſſia; and that nothing but the timely appearance of the Engliſh fleet had prevented the execution of ſuch deſigns as would have opened a way to the invaſion of theſe kingdoms. He exhorted the commons to grant ſuch ſupplies as ſhould be neceſſary for the defence of their country, and for enabling him to make good his engagements with his allies, after acquainting them that the king of Spain had ordered his miniſter reſiding in England to quit the kingdom, and that he had left a memorial little ſhort of a declaration, in which he inſiſted upon the reſtitution of Gibraltar. Then addreſſing himſelf to both houſes, he concluded his ſpeech thus: "If preſerving a due balance of power in Europe; if defending the poſſeſſions of the crown of Great Britain, of infinite advantage to her trade and commerce, againſt dangerous and unlawful encroachments; and if the preſent eſtabliſhment, the religion, liberties, and properties of a proteſtant people, are any longer worthy the care and attention of a Britiſh parliament, I need ſay no more to incite my loyal and faithful houſes of parliament to exert themſelves in defence of all that is dear and valuable to them."

The moſt warm and affectionate addreſſes flowed in from both houſes in return to this ſpeech, ſo well calculated to touch the ſtrings which moved their paſſions: they expreſſed the higheſt reſentment at the inſolent deſigns of his majeſty's enemies, and the moſt entire approbation of the meaſures he had taken, in order to defeat and diſappoint them. The commons voted twenty thouſand ſeamen, and twenty-ſix thouſand three hundred and eighty-three men for the land-ſervice; and to defray the expence of theſe armaments, a tax of four ſhillings in the pound was granted §.

* Hiſt. Reg. Burchet. Oldmixon. † Tindal. Naval Hiſtory. ‡ Polit. State. Hiſt. Reg.
§ Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Tindal.

The moſt intereſting debates during this ſeſſion were agitated in the houſe of lords, and aroſe from that houſe calling for and examining the letters and memorials between the miniſters of Great Britain, France, and Spain, and the papers relating to the treaty of Hanover. When theſe papers were peruſed by the houſe, the lord Bathurſt obſerved, that the States-general had acted with remarkable caution and circumſpection in this whole affair; that they had not fully and entirely acceded to the treaty of Hanover, ſince they had formally and expreſsly excuſed themſelves from the general guaranty of the treaties of Weſtphalia and Oliva, in which they ſaid they were never engaged; that in effect the Dutch having engaged themſelves to nothing, what they had done did not deſerve the name of acceſſion; and the rather becauſe they had made it an expreſs condition, that their act of acceſſion ſhould be approved and ratified by the king of Great Britain, the Moſt Chriſtian king, and the king of Pruſſia; that though this laſt potentate was one of the principal contractors in the treaty of Hanover, yet as no mention had been made of him, he could not tell what to ſay to that particular. This however was certain, that the miniſter of his Pruſſian majeſty had refuſed to ſign the act of acceſſion, which was therefore of no effect; and if the court of France ſhould for the ſame reaſon think itſelf diſengaged from the Hanover alliance, Britain alone would be obliged to bear the burthen of an expenſive war againſt two of the greateſt potentates of Europe. He declared he could not ſee any juſt cauſe for a rupture with Spain: at all events, methods of accommodation ought to be tried for adjuſting the differences between the two crowns before the kingdom was plunged into a war, which muſt be attended with dangerous conſequences: he therefore deſired their lordſhips to conſider the matter before them, which was of the laſt importance to the whole nation, ſince, he ſaid, nothing could be gained by the war, ſhould it ſucceed even to the beſt of their wiſhes; and if it proved unproſperous, every thing would be loſt.

Lord Townſhend replied to this ſpeech. He affirmed that his majeſty had received poſitive and certain information with reſpect to the ſecret articles of alliance between the courts of Vienna and Madrid, in favour of the pretender; but that the ſafety of the ſtate would not permit him to lay theſe advices before the parliament. His lordſhip alſo affirmed, that his majeſty never had made any promiſe to reſtore Gibraltar, although the marquis de Puzzo Bueno had, in a memorial he had left behind him, made mention of ſuch a promiſe, and that it had been a good deal commented upon by the noble lord who ſpoke laſt. He then recapitulated the ſeveral ſteps the Imperial and Spaniſh courts had taken in prejudice to his majeſty and this kingdom; and concluded with ſaying, that from all theſe circumſtances he hoped it would evidently appear, that his majeſty was under an abſolute neceſſity of adopting the vigorous reſolutions which he had already embraced.

After theſe and ſeveral other ſpeeches, their lordſhips reſolved, that the meaſures which his majeſty had thought fit to take, were honourable, juſt, and neceſſary, for preventing the execution of the dangerous engagements entered into in favour of the pretender; for preſerving the dominions belonging to the crown of Great Britain by ſolemn treaties, particularly of Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca; and for maintaining to his people their moſt valuable rights and privileges of commerce, and the peace and tranquillity of Europe. Several lords entered a proteſt againſt this reſolution *.

The oppoſition in the lower houſe conſiſted chiefly in making motions for addreſſes on ſeveral ſubjects; in particular, one for deſiring the engagements which his majeſty was ſaid to have entered into with Spain, concerning the reſtitution of Gibraltar, might be laid before the houſe; for although lord Townſhend had affirmed in the houſe of peers that no ſuch promiſe had been made, ſir Robert Walpole, it ſeems, owned ſuch a promiſe in the houſe of commons, though he qualified it by ſaying, that he was ſure that promiſe was upon certain conditions, which not having been performed within the limited time, it was thereby become invalid: he however ſtrongly oppoſed the addreſs moved for, as the communication deſired was, he ſaid, altogether impracticable and unprecedented, the private letters of princes being as ſacred as their perſons. After a debate, the motion was rejected. After this the lord Morpeth moved "for an addreſs for copies of all ſuch memorials or repreſentations to his majeſty, from the crowns of Sweden and Denmark, as did induce him to ſend the ſquadron laſt year into the Baltic." This motion was oppoſed by Mr. Horace Walpole, and it was finally rejected. In the account of the money granted for the ſervice of the laſt year, there was an article of one hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds charged in general terms, as iſſued out for other engagements and expences, over and above ſuch as were ſpecified. Mr. William Pulteney moved for an addreſs on this ſubject, but the motion was rejected without a diviſion; and the majority concurred in an addreſs to his majeſty, much to the ſame purport with that of the lords, with the promiſe of ſupporting his majeſty in all ſuch further meaſures as he ſhould find neceſſary and expedient for preventing a rupture, and for the honour and advancement of theſe kingdoms †.

If the king's ſpeech gave riſe to ſome diſputes at home, it excited the higheſt degree of indignation and reſentment in the breaſts of thoſe powers who were reflected upon in it. The court of Vienna in particular was ſo exaſperated at the manner in which it found itſelf there treated, that the emperor commanded M. Palms, his reſident at London, to preſent a memorial to his Britannic majeſty, expreſſed in the boldeſt terms. The king was therein charged with having declared from the throne, as certain and undoubted facts, ſeveral things, ſome of which were wreſted to a wrong ſenſe; ſome entirely diſtant from the intentions of his Catholic majeſty; and laſtly (which, adds the memorialiſt, affect much more ſenſibly than all the reſt) ſome things abſolutely void of all foundation. The memorialiſt then proceeds to affirm that the treaty of Vienna was built on the quadruple alliance, and therefore could not

* Proceed. Houſe of Lords. Parliamentary Debates.

† Proceed. Houſe of Commons. Parliamentary Debates.

with

with any reaſon give umbrage to the king or people of Great Britain: that the treaty of commerce was calculated to promote the mutual and lawful advantages of both parties, agreeable to the laws of nations, and in no reſpect prejudicial to Great Britain. He inſiſts that there was no alliance concluded between the two crowns; and that the ſuppoſed ſecret article in favour of the pretender was a downright falſhood. He ſaid, the hoſtilities committed in the Weſt Indies, and elſewhere, againſt the king of Spain, in violation of treaties, ſeemed to furniſh a very juſt pretence for that prince's undertaking the ſiege of Gibraltar; but, with regard to the inſinuation, as if his maſter (the emperor) had agreed to aſſiſt his Catholic majeſty in the reduction of that place, it was abſolutely without the leaſt foundation, the emperor having made no other engagements with the king of Spain than what were ſpecified in the treaty communicated to the king of Great Britain. The memorialiſt concludes as follows: "Which things being thus, the injury offered to truth, the honour and dignity of his Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic majeſty, require that they ſhould be expoſed to your majeſty, to the kingdom of Great Britain, and to the whole world; and his Sacred Imperial majeſty demands that reparation which is due to him by all manner of right, for the great injuries which have been done by thoſe many imputations."

The emperor, not thinking it enough that his miniſter ſhould preſent this bold memorial to the king, ordered him to publiſh it to the whole nation, as an appeal to the people againſt their ſovereign. Our court, which might naturally be expected, were highly incenſed at this laſt ſtep: the two houſes of parliament, then ſitting, joined in an addreſs, expreſſing their indignation at the affront offered to his majeſty by the memorial of M. Palms, and at his inſolence of diſperſing the ſame throughout the kingdom. "The endeavouring," ſaid they in their addreſs, "to inſtil into the minds of any of your majeſty's faithful ſubjects, the leaſt diſtruſt or diffidence of your majeſty's moſt ſacred royal word, or to make a diſtinction between your majeſty and your people, is an attempt as vain, as it is preſumptuous. If time has not effaced the memory of the glorious exploits confeſſed to have been performed by Britons in ſupport of the emperor, gratitude, eſteem, and affection for this nation, will be beſt manifeſted by doing honour to the king, whom the people honour, and juſtice to the people whoſe rights and privileges the beſt of kings is now defending againſt the invaſions and incroachments that have been made upon them."

M. Palms was immediately ordered to depart the kingdom: the moſt bitter remonſtrances were preſented by the miniſters of the emperor and the king of Great Britain to the diet of the empire at Ratiſbon; and the reſentment of the two potentates was ſuch as ſeemed to exclude all hopes of a reconciliation.

Apprehenſive that he had now raiſed a ſtorm which might burſt big with ruin upon his hereditary dominions, George ſought to ſtrengthen himſelf, by contracting more ſtrict engagements with his good ally Lewis XV. and the king of Sweden, to the latter of whom he agreed to pay fifty thouſand pounds per annum, on condition of his holding in readineſs a body of ten thouſand troops for the occaſions of the alliance. He alſo concluded a freſh treaty with the king of Denmark, who engaged to furniſh a certain number of auxiliaries, on account of a large ſubſidy granted by the king of France. On the other hand, his Britannic majeſty engaged for twenty-four thouſand men, and a ſtrong ſquadron to be ſent to the Baltic. He made a convention with the prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, who undertook to provide eight thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, in conſideration of ſeventy-four thouſand pounds to be paid by Great Britain immediately, and fifty thouſand pounds more in caſe the troops ſhould be required, beſides their pay and ſubſiſtence.

All theſe treaties could not be concluded without bringing a heavy charge upon England; but the attachment the people were known to have for their religion, rights, and liberties, ſo happily ſecured to them by the acceſſion of the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, was a pleaſing earneſt of their ready concurrence in furniſhing the ſupplies neceſſary to ſupport theſe mercenaries, who were to defend the new countries to which this kingdom was now wedded. Accordingly, Mr. Scroope, ſecretary of the Treaſury, moved in the houſe of commons, by the direction of the miniſtry, that in the malt-tax bill they ſhould inſert a clauſe of appropriation, empowering the king to apply ſuch ſums as ſhould be neceſſary for defraying the expences and engagements which had been or ſhould be made before the twenty-fifth of December following, in concerting ſuch meaſures as he ſhould think moſt conducive to the ſecurity of trade and navigation, and reſtoring the peace of Europe.

This motion gave birth to a violent debate. It was alleged on the one hand, that his majeſty was ſo unwilling to put his ſubjects to any extraordinary expence, that he had aſked no more ſupplies in this ſeſſion than what he judged neceſſary for the ſervice of the year; but in the preſent poſture of affairs, ſome unforeſeen accidents might require a further expence, for which no eſtimate could now be made; becauſe ſome treaties which his majeſty had thought fit to conclude were not fully completed; that therefore the houſe ought to enable his majeſty to anſwer ſuch contingencies; that they had frequently repoſed in him ſuch a confidence, which he had never abuſed; and that what was now demanded was limited to a very ſhort time.

To this, thoſe on the oppoſite ſide of the queſtion anſwered, that it was altogether unparliamentary to aſk or to grant ſupplies without the proper eſtimates being firſt made out and laid before the houſe; and that as to the clauſe now propoſed, it was inconſiſtent with that part of the bill which forbade the iſſuing the ſupplies to any other purpoſes than thoſe ſpecified; and precluded that appropriation of the public money, which every parliament had ſo cautiouſly guarded againſt, in order to prevent miſapplication, which they ſaid was, in this caſe, the more to be feared, as the legiſlature had made no proviſion for bringing to account any perſon in regard to the diſpoſal of the money granted by this clauſe. It was urged that

* Polit. Stat. Annal. Proceed. Houſe of Lords. Proceed. Houſe of Lords.

the parliament had already granted very great ſums, ſuch as were amply ſufficient, ſo far as appeared to them at preſent, to anſwer all contingencies; and if any unexpected emergency ſhould ſupervene which might call for an extra ſupply, that houſe, upon ſuch a caſe being laid before them, could be at no loſs to provide for it in the uſual manner, without leaving any thing to the arbitrary diſpoſition of a miniſtry, which ſeemed to conſult their own ends rather than the true intereſts of the nation: that this parliament had already given ſo many inſtances of their zeal and affection for his majeſty, that they had left no room to doubt of their readineſs to make good whatever he ſhould expend in concerting ſuch meaſures as he ſhould think moſt conducive to the intereſt and advantage of his people; but that they could not anſwer to that duty they owed their conſtituents, to grant ſuch an unlimited and abſolute power as this clauſe conferred, but in caſes of abſolute neceſſity, when the very being of the ſtate was in danger. Powerful as theſe objections were, the majority over-ruled them; the motion was carried; and the bill being ſent up to the lords, made its way thro' that houſe likewiſe, though not without a vigorous oppoſition.

Two days after ſir William Yonge moved, that towards the ſupply granted to the king, the ſum of thirty-ſeven thouſand pounds ſhould be raiſed by loans on Exchequer-bills, to be charged on the ſurplus of the duties on coal and culm, which was reſerved for the diſpoſition of parliament, This motion was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Mr. Pulteney and ſir Joſeph Jekyll, who repreſented, that by ſeveral acts and votes of parliament, all the exceedings or ſurpluſſes of public funds were to be applied towards diſcharging the public debts, or increaſing the Sinking Fund. This diſpoſition, they alleged, could not be altered without injuring public credit, which was already extremely low, ſince the taking off any part of the mortgage could not but weaken the ſecurity of the debt. It was ſomewhat ſtrange, it was ſaid, that ſuch a motion ſhould come from the miniſtry, of all other perſons, ſince it was hardly poſſible they could have forgotten what his majeſty had ſo ſtrongly recommended from the throne at the opening of the ſeſſion; namely, that the produce of the Sinking Fund might be immediately applied to the uſes for which it was ſo wiſely contrived, and to which it ſtood at preſent appropriated; and, finally, that this motion was ſtill more ſurpriſing, after the large and unlimited power which the parliament had lately conferred upon his majeſty. Theſe objections were anſwered in the uſual way by the miniſtry, namely, by inſiſting upon the queſtion; which being put, the majority were for the motion, and it paſſed *.

The parliament having now diſpatched all the buſineſs before them, his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion on the fifteenth day of May, 1727, with this his laſt ſpeech to both houſes:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I acquainted you at the opening of this ſeſſion with the dangers which threatened this kingdom, and the peace and liberties of Europe. I am now to return you my thanks for the zeal and diſpatch with which you have proceeded upon the ſeveral points I then recommended to your care; for the confidence you have repoſed in me; and for the aſſurances you have given me of your ſupport and aſſiſtance, in vindication of my honour, and in the maintenance and defence of the undoubted rights and privileges of this nation, ſo openly and notoriouſly invaded and attacked.

"The ſiege of Gibraltar proves, beyond all diſpute, the end and deſign of the engagements entered into by the emperor and the king of Spain; but the preparations I had made for the defence of that place, and the bravery of my troops, will, I doubt not, convince them of the raſhneſs and folly of that undertaking. However, the love of peace has hitherto prevailed upon me, even under this high provocation, to ſuſpend in ſome meaſure my reſentments; and, inſtead of having immediate recourſe to arms, and demanding of my allies that aſſiſtance which they are engaged and ready to give me, I have concurred with the moſt Chriſtian king and the States-general in making ſuch overtures of accommodation as muſt convince all the world of the uprightneſs of our intentions, and of our ſincere diſpoſition to peace, and demonſtrate to whoſe ambition and thirſt of power the calamities of a war are to be imputed, if theſe juſt and reaſonable propoſitions are rejected. In the mean time, I have the pleaſure to acquaint you, that the crown of Sweden has acceded to the treaty of Hanover; and the convention between me, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and the king of Denmark, is actually ſigned.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"The vigour and chearfulneſs you have ſhewn in raiſing ſo effectually, and upon ſuch eaſy terms, the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſervice of the current year, are not only inſtances of your zeal and affection to me, but demonſtrate the eſtabliſhed credit, power, and ſtrength of this kingdom.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It would have been a great ſatisfaction to me, if, before your ſeparation, I had been able to ſpeak to you more poſitively, and with greater certainty, upon the preſent poſture of affairs. But, as you have now diſpatched the public buſineſs, and as the ſeaſon of the year requires your going into your reſpective counties, I chuſe rather to put an end to the ſeſſion, than to keep you any longer together unneceſſarily. The proviſions you have made, and the perfect union and harmony between me and my allies, will, I hope, enable me, by the Divine aſſiſtance, either to withſtand and defeat the deſigns of our enemies, if their conduct ſhould bring upon us the neceſſity of a war; or to improve the bleſſings of peace, if peace can, with any juſtice, honour, and ſecurity, be obtained."

We may perceive from this ſpeech, that notwithſtanding the preparations for war, made as well on the ſide of the Hanover allies as thoſe of

* Parliamentary Debates. Tindal.

Vienna, that the contending powers were reſpectively deſirous of peace; and that ſome overtures had actually been made towards a mutual accommodation, each of them having declared that the preſervation of the tranquility of Europe was the ſole end of their proceedings.

The Spaniard, in order to ſhow that he was not intimidated by the mighty naval armaments of the Engliſh, proceeded in the ſcheme he had formed of attacking the important fortreſs of Gibraltar; and on the 11th of February, 1727, the trenches were actually opened before that place by the Conde de las Torres, captain-general of his Catholic majeſty's forces in Andaluſia, at the head of twenty thouſand men, well provided with all ſorts of artillery and warlike ammunition proportioned to the ſtrength of the place, from which the Spaniards expected a ſtout reſiſtance. Our miniſtry at home having had previous intelligence of this deſign, had ordered a ſquadron to be got ready at Portſmouth; the command of which was given to ſir Charles Wager. The earl of Portmore, governor of Gibraltar, notwithſtanding his advanced age, having been a colonel near forty years, reſolved to repair in perſon to his government, and embarked on board this fleet; which ſailing in the month of March, arrived at Gibraltar in the beginning of April, when the troops which had been ſent over from England were landed, with a great quantity of ammunition, warlike ſtores, and twenty-four pieces of cannon. At the ſame time five hundred men arrived from Minorca; ſo that the garriſon now amounted to ſix thouſand effective men, who being plentifully ſupplied with freſh proviſions from the coaſt of Barbary, ſet all the efforts of the beſiegers at defiance *.

The firſt uſe made of the extraordinary ſupplies granted by the parliament, was to ſend once more a fleet up the Baltic, where it was ſaid the czarina was preparing to attack the Swedes, and afterwards to proceed to the execution of other deſigns prejudicial to the intereſt of Great Britain and her allies. The command of this fleet was beſtowed upon ſir John Norris, who had under him two new made admirals, Maurice and Hughes; the one rear-admiral of the white, the other rear-admiral of the blue. Sir John arrived at Elſineur in the beginning of May, where he was joined by a Daniſh ſquadron; but the czarina dying on the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, the court of Peterſburgh thought proper to lay aſide their armament †.

About the ſame time the court of Vienna having ſhewn a diſpoſition to make ſome attempts upon the barrier of the States-general in the Netherlands, theſe latter applied to our court to hold in readineſs, in caſe of neceſſity, the ten thouſand auxiliaries which England was obliged by treaty to ſend to their aſſiſtance. Hereupon the forces of Great Britain were augmented with thirty new-raiſed companies.

Notwithſtanding all theſe hoſtile appearances, the treaty of Hanover being merely defenſive, left the powers engaged therein at full liberty to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to bring about an amicable accommodation. Accordingly, Lewis XV. king of France, firſt undertook this friendly office, which was conducted by the duke de Richelieu, his ambaſſador at Vienna, who, in concert with the Britiſh and Dutch miniſters, drew up twelve preliminary articles, which were ſigned on the twentieth of May at Paris by the miniſters of the allies, and afterwards at Vienna by the Imperial and Spaniſh ambaſſadors. They imported, that hoſtilities ſhould immediately ceaſe; that the charter of the Oſtend company ſhould be ſuſpended for ſeven years; and that a congreſs ſhould in four months be opened at Aix la Chapelle, for adjuſting all differences, and eſtabliſhing the peace of Europe.

This congreſs was afterwards transferred to Soiſſons, for the conveniency of the French miniſter, whoſe preſence was neceſſary at his own court. The ſiege of Gibraltar was raiſed, after it had laſted four months, during which above one half of the Spaniſh army had periſhed either by ſlaughter or ſickneſs; while the Engliſh, who defended the place, did not loſe above five hundred men. The court of Madrid, however, ſtarting new difficulties, and refuſing to reſtore the Prince Frederic, the Engliſh South-ſea ſhip which had been detained at La Vera Cruz in the Weſt Indies, Sir Charles Wager continued to cruize on the coaſt of Spain, after the raiſing the ſiege of Gibraltar. At length, after many cavils and delays, theſe obſtructions were removed.

Two years had now elapſed ſince king George had viſited his German dominions; ſo that he reſolved to embrace the preſent opportunity of enjoying that pleaſure. Accordingly, having appointed a regency, he embarked at Greenwich on the third day of June, and landing in Holland on the ſeventh, ſet out on his journey to Hanover. On the road his majeſty was ſuddenly ſeized with a paralytic diſorder, which terminating in a lethargy, he was carried in a ſtate of inſenſibility to Oſnabrug, where he expired at his brother's palace, on Sunday the eleventh day of June, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign over theſe kingdoms, and was interred at Hanover among his anceſtors.

We have, in the beginning of this reign, given a ſketch of the character of George I. at the time he acceded to the Britiſh throne. As to his conduct after that acceſſion, we muſt repeat, that his miniſters were entirely accountable for it, he having conſtantly ſignified his intention to govern according to the laws of the country over which he was called to rule, and with a view ſolely to the good of his people. George I. was plain in his perſon, and ſimple in his addreſs: though generally grave and compoſed in his public deportment, in his hours of relaxation he was eaſy, familiar, and even facetious.

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George I. married the princeſs Sophia-Dorothy, daughter and heireſs of the duke of Zell, by whom he had his late majeſty George II. and the late queen of Pruſſia.

* Naval Hiſt. Hiſt. Reg. Tindal.

† Naval Hiſt.

We think we cannot conclude this reign more pleaſingly than with a ſhort account of the ſtate of literature in this kingdom, from the death of Charles II. to this period, as given us by a modern writer †.

" Dr. Atterbury (afterwards biſhop of Rocheſter) and Dr. Clarke diſtinguiſhed themſelves in divinity; Mr. Whiſton wrote in defence of Arianiſm; John Locke ſhone forth the great reſtorer of human reaſon; Cudworth traced the whole labyrinth of metaphyſical argumentation; the earl of Shafteſbury raiſed an elegant, though feeble, ſyſtem of moral philoſophy; Berkeley, afterwards biſhop of Cloyne in Ireland, ſurpaſſed all his cotemporaries in ſubtlety and variety of metaphyſical arguments, as well as in the art of deduction; lord Bolingbroke's talents as a metaphyſician have been queſtioned ſince his poſthumous works appeared; great progreſs was made in mathematics and aſtronomy by Wallis, Halley, and Flamſtead; the art of medicine owed ſome valuable improvements to the claſſical Dr. Freind and the elegant Dr. Mead."

[It is with ſome degree of ſurprize that we find the name of the great ſir Iſaac Newton omitted by this author in his liſt of the improvers of aſtronomy and mathematics, ſince he was probably the greateſt philoſopher, and undoubtedly the greateſt mathematician in Europe. We are far from pretending to draw his character entire: ſuffice it to ſay, in one word, that he has not left his equal perhaps on the face of the whole earth, having, even by the learned of foreign nations, been allowed the pre-eminence, and to be the unrivalled glory of the Britiſh name and nation!]

" Among the poets of this æra we number John Philips, author of a didactic poem called Cyder; a performance of real merit: he lived and died in obſcurity. William Congreve, celebrated for his comedies, which are not ſo famous for ſtrength of character and power of humour, as for wit, elegance, and regularity: Vanbrugh, who wrote with more nature and fire, though with leſs art and preciſion: Steele, who in his comedies ſucceſsfully engrafted modern characters on the antient drama: Farquhar, who drew his pictures from fancy rather than from nature, and whoſe chief merit conſiſts in the agreeable pertneſs and vivacity of his dialogue: Addiſon, whoſe fame as a poet greatly exceeded his genius, which was cold and enervate, though he yielded to none in the character of an eſſayiſt, either for ſtile or matter: Swift, whoſe muſe ſeems to have been mere miſanthropy; he was a cynic rather than a poet, and his natural dryneſs and ſarcaſtic ſeverity would have been unpleaſing, had he not qualified them by adopting the extravagant humour of Lucian and Rabelais: Prior, lively, familiar, and amuſing: Rowe, ſolemn, florid, and declamatory: Pope, the prince of lyric poetry, unrivalled in ſatire, ethics, and poliſhed verſification: the agreeable Parnel: the wild, the witty, and the whimſical Garth: Gay, whoſe fables will vie with thoſe of La Fontaine, in nature, humour, eaſe, and ſimplicity, and whoſe genius for paſtoral was truly original.

" The moſt remarkable political writers were Davenant, Hare, Swift, Steele, Addiſon, Bolingbroke, and Trenchard.

" Dr. Bentley ſtood foremoſt in the liſt of critics and commentators: ſir Chriſtopher Wren raiſed ſome noble monuments of architecture: in a word, during the period we have run over, England made a conſiderable figure in every branch of learning and the liberal ſciences.

† Smollett, in his Hiſtory of England, vol. x. p. 323.

GEORGE II. A. D. 1727.

GEORGE II. on aſcending the throne, had the happineſs to find the minds of his new ſubjects in general prepoſſeſſed in his favour: they had with pleaſure contemplated in him, while prince of Wales, many amiable qualifications, which promiſed them all the felicity they could wiſh, when he ſhould one day come to rule over them. Although, during the life-time of his father, who ſeemed to have conceived ſome jealouſy of him, he had been in a manner excluded from all ſhare in the government, yet a more than common diſcernment ſupplied the defect in this part of his education; and his natural talents being improved and ripened by years, his majeſty being in the forty-fourth year of his age at the death of his royal father, he ſeized the reins of government with full abilities to manage them.

At this time alſo conjunctures were particularly favourable to the new monarch. Commerce, the great idol of this nation, and to which ſhe ſacrifices every other conſideration, flowed uninterrupted through all her channels, bringing daily a ſpring-tide of wealth into the capital, from whence it circulated through the moſt diſtant parts of the kingdom, producing riches and eaſe: that ſuch was really the ſituation of the country at this period, may be demonſtrated by numberleſs proofs; a few only will ſuffice. It is an unalterable maxim, that when in any ſtate money bears but a low intereſt, and that the value of lands is every day increaſing, there muſt be great plenty of money in that ſtate: now this was at preſent the very caſe with regard to England. The intereſt of money was not now at more than three and a half or four per cent. at the moſt; the price of lands, which not many years before was at twenty and twenty-one years purchaſe, were now raiſed to twenty-five, twenty-ſix, and twenty-ſeven years purchaſe; an evident proof that there were more perſons able and ready to purchaſe lands than formerly. Another clear evi-

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Hist. of England

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dence of the increaſed wealth of Britain was, the great ſums of late expended in the incloſing and improving lands, and the erecting of magnificent edifices. To this if we add the great increaſe of jewels, plate, and other rich moveables, much beyond former times; and, laſtly, conſider the increaſe in the tonnage of ſhipping, which in the laſt ſix years exceeded the preceding ſix years two hundred and thirty-eight thouſand tons, we have undoubted proofs of Great Britain being in a moſt flouriſhing ſtate, and, by conſequence, her people rich and proſperous.

By the attention which had been ſhewn during the laſt reign to maritime affairs, our fleet was now on the moſt reſpectable footing; near two hundred ſail of ſhips of war, as well of the line as frigates, fire-ſhips, &c. were either cruizing upon different parts of the ocean, or ready to ſail from the ſeveral ports at the firſt warning, for the purpoſe of protecting our commerce, or annoying the enemy. Several regiments of well-diſciplined troops were cantoned in different parts of the three kingdoms, ſo as to overawe the diſaffected, and ſecure the peace and tranquility of the whole, while it ſtrengthened the hands of government, and gave the new ſovereign an aſcendancy that had been unknown to his predeceſſors on the Engliſh throne for many years.

The parliament too, that body in other times ſo formidable to the ſovereign, and who had for ſo many centuries been a conſtant check upon the regal power, under pretext of maintaining the rights of the people, now ſeemed to be a mere machine actuated by miniſterial ſprings, and hardly waiting for the demand, laviſhed ſupplies upon the crown without end or limitation.

On the other hand, the ſtate of affairs in Europe were every day growing more and more favourable to the peace and ſecurity of George, as well with reſpect to his Britiſh as his German dominions. Spain recovering at length from the illuſion in which it had been held by the court of Vienna, became ſenſible how much it was her true intereſt to be heartily reconciled to Great Britain, and reſtore all the commercial privileges they enjoyed before the rupture between the two crowns, eſpecially, as by keeping fair with king George ſhe alone could hope to ſecure to Don Carlos, afterwards king of the Two Sicilies, the ſucceſſion to the valuable duchy of Tuſcany, and thoſe of Parma and Placentia. To obtain this was the object of the treaty of Seville.

The emperor Charles VI. far from perſiſting to trouble the repoſe of Great Britain, readily gave up the new Oſtend company; and by that conceſſion obtained from his Britannic majeſty the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, a family-law of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly in the courſe of this hiſtory.

Holland, more cloſely united than ever with the Engliſh, her antient good friends and allies, blended her intereſts with theirs, and ſincerely rejoiced at their proſperity, as the certain pledge of her own.

France, which was at this time principally governed by cardinal de Fleury, ſeemed deſirous of peace, in order to repair the loſſes ſhe had ſuffered, and to enrich herſelf at leiſure by the extenſive commerce ſhe now carried on, without ſeeking to make any innovation.

The pretender, abandoned to his ill fortune, led an obſcure life in the papal dominions, deſpairing to find any potentate in Europe weak enough to hazard his own tranquility, in ſupport of the imaginary rights of a forlorn wanderer againſt a powerful monarch, actually in poſſeſſion of the crown to which he aſpired.

Thus, as I have already obſerved, George II. acceded to the crown under ſuch favourable circumſtances, as promiſed the moſt laſting happineſs to himſelf, and the higheſt advantages to his people; yet (ſuch is the precarioufneſs of all human proſpects) few reigns exhibit a greater variety of diſagreeable events, both to the ſovereign and the people, as will be abundantly manifeſted in the courſe of this hiſtory, the thread of which I ſhall now reſume.

His late majeſty's deceaſe was not known in England till three or four days after it happened: but on the fourteenth of June an expreſs arrived with the melancholy advice to ſir Robert Walpole, who was then at his houſe at Chelſea. He immediately waited upon the prince and princeſs of Wales at Richmond, with the important intelligence; and they thereupon repaired to Leiceſter-houſe, where they had for ſome time kept their court. Here they were received by a number of the lords of the privy-council, and other perſons of quality and diſtinction, who drew up and ſigned an inſtrument for proclaiming his royal highneſs king of theſe realms; and the ceremony of the proclamation was performed the next morning (Thurſday June 15) at the uſual places, with all the accuſtomed ſolemnities. His majeſty in the interim cauſed all the lords and others of the late king's privy-council to be ſworn of his privy-council: he likewiſe was pleaſed to make a declaration in council, in which, among other things, he had the following expreſſion: "The religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom, are moſt dear to me; and the preſervation of the conſtitution in church and ſtate, as it is now happily eſtabliſhed, ſhall be my firſt, and always my chief care." On the evening of the fourteenth his majeſty took and ſubſcribed the oath relating to the ſecurity of the church of Scotland, according to the forms preſcribed by the laws of that kingdom. On the fifteenth the earl of Scarborough was ſworn of the privy-council, and appointed maſter of the horſe to his majeſty.

The next day the court of lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London waited on the king and queen, with their compliments of condolance on the death of his late majeſty, and congratulation upon their new ſovereign's acceſſion to the crown. The example of the capital was quickly followed by moſt of the cities, towns, boroughs, and corporations in the three kingdoms and the plantations. On the nineteenth of June his majeſty was proclaimed with great ſolemnity at Edinburgh and Dublin.

The parliament of Great Britain aſſembled on the firſt news of the late king's death, in purſuance of the act made for that purpoſe in the fourth year of queen Anne, but was immediately prorogued by commiſſion to the twenty-ſeventh day of the month. All the great officers of ſtate were continued in their places; ſir Robert Walpole kept poſſeſſion of the Treaſury; and the ſyſtem of politics eſtabliſhed by the late king was ſtill ſtrictly adhered to.

The

The ſupreme direction of affairs was not yet conſigned to any ſingle miniſter. The lord viſcount Townſhend was in general conſidered as the principal manager of foreign tranſactions relating to treaties and negotiations, for which he was on all hands allowed to be very capable. The duke of Newcaſtle, his colleague, though not poſſeſſed of ſo extenſive a fund of knowlege in theſe matters, had ingratiated himſelf with his ſovereign by his exemplary zeal for the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the illuſtrious line of Hanover.

The interior government of Great Britain was chiefly managed by ſir Robert Walpole, a man of extraordinary talents, and who had, from his firſt obtaining a ſeat in parliament, declared himſelf a ſtrenuous partizan of the Whig party. As a public ſpeaker, he was cool and clear; and though he might not, in a claſſical ſenſe, be termed eloquent, he poſſeſſed that happy kind of elocution which ſeldom failed to perſuade his audience into a belief of what he advanced. He was indeed inclined to ſpeak rather too frequently for a man of his exalted ſtation; but then he did it from a perſuaſion that he was better acquainted with the nature of the ſubject he handled than any of his friends who would have ſpoke for him. Few men better underſtood the nature of the public funds, and the iniquitous myſtery of ſtock-jobbing; by which means he frequently counteracted the ſchemes of thoſe who conſulted their own intereſts at the expence of the public good; a charge which the moſt inveterate of his enemies could not make good againſt him. He was remarkable for his diſcernment of characters. In this diſtinguiſhing mark of a political genius he ſtood unrivalled by any miniſter we read of in hiſtory; but the greateſt reproach (perhaps the greateſt misfortune) of his adminiſtration, was, his applying himſelf only to the knowlege of men as they could be immediately uſeful in parliament. By this knowlege he could convert the degeneracy of the times to his own advantage, and always keep the venal part of the repreſentatives of the nation in his intereſt, by gratifying them with profitable conſiderations for voting as he dictated. From the deaths of the earls of Sunderland and Stanhope, in the late reign, he had been making long ſtrides towards the office of prime miniſter, to which he finally attained ſoon after the acceſſion of George II. and kept poſſeſſion of longer than any miniſter recorded in the Engliſh annals. If, during his long adminiſtration, his meaſures were frequently reprehenſible, thoſe of his antagoniſts were not always right; for in the heat of their animoſity to him they oppoſed, without diſtinction, the juſtifiable as well as the queſtionable ſchemes he ſet on foot. But to return.

The parliament, agreeable to the royal proclamation, met on the twenty-ſeventh of June, 1727, and the ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech delivered from his majeſty's own mouth; in which he gave an early omen of that paternal care he ever after exerted for the welfare of his people: among many other gracious expreſſions, he aſſured the two houſes, that it ſhould be his conſtant care to preſerve the conſtitution in church and ſtate inviolable in all its parts, and to ſecure to all his ſubjects the free enjoyment of their religious and civil rights.

Addreſſes of condolance and congratulation being drawn up and preſented by both houſes, the commons, in a committee of the whole houſe, took into conſideration a motion for eſtabliſhing the civil liſt, for the better ſupport of the honour and dignity of the crown. On this occaſion ſir Robert Walpole, as chancellor of the Exchequer, reminded the houſe, that the annual ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, which had been ſettled on the late king, had fallen ſhort every year, inſomuch that the houſe had been obliged to make up the deficiencies; and his preſent majeſty's expences, he ſaid, muſt neceſſarily be expected to increaſe, as he had a large family: he therefore moved, that the entire revenues of the civil liſt, which produced about eight hundred and thirty thouſand pounds, ſhould be ſettled on the king during his life. This motion was violently oppoſed by all the anti-courtiers; but no one diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much as Mr. Shippen, who was an avowed enemy to the reigning miniſtry, and was an intrepid, ſhrewd, and ſarcaſtic ſpeaker: he urged, that this motion was inconſiſtent with the truſt repoſed in that houſe as repreſentatives of the people, who ought to be very frugal in exerciſing the right of giving away the public money: he obſerved, that the civil liſt branches in queen Anne's reign did not often exceed five hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; nevertheleſs, ſhe called upon her parliament but once in a reign of thirteen years to pay the debts contracted in her civil-government; and theſe were occaſioned by very extraordinary acts of piety and generoſity, which ſhe had exhibited on ſundry occaſions, particularly in the caſe of the poor clergy, towards the augmentation of whoſe livings ſhe had given up the firſt-fruits and tenths, ariſing to nineteen thouſand pounds per annum; and immediately before her death ſaid ſhe had formed a plan of retrenchment, which would have reduced her yearly expences to four hundred and fifty-nine thouſand pounds per annum. He affirmed, that a million a year would not be ſufficient to carry on the exorbitant expences of a profuſe and vain-glorious adminiſtration. As none of the large ſums which had been already granted were accounted for, but had all been ſunk in the bottomleſs gulph of ſecret ſervice, thoſe ſums, he ſaid, had in all probability been employed in ſervices not fit to be owned, in perverting from their public duty thoſe who were weak or wicked enough to ſell themſelves as the tools and hirelings of a corrupt miniſtry. No anſwer was made to any of the particulars inſiſted upon in this ſpeech. Antiminiſterial aſſociation was now reduced too low to be thought worthy ſuch a mark of notice. The queſtion was put. The houſe agreed to ſir Robert's motion, and a bill was brought in upon the following reſolutions; "Firſt, That towards the ſupply granted to his majeſty for the ſupport of his houſhold, the ſame revenues which were payable to his late majeſty during his life, be granted and continued to his preſent majeſty during his life. Secondly, That the ſaid revenues be continued from the death of his late majeſty."

While this bill was depending, a meſſage was delivered by ſir Paul Methuen, the treaſurer of the houſhold, from the king, recommending the making further proviſion for the queen, in caſe of his majeſty's demiſe. The ſucceſs of this meſſage was conſidered as the touchſtone of the diſpoſition of the commons, who left it not long in ſuſpence; for, after conſidering the meſſage in a grand committee

mittee of their houſe, they reſolved, " 1. That a proviſion be made for the queen, in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive his majeſty, of one hundred thouſand pounds per annum during her life, together with his majeſty's palace of Somerſet-houſe, and the lodge and lands at Richmond Old Park. 2. That his majeſty be enabled to charge the ſaid one hundred thouſand pounds on all or any of the duties and revenues, for the better ſupport of her majeſty's houſhold, &c. which ſhall ſubſiſt after his majeſty's deceaſe."

Purſuant to theſe reſolutions, bills were brought in and paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent on the ſeventeenth of July; as alſo an act " to enable his majeſty to be governor of the South-ſea company," and an act " for continuing the impriſonment of Robert Blackburne and others, for the aſſaſſination-plot againſt king William." The ſame day his majeſty made a moſt gracious ſpeech to both houſes, which ſufficiently demonſtrated the pleaſure their proceedings had given him. He thanked the members for the proviſion they had made for the ſupport of his family and civil-government, and for the ample proviſion they had made for the queen. He then ſubjoins the following remarkable paragraph:

" My lords and gentlemen,

" It is a great happineſs to me to ſee the nation in ſo proſperous and flouriſhing a condition; at the higheſt pitch of glory and reputation; of great weight in holding the balance of Europe; defending themſelves in their juſt privileges and poſſeſſions; and vindicating the honour of the crown of Great Britain."

His majeſty having concluded his ſpeech, the lord-chancellor, by the royal command, declared the parliament prorogued to the twenty-ninth day of Auguſt; but on the ſeventh day of that month it was diſſolved by proclamation, and writs were iſſued for convoking another.

In the interim, ſome changes were made in different departments of civil oeconomy. George Byng, lord viſcount Torrington, was placed at the head of the admiralty; the earl of Weſtmoreland was appointed firſt lord-commiſſioner of trade and plantations; Philip-Dormer Stanhope, earl of Cheſterfield, was nominated ambaſſador to the Hague; and the lord Carteret obtained the place of lord-lieutenant of Ireland: the duke of Devonſhire was dignified with that of preſident of the council; and the duke of St. Albans was appointed maſter of the horſe.

On the eleventh of October their majeſties coronation was performed with great ſplendor and ſolemnity: the biſhop of Oxford preached on the occaſion, and the day was celebrated in every part of his majeſty's dominions with the moſt extraordinary rejoicings. On the thirtieth, being lord-mayor's day as well as the king's birth-day, conformable to an humble invitation from the city, their majeſties, the princeſs-royal, and princeſs Carolina, accompanied by the great officers of ſtate, and other ſuitable attendants, dined with the lord-mayor at Guildhall, were preſent at a ball, and returned to St. James's in the ſame ſtate with which they entered the city, at eleven o'clock the ſame night.

The other domeſtic tranſactions of this year are of little importance to a general hiſtory of England: we ſhall therefore paſs on to a view of foreign affairs during the remaining part of this year.

The reader may remember, that towards the cloſe of the laſt reign we took notice of certain articles, preliminary to a general pacification, being ſigned at Paris on May 20-31, 1727, on the part of the emperor, his Britannic majeſty, the moſt Catholic king, and the States-general, by which a mutual ceſſation of hoſtilities was ſtipulated for ſeven years; and that within four months after ſigning this convention, a congreſs ſhould be formed, in which all the rights and pretenſions of the contracting parties ſhould be examined, diſcuſſed, and determined: but as ſoon as the articles were produced in public, it was immediately foreſeen that the dark and ambiguous manner of wording them would give occaſion to many cavils and diſputes.

Accordingly, the preliminaries were no ſooner ſigned than new diſputes began to be ſtarted about the meaning of them, and ſuch interpretations to be put upon the words of theſe articles as utterly deſtroyed the intent and deſign of them. The Spaniards inſiſted that a mere ceſſation of hoſtilities, as ſtipulated by the preliminaries, did not imply an actual raiſing of the ſiege of Gibraltar; and that the reſtitution of the South-ſea ſhip Prince Frederic, with her cargo, was not mentioned or included in them. Beſides this, the court of Spain demanded an *indulto* of twenty per cent. on the effects of private perſons embarked in the Flotilla.

Theſe points having been warmly litigated by the different parties for eight or nine months, they were at length adjuſted by another convention negotiated by the count de Rothemberg, miniſter of France, and ſigned at the Pardo, near Madrid, the ſixth of March, 1728. This inſtrument contained an explanation of the preliminaries: and it was once more ſolemnly ſtipulated, that all the reſpective pretenſions on each ſide ſhould be produced, debated, and decided in the congreſs to be held at Soiſſons, with a particular engagement that their Britannic and Catholic majeſties would abide by what ſhould be there regulated.

In the mean time, it was agreed that the Britiſh ſquadrons ſhould be ordered, without delay, to withdraw from the ſeas of Old and New Spain; in conſideration of which, his Catholic majeſty likewiſe engaged that the blockade of Gibraltar ſhould be immediately raiſed; that a clear and expreſs order ſhould be ſent without delay for reſtoring the ſhip Prince Frederic, with her cargo, to the agents of the South-ſea company; and that the effects of the Flotilla ſhould be forthwith delivered to the reſpective proprietors.

Theſe conditions being accepted on both ſides, his Catholic majeſty ratified the preliminaries; but before the ratifications were exchanged, ſome new diſputes aroſe concerning the orders agreed to be ſent to the Weſt Indies, in purſuance of this convention. Theſe freſh difficulties took up ſome time longer, but were likewiſe got over by the count de Rothemberg and M. Vandermeer, the miniſter from the States-general, who managed all our affairs at the court of Spain; and the congreſs was opened at Soiſſons on the fourteenth of June, 1728, of which more in its place.

While theſe negotiations were on foot, a treaty or convention, which afterwards made a great noiſe in the world, was concluded at Weſtminſter, between his Britannic majeſty and the duke of Brunſwic-Lunenburg-Wolfenbuttel. By this convention the Serene duke engaged to guaranty all his majeſty's dominions in Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany; and likewiſe to furniſh a body of five thouſand men, for which our king engaged to pay the ſaid duke a yearly ſubſidy of twenty-five thouſand pounds, for four years. By a ſeparate article in this convention it was ſtipulated, that the duke's troops were not to be obliged to paſs over to Great Britain or Ireland, but ſhould be employed either in replacing troops that might be drawn from his majeſty's German dominions, or be put into the garriſons of the States-general, in caſe any of *their* troops ſhould be ſent over to Great Britain.

The elections in England and Scotland for the new parliament having gone entirely in favour of the miniſtry, the two houſes met on the twenty-third day of January, 1728, when the commons unanimouſly choſe for their ſpeaker Arthur Onſlow, eſq. knight of the ſhire for the county of Surry; a gentleman of extenſive knowlege, approved integrity, and abilities every way equal to the diſcharge of that honourable and important office, and who afterwards fully juſtified the choice of that reſpectable body, by his conduct in a longer ſeries of public and irreprehenſible ſervices in that ſtation than any man had ever done before him.

The king, in his ſpeech to this new parliament, declared, that he was very ſenſible of the diſagreeable and uneaſy ſituation in which their affairs were at preſent placed, and had been greatly concerned to ſee many of the inconveniencies of a war attending his ſubjects, without any opportunity of reſenting the injuries they had ſuſtained, or gaining, in return, any of thoſe advantages which the vigorous proſecution of ſo juſt a cauſe, and the ſucceſs of his arms, might probably have ſecured to them: that many difficulties had occurred to impede the execution of the preliminaries; and tho' there was great reaſon to believe that the congreſs would ſoon be opened, and all obſtructions removed, yet was it abſolutely neceſſary to continue their warlike preparations, which had hitherto prevented a general rupture in Europe, and procured to the Engliſh nation many advantages, which would be entirely loſt through a diſcontinuance of their armaments: that he was extremely deſirous of reducing the national expences, and would not fail to ſet about this neceſſary and important work, as ſoon as the intereſt of his people would permit: he earneſtly recommended to their conſideration the increaſe and encouragement of ſeamen in general, that they might be invited, rather than compelled, to enter into the ſervice of their country; a conſideration, he ſaid, well worthy the repreſentatives of a people great and flouriſhing in trade and commerce: that he hoped they would make an addition to the fund of Greenwich hoſpital, and proceed in all their deliberations with ſuch unanimity, zeal, and diſpatch, as to convince the world that none of them could be induced, from any views or motives whatever, to wiſh the diſtreſs of their country, or to give occaſion, from the proſpect of diviſions that might be excited and fomented at home, to interrupt or diſappoint their expectations from abroad.

The two houſes ſeemed to vie with each other in expreſſions of loyalty and affection to his majeſty. The lords in their addreſs complimented him in the higheſt ſtrains of applauſe, as the beſt of kings, and the true father of his country. The commons, not to be behind with them, poured forth their grateful acknowlegements for the bleſſings they enjoyed under his auſpicious reign (in which it ſhould ſeem they rather over-ſhot the mark, as it was hardly eight months old). They approved of all his tranſactions, promiſed to ſupport him in all his undertakings, and declared they would chearfully grant whatſoever ſupplies ſhould be wanted for the public ſervice.

Theſe warm profeſſions of the commons drew from the king a moſt gracious anſwer, in which he gave them thanks for their very loyal and affectionate addreſs: "Such returns of duty and gratitude from his faithful commons, he ſaid, would add, if any thing poſſibly could, to his reſolution of promoting and conſulting upon all occaſions the welfare and proſperity of his people. The entire confidence you place in me (continues his majeſty) will engage me more ſtrictly to make uſe of the power and truſt you have repoſed in me for your intereſt, and to your ſatisfaction; and you ſhall always find my readineſs to eaſe and reduce the expences of the public to your expectations." This anſwer was ſo highly pleaſing to the houſe, that they unanimouſly reſolved to return their moſt humble thanks for it by another addreſs.

Nor did they confine themſelves to words alone; for having conſidered the eſtimates which were laid before them by order of his majeſty, they voted twenty-two thouſand nine hundred and fifty-five men for the land-ſervice, and fifteen thouſand ſeamen. They granted two hundred and thirty thouſand nine hundred and twenty-three pounds for the maintenance of twelve thouſand Heſſian troops; a ſubſidy of fifty thouſand pounds to the king of Sweden; and another of half that ſum to the duke of Wolfenbuttel. The expence of the year amounted to three millions ſeven hundred and ninety-nine thouſand four hundred and fifty-four pounds ſixteen ſhillings, raiſed by the land-tax, the malt-tax, and by a loan from the Bank of one million ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, for which annuities, to the amount of ſeventy thouſand pounds, to be raiſed by the duty on coals imported into the city of London, were granted to that corporation.

We muſt not, however, ſuppoſe that theſe very liberal grants paſſed unoppoſed: the number of land-forces occaſioned a debate, and great heats aroſe about allowing the Heſſian auxiliaries. In regard to the loan of the Bank, Mr. W. Pulteney obſerved, that the ſhifting of funds was in effect only perpetuating taxes, and putting off the evil day; that although ſome perſons had arrogated great merit to themſelves in having erected the Sinking Fund, it appeared that the national debt had been increaſed ſince the ſetting up of that project. This ſubject occaſioned ſome warm altercation between this gentleman and ſir Robert Walpole.

On

On the twenty-ſixth of February the city of London preſented a petition to the houſe of commons on the affair of the coal-tax, ſetting forth, "That the duties already laid upon coal and culm imported into the port of London only affect their trade; and the inequality of the burthen thereof is a great diſcouragement to their manufactures, as well as an hardſhip upon the whole trading people in and about the city of London; and praying the houſe would give them ſuch relief as to their wiſdom ſhould ſeem meet." As the granting this petition would have entirely defeated the loan, it was rejected by the majority, and the tax was impoſed.

Great heats and debates aroſe in the houſe of commons this ſeſſion about the application of part of the public money. The commons having addreſſed the king for a particular account of the diſtribution of the money that had been granted the preceding year, a ſtate of it was laid before them; but finding a charge of two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, ſaid in general terms to have been iſſued "for ſecuring the trade and navigation of the kingdom," they preſented a ſecond addreſs, deſiring a more exact and diſtinct ſpecification of the diſburſement of that ſum. To this addreſs ſir P. Methuen, by his majeſty's command, returned for anſwer, that the laſt parliament having given the late king, his majeſty's royal father, a power to iſſue and apply ſuch ſums of money as he ſhould find neceſſary for diſcharging ſuch expences, and fulfilling ſuch engagements as had been or ſhould be made for the ſecurity of his kingdom, and the preſervation of the peace of Europe, ſome part of the money mentioned in the addreſs had been iſſued and diſburſed by his late majeſty for theſe great and neceſſary purpoſes, and the remaining part had been applied by his preſent majeſty for the like ſervices. His majeſty therefore hoped that the houſe would repoſe the ſame confidence in him as they had done in his royal father, and reſt aſſured that the money had been faithfully and neceſſarily expended, purſuant to the power given him by act of parliament, and for the uſes and purpoſes therein directed; but that a particular and diſtinct account thereof could not be given, without manifeſt prejudice to the public ſervice.

Such a meſſage, though perhaps not unprecedented, was certainly very little agreeable to the eſtabliſhed methods of proceeding between king and parliament, and would, under ſome reigns, have been conſtrued into an unpardonable ſtretch of the regal power: it was indeed too glaring to eſcape the animadverſions of the gentlemen in the oppoſition. Mr. W. Pulteney in particular inveighed againſt it, as vague, frivolous, and altogether unparliamentary, and ſuch as might be made uſe of to defeat every enquiry which that houſe might think proper to ſet on foot concerning the diſpoſal of public money. "If we allow of ſuch anſwers, ſaid he, we may reſign our moſt precious privilege as a parliament, that of enquiring into the diſtribution of public money, and the conduct of corrupt miniſters, who ought to be the objects of our cenſure." To this the advocates for the miniſtry replied, that the anſwer was conformable to another returned in the late reign to a like addreſs: there was no more reaſon, they ſaid, for diſtruſting his preſent majeſty, than there was for diſtruſting his royal father: that the commons were ſo well ſatisfied on that occaſion, that inſtead of expreſſing any diſſatisfaction, they returned the king an addreſs of thanks for his gracious anſwer. Sir Robert Walpole ſaid, that if the gentlemen on the other ſide of the queſtion would but maturely conſider the various and complicated intereſts actually ſubſiſting on the continent, they would find it abſolutely impoſſible that the public ſervice could be carried on if every ſhilling of the money, expended for the benefit of the common cauſe, and the maintenance of the balance of Europe, ſhould be laid open to all the world. In the end, the houſe reſolved, by a great majority, to accept of the anſwer returned by his majeſty.

On the fourth day of March the commons took into conſideration the ſtate of the national debt; on which affair the houſe, reſolving itſelf into a grand committee, examined the accounts, and interrogated the proper officers, when a court-member moved for the following reſolution, "That it appears to this houſe that the monies already iſſued and applied towards diſcharging the national debts incurred before Chriſtmas 1716, together with the ſum of ſix hundred and fifty-five thouſand pounds to be iſſued at Lady-day next, amount to ſix millions ſix hundred and forty-eight thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-two pounds five ſhillings and one penny farthing." The bent of this motion was evidently to appeaſe the clamour which had been raiſed, that the public debts had increaſed ſince the eſtabliſhment of the Sinking Fund. The anti-miniſterial party, on the other hand, exerted all their abilities, which are allowed to have been very great, to expoſe the fallacious tendency of this motion. Mr. Daniel Pulteney, who was at that time in high credit for his great knowlege of public buſineſs and foreign tranſactions, put himſelf at the head of the debate upon this occaſion. He was ſupported by his relation Mr. William Pulteney, Mr. Shippen, and in general by all the heads of the oppoſition.

Mr. Daniel Pulteney was a cold, but weighty ſpeaker; and tho' other members in the oppoſition had brighter parts, none of them poſſeſſed ſuperior, if equal, abilities; becauſe his capacity, which was ſound and vigorous, had been improved by ſtudy. Mr. William Pulteney inherited from nature a good underſtanding, which he had ſtudiouſly cultivated: he was well read both in hiſtory and politics, and deeply ſkilled in the Britiſh conſtitution: he was maſter of a rapid and overpowering eloquence, and ſpoke with great freedom and courage. Mr. Shippen was calm, intrepid, ſhrewd, and ſarcaſtic. Sir William Wyndham was nervous, manly, and full of ſenatorial dignity.

Theſe great men declaimed in the warmeſt terms upon the profuſe miſmanagement of the public money: they inſiſted, that notwithſtanding the very liberal grants which had been made by parliament during the laſt and preſent reign, notwithſtanding the eſtabliſhment of the Sinking Fund, the national debt was annually increaſing, and that too in a time of profound peace; a circumſtance which yielded a very melancholy proſpect, ſince at this rate the public debts muſt encreaſe farther in caſe of a foreign war, or domeſtic commotion; ſo that the heavy and numerous taxes, under which the people at preſent laboured, ſeemed likely to be entailed on them to lateſt poſterity.

In ſupport of theſe aſſertions, they demonſtrated ſeveral fraudulent artifices uſed in drawing up the accounts: they ſhewed that thoſe who had prepared them had, in order to render more capital the ſum ſaid to have been iſſued and applied toward the diſcharge of the public debts incurred before Chriſtmas 1716, added no leſs than three millions for the advanced price given in 1720, to convert the irredeemable debts into redeemables, which they urged could not with any propriety be called a payment of thoſe debts: that on the other hand, in the account of the preſent national debt, or of the increaſe of that debt ſince Chriſtmas 1716, ſeveral large ſums were omitted, particularly one million upon the credit of the civil liſt, and ſeveral deficiencies in the land-tax, malt-tax, and other funds, which certainly ſtill remain a public debt.

After having exhauſted all their rhetoric, however, the miniſterial party carried their point; for a ſecond motion being made by the oppoſition for the ſpeaker to reſume the chair, it was carried in the negative by a very great majority; in conſequence of which the firſt motion was approved without any diviſion.

The great debt due to the navy was another intereſting object of this parliament; and therefore, on the twenty-ninth of April, the houſe came to the following reſolution; "That in order to the more regular, conſtant, and punctual payment of ſeamens wages for the future, a ſum, not exceeding five hundred thouſand pounds, be granted to his majeſty, towards paying off and diſcharging ſuch part of the debt of the navy as is due upon the head of ſeamens wages."

And now the miniſter, though ſenſible that he had greatly the ſuperiority of numbers in the houſe in his favour, reſolved to eſtabliſh his credit without doors, which had been of late very ſeverely handled from the preſs, of which his opponents had in a manner the entire poſſeſſion, while he was inconceivably negligent in this reſpect: he looked upon writing to be a mechanical kind of buſineſs, and took up with the firſt pen he could find in public offices, or whom he could oblige by private liberality; and it was very ſeldom he ever read over the pamphlets or papers that were wrote even in defence of his own meaſures. But to return: Sir Robert Walpole knew that the writers for the oppoſition had, by numbers and calculations, perſuaded the people that the Sinking Fund, which had been extolled as a growing treaſure, ſacred to the diſcharge of national incumbrances, had, by a ſhameful miſapplication, proved of little or no ſervice to the purpoſe for which it was originally intended. Such a notion prevailing among the public, could by no means be favourable to the adminiſtration. The miniſter therefore, in order to retrieve his character, made a ſolemn appeal to the tribunal of majeſty itſelf, by cauſing a repreſentation to be drawn up, containing a particular detail of the national debts diſcharged and incurred ſince the twenty-fifth day of December 1716, with a ſtate of the Sinking Fund and of the public credit.

It was a very elaborate performance, and began with ſome very ſevere reflections againſt the arts which had been practiſed in order to miſlead the people in this important point: then, after ſtating the whole of the national debt, it repreſented to his majeſty, that the ſeveral national debts incurred before the twenty-fifth of December 1716, which have been ſince diſcharged, after deducting the ſum of twenty-two thouſand three hundred and fifty-ſeven pounds eight ſhillings and four-pence, do amount in the whole to ſix millions ſix hundred and twenty-ſix thouſand four hundred and four pounds ſixteen ſhillings and nine pence half-penny; and that the ſeveral national debts incurred ſince the ſaid twenty-fifth of December, 1716, and now ſubſiſting, amount together to the ſum of three millions nine hundred and twenty-ſeven thouſand nine hundred and eighty-eight pounds ſeven ſhillings and one penny three farthings, which being deducted out of the amount of the debts diſcharged, the difference is ſo much real decreaſe of the national debt ſince the twenty-fifth of December 1716, being two millions ſix hundred ninety-eight thouſand four hundred and ſixteen pounds nine ſhillings and ſeven-pence three farthings. The repreſentation then goes on to ſhew, "That by the ſeveral reductions from ſix to five, and from five now to four per cent. on the greateſt part of the public debts; ſo great ſavings of intereſt have been made, that the Sinking Fund may now be eſtimated to be about one million two hundred thouſand pounds per annum, and will be every year increaſing, from the farther ſavings of the intereſt of the remaining debts from time to time, as they ſhall be paid off: which increaſe of the Sinking Fund, from four hundred thouſand pounds to about one million two hundred thouſand pounds (ſince Midſummer 1727) being in the hands of government, and applicable from time to time to the diſcharge of the principal, makes a gain and profit to the public equal to the diſcharge of one third of the principal debt; ſo that the ſaid additional eight hundred thouſand pounds to the Sinking Fund, if valued at twenty-five years purchaſe, at which rate all annuities are now currently ſold, makes a real profit to the public of twenty millions: and if, notwithſtanding the many difficulties this nation has laboured under by an unnatural rebellion, and by the many heinous plots and conſpiracies ſince formed for overturning the religion and liberties of our country, and notwithſtanding the embroiled condition of the affairs of Europe, we have been able to diminiſh the national debts ſo much already, what may we not hope for (concludes this paper) in regard to a ſpeedy diſpatch of them for the future?"

Such was the purport of this famous repreſentation, upon which we ſhall only in brief remark, with the moſt approved writers on the other ſide of the queſtion, that although the then adminiſtration, and thoſe which ſucceeded it, had afterwards many ſuch difficulties to ſtruggle with as are enumerated in the above repreſentation, more ſurely might have been done for increaſing the Sinking Fund, by abſolutely preſerving it inviolable; although it muſt be allowed, that it would have been attended with many and great difficulties, conſidering that a ſecond rebellion, and two very expenſive wars, have happened ſince that repreſentation was made. What is paſt needs not to be enlarged upon; but ſurely hereafter (eſpecially in times of peace) a determined national frugality ought to be cultivated with the utmoſt attention; and it is earneſtly to be hoped and wiſhed, that in order to increaſe the Sinking Fund, the public might be benefited by a rational reduction of the

ſalaries of many uſeleſs offices and employments in the revenue, &c. the fee-ſimple whereof would probably amount to a greater ſum than many may apprehend, were a ſtrict enquiry made thereinto.

The repreſentation being approved of by the houſe, was preſented to his majeſty, who returned a very remarkable and favourable anſwer, importing, that he was highly pleaſed with this repreſentation, which could not fail to give general ſatisfaction to all his people, by removing thoſe groundleſs jealouſies and apprehenſions which had been propagated and diſperſed throughout the kingdom: that the happy effects of the flouriſhing ſtate of the public credit were too ſenſibly felt and ſeen, not to be confeſſed and acknowleged by every impartial perſon: that the proviſion made for gradually diſcharging the national debt was now become ſo certain and conſiderable, that nothing but ſome unforeſeen event could alter or diminiſh it; a circumſtance that afforded the faireſt proſpect of ſeeing the old debts diſcharged without the neceſſity of incurring new incumbrances: and that they might be well aſſured, that it ſhould ever be his particular care and ſtudy to maintain and preſerve the public credit, and improve the Sinking Fund, and to avoid all occaſions of laying new burdens upon his people.

This anſwer, fraught with ſo many expreſſions of fatherly tenderneſs for his ſubjects, paved the way for a meſſage from his majeſty to the houſe of commons, which was delivered on the fourth day of May by ſir P. Methuen, and conſiſted in a demand of a vote of credit, to fulfil certain engagements entered into and concerted with the advice and concurrence of the laſt parliament, for ſecuring the trade and navigation of the kingdom, and for reſtoring and preſerving the peace of Europe. This meſſage was productive of a long and violent debate; but notwithſtanding all the efforts of the oppoſition, it was carried by a majority of two hundred and thirty-ſeven againſt one hundred and one, that his majeſty's requeſt ſhould be granted. This compleated the triumph of the miniſter, who now ſeemed to have ſet his foot upon the neck of his adverſaries.

They returned, however, to the attack, not ſo much from any view of being able to make a ſucceſsful ſtand, as from a determined reſolution to render the miniſter as unpopular as poſſible. With this view a motion was made on the ſeventeenth of May, for an account of the ſale of woods, and grants of falls of woods, by his late majeſty, from Chriſtmas 1715 to January 1727, and how the ſame had been accounted for. This motion however had a negative put upon it, though it was repreſented that great waſte had been made in the royal foreſts, at a time when the nation was in the utmoſt want of timber to ſupply and ſupport the navy.

Little elſe material of public buſineſs happened this ſeſſion of parliament, if we except an addreſs of the commons to the king to purchaſe the Carolina charter, of which take the following ſhort account:

Towards the cloſe of the late reign the colonies of South and North Carolina were terribly harraſſed by the incurſions of the Indians in their neighbourhood, the inhabitants being unable, with what aſſiſtance they could procure from the adjoining colonies, to withſtand thoſe ſavages; and the lords proprietors, unwilling to take upon themſelves the expence of this Indian war, the deputies of the ſuffering colonies humbly beſought his majeſty to take them under his royal protection. The duke of Beaufort, the lord Craven, ſir John Colleton, and others, the repreſentatives of the original proprietors of thoſe two provinces, having alſo declared by petition to his majeſty their willingneſs to ſurrender their charter to the crown for a valuable conſideration; the commons thereupon addreſſed the king to contract with the ſaid lords proprietors of Carolina for the purchaſe and ſurrender of their title to that province, promiſing to make good the expence out of the next aids granted by parliament. In conſequence of this addreſs, an act was paſſed this ſeſſion, by which (for the trifling ſum of twenty-two thouſand five hundred pounds) theſe fine provinces were made regal from after the 1ſt of June 1729: and in this regal ſtate Carolina has amazingly flouriſhed and increaſed in trade and commerce, and has extended its plantations farther back or weſtward. Proper ſupplies have been ſent thither by the crown from time to time, whereby the neighbouring Indians were compelled to live in a peaceful manner, till ſome few years ago, when they were again reduced to reaſonable terms, though not without much bloodſhed *.

During this ſeſſion the parliament were chiefly employed in examining copies of ſeveral treaties and alliances which the king had laid before them. They likewiſe made an attempt to amend the ſtatute of limitations, which however miſcarried in the ſequel. They paſſed the mutiny-bill, together with thoſe relating to the public ſupplies, and ſome others of a private nature. Theſe having received the royal aſſent, the king cloſed the ſeſſion on the twenty-eighth day of May, when he thanked the commons for the effectual ſupplies they had raiſed, and in particular for having empowered him to borrow five hundred thouſand pounds for the diſcharge of wages due to the ſeamen employed in the navy.

Towards the cloſe of this ſeſſion his majeſty was pleaſed to raiſe the following gentlemen to the degree of barons of this kingdom: ſir John Monſon, by the title of lord Monſon: ſir Thomas Wentworth, by that of lord Malton: ſir John Hobart, by that of lord Hobart: and ſir Thomas Coke, by that of lord Lovel.

In the ſpring of this year the king made an excurſion to New-market, where he was waited upon by the univerſity of Cambridge, with Dr. Lambert, their vice-chancellor, at their head, who beſought his majeſty to honour them with his preſence at dinner; which invitation he moſt graciouſly accepted. At a ſmall diſtance from the town of Cambridge he was met by the mayor and corporation in their formalities, who conducted him through it to the Regent-walk, where he was received by the duke of Somerſet, then chancellor of the univerſity, attended by the whole body of

* Anderſon, vol. II. p. 317.

that illuſtrious ſeminary in their proper robes and habits. At the ſenate-houſe he ordered ſeveral degrees to be conferred; at King's-college chapel he heard divine ſervice, and dined at Trinity-college with great magnificence. His majeſty made a preſent of two thouſand pounds to the univerſity, and retired in the evening to New-market, from whence he returned to St. James's the fifth day after his having left it.

England was at this time quite barren of remarkable events. In the beginning of July ſignior Como, agent from the duke of Parma, was ordered to depart the kingdom in two days, his maſter having offered a groſs inſult to king George, by inviting the pretender to reſide in his dominions, and having received him with the honours due to the king of Great Britain.

In Auguſt ſeveral perſons were taken into cuſtody, and ſome of them ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory, and to be committed to Bridewell to hard labour, on account of printing and publiſhing Miſt's Journal of Auguſt 24, which, under colour of relating the affairs of the Perſian empire, was deemed to contain very groſs and ſcandalous reflections upon the government, and the happy eſtabliſhment in the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover. Edward Farley, printer of the Exeter Journal, for reprinting Miſt's Journal, had a bill of indictment found againſt him for high-treaſon; but upon a petition to the queen, after lying near a year in priſon, without bail or mainprize, he obtained a noli proſequi, and was cleared thereupon in open court.

The king's uncle Erneſt Auguſtus, prince of Brunſwic, duke of York, and biſhop of Oſnabrug, died at his palace of Oſnabrug on the third day of Auguſt, and was ſucceeded in the biſhopric by the elector of Cologn, according to the paction by which Oſnabrug is alternately poſſeſſed by the houſe of Brunſwic and that elector.

In the beginning of December following the nation was agreeably ſurprized by the ſudden and unexpected arrival in England of his royal highneſs prince Frederic, his majeſty's eldeſt ſon, who ſet out from Herenhauſen on the twenty-fourth of November, attended by the marquis de la Foreſt, his lord-chamberlain, and lieutenant-colonel Delaunay, of the Hanoverian guards, who had been ſent by his majeſty, they being then at the Engliſh court, to bring over his royal highneſs, ſome doubts having been urged in the privy-council concerning the non-reſidence of a prince of Wales in Great Britain. The marquis paſſed for an Engliſh gentleman, named Compton, and the prince for his ſon. Arriving in this manner incognito at Helvoetſluys, they went on board a packet then ready to ſail for Harwich, where his royal highneſs arrived on the third of December, lodged at Colcheſter that night, came to Whitechapel the next day about ſeven in the evening, and proceeded thence very privately in a hackney-coach to St. James's. The next day he was introduced to the privy-council, and created prince of Wales; and there was a brilliant and numerous court to congratulate his royal highneſs on his ſafe arrival, who was ſoon after addreſſed on the ſame occaſion from all parts of the kingdom.

The eyes of all Europe were now fixed upon the congreſs which was opened at Soiſſons on the 18th of June O. S. this year. The Britiſh miniſters were, William Stanhope, eſq. afterwards earl of Harrington; Horatio Walpole, eſq. and Stephen Poyntz, eſq. Thoſe of the emperor were, the counts Zinzendorf and Windiſgratz, and the baron Pentenreedter. Thoſe of the French court were, the cardinal de Fleury, the marquis de Fenelon, and the count de Brancas. From Spain were ſent the duke de Bournonville, the marquis de Santa Cruz, and Don Ignatio de Bernachea. The Dutch, the Swedes, the Danes, the Ruſſians, the Poles, the dukes of Holſtein, Parma, Bavaria, and the count Palatine, had likewiſe their ſeveral ambaſſadors there. But this numerous train of plenipotentiaries did little more than aſſemble in form, and produce their credentials; after which, having ſpent five or ſix months in ceremonies and diverſions, they broke up, and ſeparated without adjuſting any one material point in diſpute.

It is true, indeed, that a certain plan of accommodation, called a proviſional treaty, was framed by the miniſter of the Hanover alliance during this aſſembly, and ſent to the reſpective courts for their approbation: but as this draught of a treaty was neither reliſhed at home, nor accepted abroad, it does not deſerve much notice. I ſhall only obſerve in general, that it was little more than the preliminaries new-modelled, and digeſted into the form of a treaty, without any ſpecific explanation of thoſe points which moſt immediately affected the intereſts of Great Britain. Thus the fate of Europe was ſtill left in ſuſpence; the Engliſh fleet lay inactive in the Weſt Indies; the ſailors periſhed miſerably, without daring to revenge their country's wrongs; for the miniſtry were unwilling to engage in a war; and in the mean time the Spaniſh guarda coſtas committed daily depredations on our merchant ſhips in that quarter of the world.

Through the natural infirmities of the king of Spain, who had betaken himſelf to a peeviſh recluſe ſort of life, his queen, an Italian by birth, had engroſſed all power into her own hands. This princeſs was reſerved, reſolute, cunning, and dexterous in executing the moſt daring projects, even when attended with the moſt unpromiſing circumſtances: ſhe had fixed her heart upon the recovery of Gibraltar and Minorca; and procuring a ſettlement for her ſon Don Carlos in Italy. This made her very indifferent in regard to a reconciliation with England: but ſhe had been very aſſiduous in renewing a good underſtanding with the court of France, and now ſought to ſtrengthen her intereſt by a double marriage with the royal family of Portugal. The prince of Aſturias, eldeſt ſurviving ſon of the king of Spain by his firſt queen, now eſpouſed the infanta of Portugal; while the Spaniſh infanta, formerly affianced to the French king, but ſent back by him, was matched to the prince of Brazil, eldeſt ſon of his Portugueze majeſty. But it is now time to attend domeſtic affairs.

The parliament of Great Britain met, according to their laſt prorogation, on the twenty-firſt day of January, 1729, when his majeſty, in a ſpeech to both houſes, acquainted them, "That the plan of a proviſional treaty had already been approved by him and his allies, but that no ſatisfactory anſwer had as yet been returned by the courts of Vienna and Madrid: that this circumſtance created a ſtate of uncertainty, which gave him great uneaſineſs: but he hoped they would believe, that nothing but a regard for the eaſe and intereſt of his

his people could have prevailed upon him, rather to ſuffer ſome temporary inconveniencies, with the daily proſpect of obtaining a ſafe and honourable peace, than precipitately to kindle a war in Europe, and to plunge the nation into ſtill greater and more enormous expences: that he was ſorry to find that the ſtate of affairs obliged him to continue the public expences, in order to enable him, as events might require, to act with vigour, and in concert with his allies, who had all of them reſolved to make the ſame preparations, and to keep on foot all their extraordinary forces: that he had ſome reaſon to believe, that the courts of Vienna and Madrid had been encouraged in their dilatory proceedings by the hopes which were given them from hence of creating diſcontents and diviſions among his ſubjects; but he was perſuaded, that their known affection for him, and a juſt regard for their own honour, and for the intereſt and ſecurity of the nation, would determine them effectually to diſcourage the unnatural and pernicious practices of ſome few, who ſuggeſted the means of diſtreſſing this country, and afterwards clamoured at the inconveniencies which they themſelves had occaſioned."

A man muſt have very little diſcernment, or elſe be miſerably blinded by prejudice, not to obſerve in this ſpeech the hand of the miniſter, labouring to render odious and unpopular all thoſe who ſet themſelves up to oppoſe him. The artifice had its deſired effect; the two houſes, all compliance with the will of thoſe at the helm, joined in addreſſes that could not fail of being agreeable: purſuing the hint that had been given them, they profeſſed their deteſtation and abhorrence of thoſe who went about to diſtreſs their country, by unfair repreſentations of the ſtate of things, and clamoured at the inconveniencies they themſelves had occaſioned. The eſtimates having been examined in the uſual form, the houſe voted fifteen thouſand ſeamen for the enſuing year; but the motion for continuing the ſame number of land-forces which had been allowed in the preceding year, and which amounted to near twenty-three thouſand men, begat a warm diſpute, in which Mr. W. Pulteney and Mr. Shippen particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves: they laboured to prove, from hiſtory and experience, the dangers into which a ſtanding army brought the conſtitution: they urged, that the court of Vienna having readily agreed to the preliminaries for a general pacification, there ought to be a reduction of that augmentation of the army, which the differences lately ſubſiſting with the houſe of Auſtria had induced the parliament to agree to. Theſe arguments, however, were anſwered and repreſented as abſurd by Mr. Horatio Walpole, and other ſtaunch adherents of the miniſter, who ſaid, that as no definitive reſolution in favour of peace had been made by the courts of Vienna and Madrid, the reduction of our national troops during ſuch a ſtate of indeciſion, would only encourage the powers with whom we were at variance to inſiſt upon higher terms: in a word, the motion for continuing the army upon the ſame footing it then was, paſſed by a great majority.

The ſubſidies to Sweden, Heſſe-Caſſel, and Wolfembuttel, were continued, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of ſir Joſeph Jekyll, Mr. Lutwyche, and Mr. Pulteney; which laſt obſerved, that as the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel and the duke of Brunſwick-Wolfembuttel uſually maintained a certain number of troops in their pay, it was but reaſonable that Great Britain ſhould defray the expence only of the additional forces which thoſe powers had raiſed, in conſequence of their conventions with the king of England. Sir Robert Walpole perceiving that this remark made an impreſſion on the houſe, thought it neceſſary to vindicate his meaſure: he expatiated on the wiſdom of the late king in concluding the Hanover alliance: he affirmed that the convention with Heſſe-Caſſel had prevented a war in the empire, for which the court of Vienna had made great preparations: that the emperor had not only augmented his own forces by the help of Spaniſh ſubſidies, but alſo retained the troops of three electors; and if he had not been overawed by the Heſſians, would certainly have rejected the preliminaries, and all other advances towards a pacification: that therefore they ought not to grudge an expence which had already proved ſo beneficial to the tranquility of Europe. The queſtion being put, the court carried their point by a great majority. It was then voted to grant the pay for the twelve thouſand Heſſians, and for the duke of Wolfembuttel's troops, and five hundred thouſand pounds ſubſidy to Sweden. The houſe of commons, however, thought proper on this occaſion to addreſs his majeſty, that whenever it ſhould be neceſſary to take any foreign troops into his ſervice, he will be graciouſly pleaſed to uſe his endeavours that they may be cloathed with the manufactures of Great Britain. The ſupplies were raiſed by a continuation of the land-tax, the duties upon malt, cyder, and perry, an additional impoſition on unmalted corn uſed in diſtilling, and by the ſale of annuities to the Bank, not exceeding fifty thouſand pounds per annum.

All this time the Spaniards continued to commit great depredations on our ſhips and ſettlements in America, which ſet the Engliſh on fire to repel theſe inſults; but the miniſtry, who were entirely devoted to peace, urged, that as ſomething deciſive muſt happen ere long, it was moſt eligible, as the nation had waited ſo long, to wait a little longer before it broke out into open hoſtilities. The oppoſition taking advantage of the popular ſentiments, let ſlip no opportunity of reviling and expoſing the government, who, for the ſake of one man, ſacrificed the honour and intereſt of their country. In order to counteract theſe attempts, ſir George Oxenden made a motion in the lower houſe for an addreſs to his majeſty, in anſwer to his ſpeech from the throne, to acknowlege his majeſty's great goodneſs and wiſdom in endeavouring to avoid all difficulties and delays, by concerting the moſt expeditious methods of bringing the negotiations at Soiſſons to a ſpeedy and honourable concluſion; expreſſing their grateful ſenſe of his majeſty's watchful care for the eaſe and intereſt of his people, in declining to plunge the nation into an expenſive war, as long as there was any proſpect of obtaining a ſafe and honourable peace; and, finally, aſſuring him that the houſe, in an entire confidence of his majeſty's tender regard for his own honour, and that of the nation, reſted fully ſatisfied that, as ſoon as neceſſity required, he would

would not fail to take the firſt opportunity of doing juſtice to himſelf and the nation, in ſecuring the trade and commerce of the kingdom.

The oppoſition, however, were prepared for this counter-ſtroke, and endeavoured to return it back upon the miniſtry, by rendering them obnoxious to the trading part of the kingdom. With this view they moved for an amendment in ſir George's propoſed addreſs, and that the word *reſtore* ſhould be ſubſtituted in the room of *ſecure* the commerce of the kingdom. This cavil, it muſt be confeſſed, did little honour to thoſe who raiſed it, being at beſt but a poor quibble upon words. However, it ſo far anſwered the end, as to raiſe a warm debate upon a point the miniſtry were not very able to defend, their paſſive behaviour in regard to the inſults of the Spaniards. Sir William Yonge was at this time a frequent and a ready ſpeaker, and his oratory was florid and captivating. Some part of his private life, however, had been ſuch as had created him many enemies; and the prepoſſeſſion which prevailed againſt him, had extended itſelf to his parliamentary and miniſterial character, though in this point of view he certainly exhibited many ſtrong abilities. On this occaſion he ſet himſelf with all his ſtrength to refute the arguments brought by the oppoſition in ſupport of their amendment. He ſaid, that the diſtinction between *reſtoring* and *ſecuring* commerce, was a diſtinction without a difference; becauſe ſuppoſing (which however he would by no means admit) the Britiſh commerce was ruined, it might be reſtored before it could be ſecured. He obſerved, that whatever was juſt in the outcry againſt the Spaniſh depredations, was in a great meaſure owing to the intolerable avarice of ſome Engliſh interlopers, who carried on an unlawful traffick with the ſubjects of Spain in America, in defiance of treaties and the law of nations, as well as to the manifeſt prejudice of the fair Britiſh trader.

The oppoſition were ſtrengthened in this diſpute by ſir Joſeph Jekyll, maſter of the rolls. He was eſteemed an upright judge, and an uncorrupt ſenator. His knowlege both in law and equity were conſummate; but he was a weak politician, and a very indifferent ſpeaker. His prepoſſeſſions in favour of the old Whig principles were ſo ſtrong, that he could not bear the thoughts of England detaching herſelf from the houſe of Auſtria, and joining her intereſt with that of Bourbon. This was a revolution in politics which he could not comprehend; and which, in his opinion, endangered the conſtitution of the kingdom, the ſecurity of which, he ſaid, ought to be ſtill more dear to them than the ſecurity of commerce. In a word, the ableſt ſpeakers on both ſides exerted their utmoſt abilities in this debate; but the queſtion being at laſt put, whether the addreſs ſhould ſtand in its original form, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of two hundred and ninety-four againſt eighty-ſeven.

It happening, however, that the Spaniards made prize of ſome of our ſhips engaged in a lawful trade, the indignation of the public could be no longer reſtrained: petitions were delivered to the houſe of commons from the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Briſtol, complaining of the interruption they had ſuffered in their trade for ſeveral years, by the depredations of the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies. Theſe being conſidered, the houſe ordered the lords of the admiralty to produce the other memorials of the ſame kind which they had received, that they might be laid before the congreſs at Soiſſons; and addreſſed his majeſty for copies of all the letters and inſtruments which had been ſent to admiral Hoſier, and thoſe who ſucceeded him in the command of the Weſt India ſquadron. Having obtained theſe neceſſary informations, they enquired into the particulars, examined evidence, and drew up an addreſs to his majeſty, deſiring he would be graciouſly pleaſed to uſe his utmoſt endeavours for preventing ſuch depredations, for procuring juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction, and for ſecuring to his ſubjects the free exerciſe of commerce and navigation to and from the Britiſh colonies in America. The king aſſured them, he would uſe his beſt endeavours to anſwer the deſires and expectations of his people in an affair of ſo much importance; and they in another addreſs thanked him for his gracious anſwer.

The commons having made farther progreſs in the enquiry, and received freſh petitions from the merchants, agreed to the following reſolutions; that ſeveral ſhips, merchandizes, and effects belonging to the merchants of this kingdom, trading to Spain, Portugal, and Italy, had been taken by the Spaniards, in manifeſt violation of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns, for which no reſtitution had as yet been made; and that the maſters and crews of ſeveral ſhips had been barbarouſly and inhumanly treated: that, in order to take the neceſſary care of the intereſts and properties of his majeſty's ſubjects and thoſe of his allies, who were deeply concerned in the cargo and effects belonging to the flota and galleons; and to the end that the ſaid treaſure ſhould not be employed in carrying on and ſupporting dangerous meaſures and engagements againſt his majeſty and his allies, the orders and inſtructions given to vice-admiral Hoſier to block up the flota and galleons, and to endeavour to ſecure and detain them without embezzlement, until juſtice and ſatisfaction ſhould be given to his majeſty and his allies, were juſt, prudent, and neceſſary, tending very much to prevent an open rupture, and to preſerve the peace and tranquillity of Europe. Theſe reſolutions were communicated in an addreſs to his majeſty, who was again requeſted to uſe his endeavours to procure ſatisfaction to the unhappy ſufferers; and he aſſured the houſe that he would not fail to comply with their requeſt.

The Spaniſh miniſtry, on the other hand, inſiſted that the Engliſh, being excluded by treaty from any right to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, or of trading to that bay, their cruizers and guarda coſtas were warrantable in ſeizing and detaining all ſuch veſſels as they ſhould find purſuing that illicit trade. To ſet this matter, which was the foundation of moſt of our diſputes with the Spaniſh court, in a true light, I ſhall preſent my readers (from Mr. Anderſon's celebrated Treatiſe on Commerce, and other authorities) with a ſhort hiſtorical deduction of the right claimed by the Britiſh nation, to retain a colony, and to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy.

It was in the year 1662 that the Engliſh, from their colonies on the north continent of America,

firſt began to cut down the logwood trees, growing in infinite quantities on the uninhabited coaſts of the province of Jucatan, and more eſpecially in the bay of Campeachy, where they made a ſettlement for that end, as it was not near to any Spaniſh ſettlement or inhabitants. Their firſt ſettlement was near Cape Catoche, next the Laguna di Terminos, which was found more convenient, and where the Engliſh buccaneers afterwards found themſelves obliged to ſettle, upon the treaty of Madrid between England and Spain in 1667; which treaty, though it made no particular mention of America by name, expreſsly ſtipulated "A general, firm, and perpetual amity between the two crowns, as well by land as by ſea, and between all the countries under the obedience of either of the kings." By the year 1669 that Engliſh ſettlement was conſiderably increaſed, and much logwood was carried from thence both to New England and Jamaica. In the year 1670 was concluded at Madrid, by ſir W. Godolphin, the firſt treaty between England and Spain which expreſsly related to America, and therefore is uſually called the American treaty.

By this convention the *then* poſſeſſions of both nations in America are confirmed. This gave encouragement to more of our people to ſettle with the above-mentioned logwood cutters, as it was in a deſolate and unplanted country, and that the Spaniards had not hitherto made any complaints about it: for it was not till the year 1672 that the Spaniards began to interrupt our logwood cutters there, or to make the leaſt remonſtrances to our court againſt their ſettling in that bay. Soon after, however, the Spaniards became ſo uneaſy at that ſettlement, and our cutting the logwood, that they actually made prize of all Engliſh veſſels they met in the American ſeas which had any of that commodity on board; of which the earl of Arlington, the Engliſh ſecretary of ſtate, loudly complained to the Spaniſh court by a letter, in the year 1674: for, as the ſole advantage our court had in view by concluding the American treaty was, that our people might, without interruption, trade to our own colonies, and peaceably enjoy our then poſſeſſions in America, we were herein greatly fruſtrated by the court of Spain's conduct; ſo that this American treaty has ever ſince afforded a handle or pretence to that court to ſeize on our ſhips ſailing along their American coaſts, although with no intention of carrying on any contraband trade. It has occaſionally been farther improved by Spain, to the having any quantity of pieces of eight to be ſeized, when found on board our ſhips near their American coaſts; yet (excepting two or three months in the year 1680 that the Spaniards, by a conſiderable force, diſlodged our logwood-cutters from the Laguna di Terminos, and the iſland de Triſt) our people have remained in poſſeſſion thereof. In the year 1717 the marquis de Monteleone delivered a memorial againſt the Britiſh ſubjects ſettlements in the iſle of Triſt, and one near the Laguna di Terminos, in the province of Jucatan and bay of Campeachy, where they continued to cut logwood; declaring, that if in the ſpace of eight months they do not leave the ſaid place, they ſhall be looked upon and treated as pirates. Hereupon the matter was referred by the king to the board of trade: they gave it as their opinion, that the Engliſh had a right to cut logwood there; which opinion was founded on the principles above related, confirmed by the treaty of Utrecht; wherein, after confirming the American treaty, a ſtipulation is inſerted, that the ſame ſhall be without any prejudice to any liberty or power which the ſubjects of Great Britain enjoyed before, either through right, ſufferance, or indulgence.

The attention of the commons was not ſo wholly engroſſed by affairs of a public nature as to ſuffer them to neglect certain matters of a domeſtic kind, which were about this time brought before them, and which were very important and intereſting objects. Some public-ſpirited gentlemen, at the head of whom was Mr. (afterwards general) Oglethorpe, having received intimations of the cruelties and oppreſſions practiſed throughout almoſt all the goals in the kingdom upon priſoners, particularly in his majeſty's priſon of the Fleet; Mr. Oglethorpe, who was a member of the commons, laid the information he had received before the houſe; upon which a committee was appointed, with Mr. Oglethorpe for their chairman, to enquire into the ſtate of all the gaols over the kingdom; and on the twenty-ſeventh of February they repaired to the Fleet priſon, that they might examine the priſoners in their own perſons. In conſequence of this viſitation, what before ſeemed juſtly alarming, now roſe into circumſtances of ſuch complicated guilt, as filled the committee with horror. Whereupon the houſe came to ſeveral reſolutions, and committed Huggins and Bambridge, the late and preſent wardens, with ſeveral of their underſtrappers, cloſe priſoners to Newgate. A ſtate of the Fleet priſon was publiſhed, which diſplayed a lamentable ſcene of cruelty and barbarity. Huggins and Bambridge were tried for many crimes and miſdemeanors, as well as murder; but were unexpectedly acquitted. One Acton, farmer of and clerk to the Marſhalſea, was alſo tried for murder, and acquitted. The iſſue of the whole was, that the gaols were put under proper regulations, and our unhappy fellow-ſubjects beneath the preſſure of misfortunes, delivered from the gripe of villains who had made a practice of adding miſery, torment, and extortion, to wretchedneſs.

Complaints having been made of the deficiency of the civil liſt revenue, ſome members moved for an addreſs to his majeſty, intreating him to order an account of theſe revenues for one year to be laid before the houſe. The addreſs was preſented, the account produced, and the houſe reſolved itſelf into a grand committee, to take the affair into conſideration. The miniſtry affirmed that they fell ſhort of the eight hundred thouſand pounds ſettled upon his majeſty; and therefore moved that the ſum of one hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds ſhould be granted to the king on account of thoſe deficiencies and arrears.

This motion was vehemently oppoſed by all the members of the anti-miniſterial party: they inſiſted, from the examination of the officers of the revenue at their bar, with ſeveral accounts that had been delivered to the houſe, that this ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds and more was actually ſtanding out in arrears which would be ſoon paid into the Exchequer. The pretence of a deficiency was therefore given up, and the one hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds were in a manner begged by way of ſalvo, to the credit of thoſe who firſt demanded it as a juſt debt. Nay, for their honour,

there is a clauſe inſerted in the act which grants it, ſhewing it to be true; for it is there enacted, that the ſum of one hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds ſhall be repaid out of any arrears of the civil liſt at his majeſty's demiſe.

The ſum of ninety-three thouſand nine hundred and forty pounds of the late queen's civil liſt lottery, which remained unſubſcribed to the South-ſea company, being entirely paid off in the year 1728, by the thirty-five thouſand per annum appropriated for this ſervice; and there being an annual ſum of ſixteen thouſand four hundred pounds then remaining more than what anſwered the bare intereſt of that part of the lottery which was ſubſcribed into the South-ſea company, this annual ſum of ſixteen thouſand four hundred pounds was judged to belong to the civil liſt, and accordingly was taken, though, by an act of the ſixth Geo. I. the whole thirty-five thouſand pounds were appropriated for ever, with the other branches of the Sinking Fund, towards the payment of the national debt. Few perſons, however, were ſurpriſed at the frequent neceſſities of the civil liſt, notwithſtanding that ample revenue which was ſettled on the crown in the preceding reign, when it was found that no leſs a ſum than one million three hundred and thirty-ſix thouſand pounds was paid in four years, from March 1721 to March 1725, for penſions, bounties, and ſecret ſervice-money, which is annually above half the civil liſt revenue.

It was from a reflection on the damage that muſt accrue by ſuch profuſion to both prince and people, and even to the miniſters themſelves, as it induced a corrupt dependence thro' all ranks and degrees of men, that the moſt reputable members in the oppoſition reſolved to make a ſtand againſt this torrent, and, if poſſible, leſſen the miniſterial influence. With this view a bill was produced by Mr. Watkyns-William Wynn, for the more effectually preventing bribery and corruption in parliamentary elections. The title of this bill being ſo truly unexceptionable, the miniſter, fearful of encreaſing too much the popular clamour againſt him ſhould he oppoſe it, though, on the other hand, if he ſuffered it to paſs, his influence would be greatly diminiſhed thereby, was for ſome time at a loſs how to act: at length his prudence determined him to give it no oppoſition, and the bill accordingly paſſed through the lower houſe with great diſpatch.

When it came into the houſe of peers, that auguſt aſſembly thought proper to raiſe the penalty upon a corrupt voter, party, or agent, in the election for a member of parliament, from fifty to five hundred pounds; and the perſon ſo convicted to be for ever diſabled to vote in any election, and diſqualified from holding any office or franchiſe as a member of any city, borough, town-corporate, or cinque-ports. The lords likewiſe added to this bill the following clauſe: "That ſuch votes ſhall be deemed to be legal, which have been ſo declared by the laſt determination in the houſe of commons, concerning any county, ſhire, city, borough, cinque-port, or place, and ſhall be final to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever, any uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding."

In the mean time their lordſhips had taken into their conſideration the ſtate of the nation, particularly the poſitive demand made by the court of Spain for the reſtitution of Gibraltar, grounded on a letter written by the late king to his Catholic majeſty, a copy of which was laid before the houſe. The lords engaged in the oppoſition took occaſion from this letter to declaim violently againſt the miniſtry; and moved to reſolve, that for the honour of his majeſty, and the preſervation and ſecurity of the trade and commerce of this kingdom, effectual care ſhould be taken in the treaty now depending, that the king of Spain do renounce all claim and pretenſion to Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca, in plain and ſtrong terms.

This motion however was oppoſed by the lords of the court-party, who inſiſted, in the firſt place, that the pretenſions of the court of Madrid were in themſelves abſurd and frivolous, ſince it appeared by the copy of the letter before them, that his majeſty had only ſaid that he would make uſe of the firſt favourable opportunity to regulate the article of the reſtitution of Gibraltar, *with the conſent of his parliament*; the promiſe therefore was no other than conditional, and could not in any ſenſe be binding to his Britannic majeſty, unleſs his parliament ſhould give their conſent. Furthermore, they ſaid, that in their opinion Great Britain had a much better right, by the treaty of Utrecht, to Gibraltar and Minorca, than ſhe poſſibly could have by any perſonal act or renunciation of his Catholic majeſty. The deſiring therefore any ſuch act would imply a kind of invalidity of the right by which theſe poſſeſſions were already held. It was not to be doubted, they ſaid, that the king and kingdom of Spain would readily embrace the firſt opportunity of endeavouring to recover theſe places; nor would any renunciation, however ſtrong and peremptory, prevent their ſeizing ſuch an opportunity whenever it ſhould offer. Beſides, ſhould his Catholic majeſty, as there was reaſon to believe he would, refuſe to grant any ſuch renunciation as was now propoſed, all Europe would be apt to think that Great Britain held theſe conqueſts by a very weak and invalid title. After theſe and other arguments, the queſtion being put, a negative was put upon the motion, though not without a ſpirited proteſt on the part of ſeventeen peers.

The court-party, however, had ſo much prudence in the midſt of their triumph, as not to ſuffer a matter of ſo much importance to paſs wholly neglected. Poſſibly the miniſter might think that all his power and influence would not be able to counterbalance the indignation which the people in general muſt have felt on the appearance of a ſettled deſign to give up theſe two valuable poſſeſſions. It was therefore reſolved to proceed on the affair in the moſt ſolemn manner: a meſſage was ſent to the commons, inviting them to a free conference in the Painted Chamber, relating to the ſubject in debate, which was agreed to on the part of the latter, when the lords deſired their concurrence to the following reſolution; "That they do entirely rely upon his majeſty that he will, for the maintaining the honour and ſecuring the trade of this kingdom, take effectual care in the preſent treaty to preſerve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca."

The oppoſition in the lower houſe, however, were not to be moved from their firſt principles: they inſiſted ſtrenuouſly upon a *ſpecifical* renunciation of thoſe places on the part of Spain; they ſpoke the voice of the nation, who could not without

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out concern ſee this eſſential object left liable to conteſt and altercation. The energy, the clearneſs of argument made uſe of by the minority on this occaſion, brought over many members from the court-ſide, as appeared from the putting of the queſtion, when the miniſtry carried their point only by a majority of two hundred and ſixty-ſeven againſt one hundred and eleven.

The commons thus agreeing with the peers in their reſolution, a joint addreſs was preſented to the king from both houſes on the twenty-fifth of March, 1729, when his majeſty was pleaſed in his anſwer to promiſe them, "That he would take care to ſecure his undoubted right to Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca."

When the lords took under their examination the papers relating to the Spaniſh depredations, many ſevere reflections were thrown out againſt the conduct of the miniſtry; and a motion was made to reſolve, That admiral Hoſier's expedition was an unreaſonable burden on the nation; but this too was rejected, and occaſioned another proteſt. Nor did the clauſe for granting one hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds to his majeſty, to make good the deficiency in the civil liſt, paſs thro' the houſe of peers without warm oppoſition. Divers lords alleged (as had before been done by ſome of the commons) that inſtead of a deficiency in the civil liſt revenues, there was a conſiderable ſurplus: that this was a new grant, and a new burden on the people: that the nation was loaded, not to complete, but to augment the ſum deſigned for the civil liſt; and this at a time when the public debts were increaſed, and when the taxes were heavily felt in all parts of the country. They obſerved, that if the produce of the civil liſt revenue ſhould not amount to the yearly ſum of 800,000 l. the deficiency muſt be made good to his majeſty by the public; whereas no proviſion was made by which, if the produce of thoſe revenues ſhould exceed that ſum, the ſurplus ſhould accrue to the benefit of the public: that by this precedent, not only real deficiencies were to be made good, but alſo ſupplies were to be given for arrears ſtanding out at the end of every year, which ſhould come on before the ſupplies could be granted, though the ſupply given to make good arrears in one year, would certainly encreaſe the ſurpluſages in another: that the revenues of the civil liſt were variable in their own nature; and even when there is no deficiency in the produce, there might be arrears in the receipt: theſe might eaſily be increaſed by the management of deſigning miniſters, by private directions to receivers, and by artful methods of ſtating accounts. All theſe arguments, all theſe objections, however, ſerved only to evince the weakneſs of the oppoſition, and the overbearing influence of the miniſter. Every motion made by the oppoſition was baffled: every motion propoſed by the court-party was carried by an amazing majority.

At length the complicated buſineſs of this ſeſſion being ſpun out to its utmoſt length, altercation was out of breath: each party wiſhed to retire from the buſtle of buſineſs; the one to enjoy its triumph, the other to brood over its diſcontent. His majeſty, on May 14, after giving, among a number of other acts, the royal aſſent to one enabling the queen to be regent of the kingdom during his abſence, without taking the oaths; and another for the relief of inſolvent debtors, and to thirty-two private bills, put an end to the ſeſſion by a ſpeech, in which he ſignified his intention of viſiting his German dominions; and ſet out for Hanover on the twentieth day of the ſame month.

Great Britain at this time enjoyed uninterrupted repoſe, and commerce continued to increaſe. In the beginning of June the fleet at Spithead, under the command of ſir Charles Wager, was joined by eleven Dutch ſhips of war under vice-admiral Somerſdyke. This ſquadron was intended for the coaſt of Spain, in caſe affairs did not take a favourable turn with that court; but the treaty of Seville being agreed upon towards the end of the ſummer, the Dutch ſquadron returned to Holland in the beginning of October, and the Engliſh fleet ſeparated ſoon after.

The people of Ireland found themſelves happy under the government of lord Carteret; and their parliament aſſembling in the month of September, conducted their deliberations with the true ſpirit of patriotiſm. They ſettled funds for the diſcharge of their national debts, and for anſwering the exigencies of government: they gave all poſſible encouragement to manufacture, trade, and agriculture; and enacted ſeveral wiſe and wholeſome laws for the improvement of domeſtic oeconomy. The ſeſſion in that kingdom being cloſed, lord Carteret repaired to England, and was ſucceeded as lord-lieutenant of Ireland by the duke of Dorſet. Colonel Stanhope, who was about this time created earl of Harrington, was appointed one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, in the room of lord Townſhend, who reſigned; ſo that ſir Robert Walpole now ſaw himſelf without a rival in the miniſterial ſphere. The earl of Waldegrave was appointed ambaſſador to France, to congratulate Lewis XV. on the birth of a dauphin, which filled that court with inexpreſſible joy.

Savoy at this time furniſhed the world with an extraordinary ſight. Victor Amadeus II. king of Sardinia, and duke of Savoy, the ſame who was ſometimes the ally and ſometimes the friend of France and Auſtria, and whoſe wavering conduct had paſſed for policy, being tired of the burden of public affairs, and weary of himſelf, abdicated, through mere caprice, in the month of September this year, at the age of ſixty-four, a crown which he had worn the firſt of his family. He reſigned the regal authority to his ſon Charles Emanuel, prince of Piedmont, and reſerving to himſelf a revenue of one hundred thouſand piſtoles per annum, retired to the caſtle of Chamberry, and eſpouſed his favourite miſtreſs the counteſs dowager of St. Sebaſtian, who declined the title of queen, but aſſumed that of marchioneſs of Somerive.

In October Peter II. czar of Muſcovy, and grandſon of Peter I. died in the fifteenth year of his age, at Moſcow, and was ſucceeded on the throne by the princeſs Anne-Ivanowna, ſecond daughter of Ivan (John) Alexowitz, elder brother of the firſt Peter, and widow of William duke of Courland. The following month died pope Benedict XIII. in whoſe room cardinal Laurentio Corſini was raiſed to the pontificate, and aſſumed the name of Clement XII.

All this time the negotiations at Soiſſons ſeemed at a ſtand: at length it was agreed to open conferences at Seville between the plenipotentiaries of England,

England, France, and Spain. The earl of Harrington, who had this year been nominated ambaſſador extraordinary to his Catholic majeſty, had the management of this treaty on the part of Great Britain, together with Mr. Keen, our plenipotentiary at the court of Madrid, the Spaniſh plenipotentiaries being the marquis de la Paz, and Don Joſeph Patinho.

By this treaty, which was ſigned on the ninth day of November, 1729, N. S. it was ſtipulated that all former treaties and conventions between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain ſhould be as amply confirmed as if they had been expreſsly repeated: that their Britannic and Catholic majeſties ſhould guaranty to each other their reſpective dominions; and in caſe either of them ſhould be attacked, the other ſhould furniſh to the party ſo invaded a body of twelve thouſand men: that all ſuch engagements contracted by his Britannic majeſty, in conſequence of the treaty of Vienna, as were inconſiſtent with the treaties ſubſiſting between the crowns of England and Spain, antecedent to the year 1725, ſhould be rendered void and invalid: that the commerce of the Engliſh and French nations, both in Europe and the Indies, ſhould be reſtored to its former footing, and orders ſhould be inſtantly diſpatched on all ſides for that purpoſe: that his Catholic majeſty ſhould make reparation for all the damages that had been done by his ſubjects to thoſe of the other two parties: that commiſſaries ſhould be nominated, with ſufficient powers, on the part of their Britannic and Catholic majeſties, who ſhould aſſemble at the court of Spain, within the ſpace of four months after the ratification, or ſooner, if poſſible, to decide whatever concerned the ſhips and effects taken on either ſide: that the ſaid commiſſioners ſhould likewiſe examine and decide, according to treaties, the reſpective pretenſions which relate to the abuſes that were ſaid to have been committed in commerce, as well in the Indies as in Europe, and all other reſpective pretenſions in America founded on treaties, whether with reſpect to the limits or otherwiſe: that the ſaid commiſſioners ſhould likewiſe diſcuſs and decide the pretenſions which his Catholic majeſty might have by the treaty of 1721, to the reſtitution of the ſhips taken by the Engliſh fleet in 1718: that the ſaid commiſſioners, after having examined, diſcuſſed, and decided the above-mentioned claims and pretenſions, ſhould make a report of their proceedings to their Britannic and Catholic majeſties, who by the preſent treaty promiſed, that in the ſpace of ſix months after making the ſaid report, they would cauſe to be executed punctually and exactly what ſhould have been ſo decided by the ſaid commiſſioners. His Catholic majeſty engages to ſend ſix thouſand of his troops, without loſs of time, to garriſon Leghorn, Porto Ferraro, Parma, and Placentia, for the better ſecuring and preſerving the ſucceſſion of thoſe ſtates in favour of Don Carlos, and to be ready to withſtand any enterprize and oppoſition that might be formed to the prejudice of what had already been regulated touching the ſucceſſion. The contracting powers alſo promiſe to take the ſofteſt and moſt effectual means of perſuading the dukes of Tuſcany and Parma to admit theſe garriſons, upon their promiſing to take an oath to be faithful to the reigning powers in every thing that ſhould not be contrary to the right of ſucceſſion reſerved to the infanta Don Carlos; and upon their engaging not to meddle directly nor indirectly in the government of the places where they ſhould be garriſoned, and to pay to the dukes of Tuſcany and Parma all the honours due to ſovereigns in their own dominions; and as ſoon as the ſucceſſion of theſe territories ſhould be quietly ſettled in the perſon of Don Carlos, his Catholic majeſty engages to withdraw his troops from the ſaid garriſons: the contracting princes agree, on their parts, to become guarantees to Don Carlos for the quiet poſſeſſion and enjoyment of the ſaid ſtates of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, after he ſhall have once obtained them.

By the thirteenth article of this treaty the kings of England and France promiſe to ratify and guaranty all the particular regulations that ſhall be concerted between his Catholic majeſty and the two dukes of Tuſcany and Parma, relating to the aforeſaid garriſons. The fourteenth and laſt article ſtipulates, that the States-general of the United Provinces ſhall be invited to accede to the treaty, the ratifications of which were to be diſpatched within the ſpace of ſix weeks at fartheſt.

Beſides theſe, there were two ſeparate articles, by which it was expreſsly ſtipulated, for the greater exactneſs, that the treaties of peace and commerce at Utrecht between Great Britain and Spain, in which are compriſed the treaty of 1669 and of 1715; as alſo the Aſſiento contract of 1713, and its farther explanation, anno 1716, ſhall from this day (even during the examination by the commiſſaries) remain in their full force and vigour, for which end the Catholic king ſhall diſpatch his cedulas to his vice-roys, &c. in America as well as in Europe; as alſo his Britannic majeſty to his governors, &c. for the releaſe of all ſhips and merchandize, and particularly the South-ſea company's ſhip Prince Frederic and her cargo, ſhall be immediately reſtored: all which under the before-named guarantee.

In the acceſſion of the States-general (which was performed in this ſame month) they were to furniſh only four thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe; and on the part of the other allies, they were to guaranty the aboliſhing the Oſtend Eaſt India company; and the Catholic king engages that entire ſatisfaction ſhall be given them (the Dutch) for their grievances, as well in the Weſt Indies as in Europe, and to re-eſtabliſh their commerce, agreeable to former treaties; and, laſtly, to grant them all the commercial privileges enjoyed by the nations moſt favoured.

Such were the contents of the famous treaty of Seville, which afterwards produced ſuch an alteration in the ſyſtem of Europe, by the concurrence of other events.

His majeſty having returned to England from his German dominions, in the beginning of September, opened the ſeſſion on the third of January, 1730, with a ſpeech, in which he informed them, That he had concluded an abſolute peace with Spain, and thereby prevented the miſeries and calamities inſeparable from a war. He aſſured them, that the peace was agreeable to the purport and intention of former treaties, and calculated to render effectual the ſtipulations of the quadruple alliance: that ſufficient proviſion had been made for the indemnification and future ſecurity of the trading intereſt: and that he had given orders for

making an immediate reduction both of his land and ſea-forces. He then concluded with recommending to their conſideration the ſtate of public credit, and the hardſhips of poor artificers and manufacturers.

The commons being returned to their houſe, ſir Robert Walpole laid before them the treaty of Seville, when lord Fitzwilliams made a motion for a loyal addreſs of thanks to the throne, conceived in much the ſame terms as the ſpeech. This motion, however, was vehemently oppoſed by the country party, who propoſed ſimply to aſſure his majeſty of the ſteady and zealous attachment of the houſe to his royal perſon, government, and family, and of their readineſs to ſupport him in all meaſures which ſhould be neceſſary for the honour and dignity of the crown, and for the intereſt and welfare of his people. In ſupport of this allegation they threw out many ſevere and bitter reflections againſt the ſubſtance of the treaty: they urged, that the miniſtry had impoſed upon his majeſty in calling the peace an abſolute peace, inaſmuch as the moſt important intereſts of Great Britain were left to a future deciſion. It was no wonder indeed, they ſaid, that the miniſter and his friends, who triumphed ſo much the year before on the mere project or draught of a treaty, ſhould diſcover the ſame ſpirit of exultation upon procuring a formal one, actually ſigned, though there was ſtill wanting the acceſſion of one power, whoſe conſent was moſt neceſſary to the putting it in execution; for, as the introduction of ſix thouſand Spaniſh forces into the ſtrong places of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, inſtead of ſix thouſand neutrals ſtipulated by the quadruple alliance, was the baſis of the Seville treaty, the concurrence of the emperor, to whom the feodality of theſe ſtates belonged, was certainly requiſite to the amicable execution of it; and yet he was not ſo much as complimented in the treaty with an invitation to accede, as the Dutch were by an expreſs article. The miniſter maintained that the peace was abſolute, and that no difficulties could happen in the execution of it, unleſs the Spaniards and other powers were encouraged to raiſe them, by the diſſenſions that might happen amongſt us at home: he attempted to prove, that this treaty under conſideration was framed to anſwer every deſirable purpoſe, could give the emperor no diſguſt, ſecured our right to Gibraltar and Minorca, and would procure reparation to our merchants; aſſertions which, however, appear not to have been juſtified by the events. The queſtion being at laſt put, whether to draw up the addreſs in the original form propoſed, the majority carried it in the affirmative.

After both houſes had preſented their addreſſes of thanks and congratulation to his majeſty on the peace of Seville, the lords took that treaty into conſideration, and it did not paſs without ſevere animadverſions. The lords in the oppoſition obſerved, firſt, that the merchants of Great Britain were ſubjected to great inconveniencies, by being obliged to make proof of their loſſes at the court of Spain. They ſaid, that this ſtipulation was not only a hardſhip on Britiſh ſubjects, but alſo diſhonourable to the nation: that few would care to undertake ſuch a troubleſome and expenſive journey, eſpecially as they had reaſon to apprehend their claims would be counterbalanced by the Spaniards; and after all, they would have no more but the ſlender comfort of hoping to obtain that redreſs by commiſſaries, which they had not been able to procure by plenipotentiaries. They thought it very extraordinary that Great Britain ſhould be bound to ratify and guaranty whatever agreement ſhould be made between the king of Spain and the dukes of Parma and Tuſcany, concerning the garriſons once eſtabliſhed in their countries: that the Engliſh ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt in effectuating the introduction of ſix thouſand Spaniſh troops into the towns of Tuſcany and Parma, without any ſpecification of the methods to be taken, or the charge to be incurred in giving that aſſiſtance: that they ſhould guaranty for ever, not only to Don Carlos, but even to all his ſucceſſors, the poſſeſſion of the eſtates of Tuſcany and Parma; a ſtipulation which, they ſaid, would in all probability involve Great Britain in endleſs quarrels and diſputes, about a country with which they had no concern. They affirmed, that the treaty of Seville, inſtead of confirming other treaties, was contradictory to the quadruple alliance, particularly in the introducing Spaniſh troops into Tuſcany and Parma in the room of neutral forces, ſtipulated by the former alliance, and agreeing that they ſhould remain there until Don Carlos and his ſucceſſors ſhould be ſecure and exempt from all hazards.

The court-party, on the other hand, inſiſted that there neither was nor could be any eſſential difference, if the emperor was ſincerely and heartily diſpoſed to fulfil the terms of the quadruple alliance, with regard to the eventual ſucceſſion of the duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia: that introducing Spaniſh inſtead of neutral troops into the garriſons of thoſe dominions, could make no material difference, eſpecially as the treaty had in the ſtrongeſt manner ſtipulated the recalling thoſe troops, as ſoon as the ſucceſſion to the duchies, which was a main object of the quadruple alliance, ſhould be ſecured: and finally, that though there was an immaterial difference, which might give umbrage to the court of Vienna, between the treaty in queſtion and the quadruple alliance; yet the preſervation of the tranquillity of Europe, and the obtaining ſatisfaction and ſecurity to our commerce, were conſiderations that ought infinitely to outweigh any apprehenſions from a reſentment that could be founded only on pride and ambition.

In anſwer to this plea of the miniſterial advocates, it was obſerved by the oppoſition, firſt, that ſuppoſing this treaty ſo deviating from the former alliance, not to be prejudicial to the intereſts of his Imperial majeſty, yet that the manner of making the alteration without his conſent, and by way of triumph over him as a great ſtroke in politics, would be thought a reflection upon his honour at leaſt, and muſt be attended with very fatal conſequences. They likewiſe undertook to prove that the introduction of Spaniſh troops would be really prejudicial to the emperor and the empire, even according to the method of reaſoning adopted by the advocates for this meaſure, they having plainly intimated that the deſign of the Seville treaty was to reſtrain the emperor's power in Italy; and conſequently it was his intereſt to defeat that deſign, however it might be the intereſt of others to put it in execution. They obſerved furthermore, that this avowed end of the Seville treaty was aggravated by another, which had likewiſe been cried

up by the friends of the miniſter as a maſter-piece of politics, namely, the ſeparation of Spain from the emperor, and thereby diſſolving the Vienna alliance, which had been repreſented ſo advantageous to the latter. Did not this, they aſked, affect the intereſts of his Imperial majeſty? or could it be reaſonably expected that he would not reſent it?

The country party went ſtill farther, and ſhewed that the variation from neutral to Spaniſh troops (without inſiſting on the affront, or having any regard to the Vienna alliance) was highly prejudicial both to the emperor and the empire; for the neutral troops ſtipulated by the quadruple alliance, were deſigned not only to leave the eventual ſucceſſion of Don Carlos, but likewiſe the rights of ſovereignty eſtabliſhed in the emperor and empire over theſe ſtates. Now this part of the condition was entirely reverſed by the variation in diſpute. To this it was added, that his Imperial majeſty appeared very plainly to look upon the introduction of Spaniſh troops in this light, by refuſing to conſent to it, whilſt he was under ſo beneficial an alliance with Spain, and even ſuffering himſelf to be diſunited from that crown rather than comply.

They obſerved farther, that the Spaniards were ſo far from having renounced their pretenſions to Gibraltar and Minorca, or recognized our right to the poſſeſſion of them, that they are not ſo much as mentioned in the treaty; a plain indication that the court of Spain would not admit of any words therein which might annihilate their pretenſions, and never did deſign to include our poſſeſſion of that place in their general guaranty of "all his majeſty's kingdoms, ſtates, and dominions."

The lords on the ſide of the miniſtry exerted their utmoſt endeavours to baffle the arguments of their adverſaries on this laſt very popular objection: they obſerved, that the Spaniards never could, even while on the beſt terms with the Engliſh, be brought to relinquiſh their right to Jamaica, which notwithſtanding the Engliſh continued to poſſeſs unqueſtioned and uninterrupted. They ſaid, that the ſtrongeſt renunciations would be invalid, ſhould the Spaniards ever be in a condition to diſpute the Engliſh property in thoſe places that England had conquered from the crown of Spain; and therefore to have inſiſted upon an abſolute formal renunciation would not only have been altogether needleſs, but, in caſe of the Spaniards refuſing it, would have even weakened our title to theſe places, beſides hazarding the whole ſucceſs of the negotiation, which they maintained to be highly for the honour, as well as intereſt, of Great Britain.

Such was the ſubſtance of the arguments for and againſt the peace, in which the moſt able and plauſible ſpeakers on both ſides diſplayed all their talents for elocution. The public, however, and particularly the commercial part of it, appeared to be ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt the treaty. The lord Bathurſt now moved for a reſolution, "That the agreement in the treaty of Seville, to effectuate the introduction of Spaniſh troops into Tuſcany and Parma, is a manifeſt violation of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, tends to involve the nation in a dangerous and expenſive war, and to deſtroy the balance of Europe." After ſome debate the queſtion was put upon the motion, and it was reſolved in the negative. The like fate attended two other motions; the one, to reſolve, "That Great Britain's right of ſovereignty, dominion, poſſeſſion, and claim to Gibraltar and Minorca, is not aſcertained by the treaty of Seville, ſo as to extinguiſh the claims and pretenſions ſet up by the Spaniards, which were followed by an actual ſiege ſince the ceſſion of thoſe valuable places by the treaty of Utrecht:" and the other, "That the ſtipulations in the treaty of Seville, for repairing the loſſes of our merchants, are inſufficient and precarious."

Then it was propoſed by ſome of the lords in the majority to reſolve, "That the treaty of peace, union, and friendſhip, (for ſuch was its title) concluded at Seville the ninth of November laſt, N. S. doth contain all neceſſary ſtipulations for maintaining and ſecuring the honour, dignity, rights, and poſſeſſions of the crown; and that all due care is taken therein for the ſupport of the trade of the kingdom, and for repairing the loſſes ſuffered by the merchants *." After the debate, the queſtion was put upon the ſaid motion, and it was reſolved in the affirmative; upon which ſeveral lords entered their proteſt againſt it, with their reaſons at large, which made great impreſſions on the body of the people. It muſt be owned, at the ſame time, that thoſe impreſſions were in a great meaſure ſtrengthened by the weakneſs of the miniſterial advocates without doors, who in general were the moſt contemptible writers that money or favour could be thrown away upon.

While the before-mentioned topics were agitating in the houſe of peers, the anti-courtiers among the commons ſuſpecting that the miniſtry were playing ſome hidden game, moved for an addreſs to his majeſty, entreating him "to communicate to his parliament any engagements he might have contracted for the payment of ſubſidies to foreign princes, or the hire of foreign troops, which had not been laid before them." This motion was treated by the courtiers as highly indecent, and implying a mean ſuſpicion of his majeſty; and upon the queſtion being put, it was thrown out, by a majority of two hundred againſt one hundred and ſeven. And here I muſt once for all obſerve, that the miniſtry treated the oppoſition within doors as ſuperciliouſly as they did that without. Secure of their own numbers in the houſe of commons, they ſeldom entered into that length or ſolemnity of debate which was neceſſary, either for the conviction or converſion of thoſe who oppoſed them from principle. In ſhort, matters were carried rather by dividing than debating. This conduct gave great and reaſonable diſguſt to many noblemen and gentlemen of great credit and influence, who reſented it by voting againſt the miniſtry; and their example ſerved not a little to rivet in the minds of the people the unfavourable impreſſions they had imbibed of the court meaſures.

In the mean while, his Imperial majeſty was ſo far from looking upon the introduction of Spaniſh garriſons into Tuſcany and Parma as a trifling variation from the quadruple alliance, according to the doctrine of the Britiſh miniſter and his friends, that

* Journals of the Houſe of Lords. Tindal. Polit. Stat.

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he reſented both the matter and the manner of it in the ſtrongeſt terms, as a downright infraction of treaties, derogatory to his honour, and dangerous to his intereſts, as well as the rights of the empire. Such at leaſt was the purport of numberleſs reſcripts and remonſtrances with which he filled all Europe, Germany eſpecially. Nor did the court of Vienna content themſelves with ſhewing their reſentment in words and appearances only, but actually made preparations for pouring a large army into Italy, with orders to oppoſe the execution of the treaty of Seville; but being in want of money, they ſet on foot a negotiation for a loan in England of four hundred thouſand pounds, this being the only country where they could raiſe money, as the great ſubſidies which they uſed to receive from Spain were now cut off.

Our miniſtry were very juſtly alarmed at a negotiation of this kind: they ſet all their ſtrength to fruſtrate its ſucceſs, and a bill of a very extraordinary nature was brought into the houſe of commons, "to prohibit his majeſty's ſubjects to lend any ſum of money to any foreign prince, ſtate, or potentate, without licence firſt obtained from his majeſty, under his privy-ſeal, or ſome greater authority." This, however, was not to extend to prohibit any ſubſcription to the public funds or trading companies of foreign kingdoms.

On the ſecond reading of this bill Mr. Daniel Pulteney, a gentleman deſervedly eſteemed the firſt in commercial talents and ability amongſt the anti-miniſterial party, ſpoke againſt it in very ſtrong terms. He ſaid, that it would make Holland the market of Europe, and the mart of money to the nations of the continent: that the article of lending money was ſo advantageous, that the Dutch, when themſelves were engaged in a war with the Spaniards, who treated them as rebels, lent money, arms, and ammunition, to the enemy. He ſaid, that this bill would diſable the Britiſh merchants from lending money to the king of Portugal, a reſtriction that might be attended with very bad conſequences to the nation: that the act, in any event, armed the miniſtry with too great and too extenſive a power; and that while the licenſing power remained in the crown, the licences would be iſſued through the hands of the miniſter, who by that means might put into his pocket many thouſands a year. He obſerved, that while this bill reſtrained the merchants from aſſiſting the princes and powers of Europe, it permitted the ſtock-jobbers to trade in their funds without interruption. "I know very well, ſaid Mr. Pulteney, for whoſe benefit this complaiſance is deſigned; but jobbing abroad in the ſtocks of foreign nations is what we ſhould leaſt encourage, and what we ought principally to prohibit; for we have ſuffered ſeverely by that means already, and our miniſtry would never give us relief nor aſſiſtance."

Sir Robert Walpole and his friends finding themſelves cloſely puſhed by theſe arguments, contented themſelves with reſting the merit of the bill entirely upon the neceſſity at this particular juncture. Mr. Barnard, afterwards the famous ſir John Barnard, a merchant of London, who perfectly underſtood trade in all its branches, after having explained his reaſons, declared he would never conſent to a bill which he deemed a violation of our fundamental laws, and a grievous hardſhip on individuals. He then propoſed an exception, by which the prohibition ſhould be reſtricted to the emperor alone, without extending to other powers. The bill, however, was vindicated by ſir Robert Walpole, Mr. Pelham, and ſir Philip Yorke, attorney-general; and being ſupported by the whole weight of miniſterial influence, not only paſſed through the houſe, but was afterwards enacted into a law.

The commons having examined the eſtimates for the enſuing year, voted ſeventeen thouſand ſeven hundred and nine men for the land-ſervice: they continued the ſubſidies to the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel and the duke of Brunſwick-Wolfembuttel; and, in order to defray theſe and other neceſſary expences, they granted the ſum of 2,280,000 l. Theſe meaſures were ſtrongly oppoſed by the anti-courtiers, who made ſeveral motions which they knew, if agreed to, would render the miniſter uneaſy; and, if rejected, would make him unpopular. The principal of theſe was on occaſion of the land-forces being voted, and was as follows: "That an addreſs be delivered to his majeſty, humbly to repreſent, that the houſe having, in conſideration of the preſent ſtate of affairs, voted ſuch a number of land-forces for the current ſervice of the year, aſſure themſelves that his majeſty, from his juſt regard to the conſtitution of the kingdom, as well as his earneſt deſire to eaſe his people of every charge not abſolutely neceſſary, will take the firſt opportunity to make a farther reduction of thoſe forces, if the ſtate of affairs will admit, before the concluſion of this or the beginning of next ſeſſion of parliament." This motion however was rejected without a diviſion.

Another motion was made about the ſame time which gave the miniſtry no little uneaſineſs, as it was the moſt popular that had been levelled againſt them during the whole ſeſſion. It was a motion to bring in a bill "for making more effectual the laws in being for diſabling perſons from being choſen members of parliament who had any penſion, during pleaſure, or for any number of years, or any office held in truſt for them, from the crown." We have already taken notice of the principal arguments that may be urged on both ſides of this important queſtion; ſuffice it at preſent to obſerve, that the following oath, to be taken by every member of the houſe, was propoſed as a wiſe and neceſſary precaution:

"I A. B. do ſolemnly ſwear that I have not, directly nor indirectly, any penſion, during pleaſure, or for a number of years; or any office, either in whole or in part, from the crown, held for me or for my benefit, by any perſon whatſoever: and I do ſolemnly and ſincerely promiſe and ſwear, that I will not receive, accept, or take, directly or indirectly, during the time of my being a member of this preſent parliament, any penſion during pleaſure, or for any number of years, or any gratuity or reward whatſoever, or any office from the crown, to be held for me, or for my benefit, in whole or in part, by any perſon whatſoever, without ſignifying the ſame to this houſe, within fourteen days after I have received or accepted the ſame, if the parliament be then ſitting, or within fourteen

fourteen days after the next meeting of parliament."

The violation of this oath was to be deemed wilful and corrupt perjury, and puniſhed as ſuch; and the ſeats of all members refuſing to take it were to be vacated, as if they had been actually dead. A penalty of thirty pounds was inflicted upon every member for every day he ſhould ſit in the houſe without taking the oath, beſides an incapacity ever after, either to ſerve the crown, or ſit in parliament, or enjoy any place of profit or truſt under his majeſty or his ſucceſſors.

Such was the ſubſtance of this famous ſelf-denying bill, which has been ſo often renewed ſince, but never enacted into a law. For this time, however, the country party carried their point in the houſe of commons. The cry of corruption was become ſo general, that many who were not heartily for the bill (which it muſt be confeſſed was liable to ſeveral exceptions, and could not, even if paſſed into an act, have fully anſwered the purpoſe intended) were yet induced to vote for its paſſing; while the miniſter, who had reaſon to believe it would never make its way through the upper houſe, did not exert himſelf to have it thrown out below; for the queſtion was carried in favour of it by a majority of one hundred and forty-four againſt one hundred and thirty-four; and Mr. Sandys, ſir Edward Stanley, and Mr. Wyndham, were ordered to bring it into the houſe, through which it paſſed with very little difficulty.

When it was preſented in the upper houſe, its friends moved for an addreſs to the king, deſiring a liſt of the penſions payable by the crown; but the motion was thrown out by a great majority. The bill being afterwards read (on the twenty-firſt of March) and the queſtion being put, whether it ſhould be committed? it paſſed in the negative, after a long debate; upon which a proteſt was entered by twenty-ſix peers. Another queſtion was then put, that the bill be rejected; which being carried in the affirmative, produced a proteſt that was adhered to by the ſame number of peers as above.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion the parliament paſſed ſeveral acts which, under a more popular miniſtry, would have met with great and deſerved applauſe. They appropriated one million of the ſurpluſage ariſing from the Sinking Fund, towards the diſcharge of the national debt; and by another act extinguiſhed the duties upon ſalt; by which expedient the ſubject was eaſed of a heavy burden, not only in being freed from the duty, but alſo from a conſiderable charge of ſalaries given to a great number of officers employed to collect this tax.

They likewiſe encouraged the colony of Carolina with an act allowing the inhabitants of that province to export rice directly to any port of Europe ſouthward of Cape Finiſterre, provided the trade was carried on in Britiſh bottoms; and they permitted ſalt from Europe to be imported into the colony of New York. Several other acts were alſo paſſed; ſome of which being of great national importance, we cannot cloſe the proceedings of this ſeſſion without taking particular notice of them.

Among others, a moſt excellent law was enacted for the better regulation of juries. Before this time it was a reproach to the Engliſh law, that no proviſion was made to oblige men of ſubſtance effectually to ſerve as jurymen; for which reaſon it was very common for perſons of property to ſhift that office from themſelves upon indigent people, which opened an alarming field for corruption in capital caſes, where the delinquents were monied men. But this act remedies all theſe inconveniencies; for,

It requires "the petty conſtables to make up true liſts of the perſons qualified to ſerve on juries within their pariſhes or precincts; and to prevent frauds herein, the ſaid liſts are to be fixed on the church-doors twenty days before Michaelmas every year, for the inſpection of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, who may make their objections. The more effectually to exclude needy perſons from this office, a juryman muſt be a freeholder or copyholder of at leaſt ten pounds per annum in England, and ſix pounds in Wales, or a leaſeholder for life of the yearly value of twenty pounds. Theſe liſts being tranſmitted to the ſheriff, he is to return no others upon juries but thoſe whoſe names are found there; and to prevent the jurymen being ſummoned oftener than is reaſonable (to the hindrance of their reſpective buſineſſes or occupations) no perſon is obliged to ſerve oftener than once in two years, except in the ſmall county of Rutland. When the aſſize is held, the name of each perſon ſummoned and impannelled is to be written, with his addition and place of abode, in diſtinct pieces of parchment or paper, rolled up in the ſame manner, as like each other as may be; which names are to be put into a box or glaſs; and when a cauſe is brought to be tried, ſome indifferent perſon, in open court, is to take out twelve of theſe parchment or paper-billets, one after another; and if any of the perſons drawn do not appear, or is challenged or ſet aſide, then a farther number, till twelve be drawn who ſhall appear, and ſhall be the jury to try the cauſe; after which thoſe names are to be mixed again with the other, and a new jury is to be appointed for the next cauſe in the ſame manner."

From this excellent act two very eſſential benefits ariſe to the ſubject; for it becomes impoſſible to pack or corrupt a jury, becauſe no man knows who will try the cauſe till the moment the jurymen are ſworn; and the freeholders, &c. will be obliged to give attendance, becauſe none can tell whether his name will be amongſt thoſe that are drawn out: in which caſe, if the perſon does not appear, after being three times called upon in court, he is liable to a fine of forty ſhillings, and five pounds, at the diſcretion of the judge.

Another act paſſed this ſeſſion, which was alſo greatly in favour of the ſubject. It was, "An act for explaining and amending an act made in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, entitled, An act for the relief of debtors, with reſpect to the impriſonment of their perſons." By this act debtors might be carried to the neareſt great aſſize, in order to be cleared; whereas, by the former law, they were obliged to be brought up to Weſtminſter-hall to be cleared, however diſtant their place of reſidence might be therefrom. And whereas officers were, by the former act, reſtrained from carrying perſons arreſted to priſon till the expiration of twenty-four hours after the arreſt, which ſeveral perſons

taking the advantage of, and refuſing to be carried to any houſe whatever, had made their eſcapes in the night; it is now ordered that ſuch arreſted perſons ſhall be carried to ſome houſe of ſafety; but the choice of the houſe is left to them, to prevent their being hurried to ſpunging-houſes, and ſuch-like places *.

An attempt was made this ſeſſion of parliament to throw open the Eaſt India trade. As this is alſo an object of great national concern, I ſhall give an account of the proceedings therein at large; and the rather, as Great Britain this year was remarkably barren of any other tranſactions of moment worthy a place in hiſtory.

The Engliſh Eaſt India company's term for the redemption of their capital and of their excluſive trade being near its expiration (viz. on three years notice from Lady-day 1733) a powerful and ſtrenuous oppoſition to its renewal or prolongation was at this time raiſed by ſeveral merchants, and others, who wanted to be incorporated and veſted in the ſame trade; and who, foreſeeing that the company would apply to the legiſlature for a longer time in their excluſive privileges, determined to be beforehand with them; and therefore, on the ninth of April, 1730, they preſented to the houſe of commons their petition and propoſals, as follow.

They offered to advance 3,200,000 pounds for redeeming the fund of the company, by five ſeveral payments; the laſt to be at Lady-day 1733, to be allowed an intereſt of four per cent. till the laſt-named term, and only two per cent. from and after that term. Provided,

" I. That they might be incorporated, and in all reſpects veſted with all the excluſive privileges and trade of that company; yet ſo as not to trade in one *joint ſtock*, or in their corporate capacity; but that the trade ſhould be free and open to all his majeſty's ſubjects, who ſhould pay *one* per cent. of the value of their exports to India, in conſideration of their taking out a licence from this propoſed corporation.

" II. That this trade be ſolely carried on from the port of London.

" III. That this propoſed company's term be thirty-one years, and to be redeemed on three years notice.

" IV. That moreover, for enabling this propoſed corporation to defray the expence of forts and ſettlements in India, as well as the preſervation and enlargement of the trade, they may be empowered to levy a duty of five per cent. on the groſs value of all the merchandize which ſhall be imported from India."

As this petition was not only of an intereſting, but of a national nature, it greatly engaged the attention of the houſe. Alderman Barnard, and other eminent merchants, members of the houſe, ſupported this petition by ſeveral very plauſible arguments. They obſerved, that great benefits would accrue to the public by accepting the propoſal of the petitioners; for by the petitioners taking but two per cent. intereſt on three millions two hundred thouſand pounds after a limited time, an annuity of ninety-two thouſand pounds would be added to the Sinking Fund, which, at twenty-five years purchaſe, was worth two millions five hundred thouſand pounds to the public. They ſaid, that the laying the trade open to Eaſt India, or the reducing it into a kind of regulated company, would, among many other advantages, neceſſarily occaſion a larger exportation of our own product and manufactures to India; employ a much greater number of ſhips and ſeamen; greatly lower the prices of all Eaſt India commodities conſumed at home; enable us to ſupply foreign markets cheaper, and in greater quantities, with Indian merchandize, whereby new branches of traffic might be opened, as well in Africa and America as in ſome parts of Europe; that hereby the cuſtoms and exciſe revenues would be greatly encreaſed, and, in conſequence, the national debt leſſened. They alleged, (but gave no particular reaſon for ſuch allegation) that great advantages might accrue by employing our ſhipping in freights from one part of India to another, more than the preſent company had ever been able to do; and, laſtly, they obſerved, it would prevent perſons acquainted with the trade of India from being under the neceſſity, for want of employment here, of ſeeking it in foreign nations; and would even bring home thoſe who were already engaged in that way. This alluded to certain Engliſhmen engaged in the Oſtend and Swediſh Eaſt India companies. Theſe were the plauſible and principal arguments made uſe of to the legiſlature without doors, which were yet more abundantly amplified and improved without, in pamphlets and news-papers, which carried them, as is uſually the caſe, much beyond rational probability.

We ſhall now, in juſtice to the preſent Eaſt India company, exhibit the principal points urged by them, by way of reply, in their own behalf. In the firſt place, they obſerved, that it ſeemed at preſent to be agreed on all ſides, that the Eaſt India trade was a beneficial one to this nation, and conſequently neceſſary to be preſerved; but that the main queſtion is, which is the beſt method to preſerve it to us? viz. Whether by a company veſted with excluſive privileges and regulations, ſuch as the legiſlature ſhall from time to time direct? or, Whether the trade ſhall be left quite open to any adventurer who ſhall pay for a licence from the company? They obſerved, that the preſent oppoſition to the company proceeded in a grea tmeaſure from the great gains which the company make, as their enemies do not pretend to have any thing to allege againſt their conduct, at leaſt for the laſt forty years.

The company, ſaid they, at preſent employ a vaſt ſtock in trade; their ſales amount to about three millions yearly; and the cuſtoms accruing to the public are immenſely great, and anſwer the appropriations made of them by parliament better than moſt other duties, they being in neat money, clear of all drawbacks and debentures, three hundred thouſand pounds yearly. To prove this, they laid before the parliament on this occaſion an account, ſhewing the amount of the value of goods, merchandize, and bullion, exported by their company from the port of London, from Chriſtmas 1720 to Chriſtmas 1727, and of the goods and mer-

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Stat. 3. 4 Geo. II. Tindal.

chandize imported by the ſaid company from Chriſtmas 1722 to Chriſtmas 1729. A copy of this account the reader will find in the note at the bottom of this page *, by which he will be enabled to form ſome idea of the importance of this trade. It was then aſked, Would it be prudent in the legiſlature to ſuffer theſe cuſtoms to fall without a certainty of at leaſt as much in the room of them?

The company next proceeded to ſhow that the forts and factories coſt them three hundred thouſand pounds yearly; and doubtleſs, they ſaid, the government could not maintain them for ſo little. Theſe forts, and other buildings, they ſaid, were queſtionleſs the preſent company's property, who actually purchaſed them of the old company, and were of great value: who then ſhould ſet an equitable price on them? What certainty had the government, when they might be in their hands, that the propoſed open trade will be always ſufficient to maintain ſo vaſt an expence of cuſtoms and forts as ſix hundred thouſand pounds yearly? For as every perſon is by the propoſed ſcheme left at liberty (and will doubtleſs make uſe of it) to trade or not to trade thither, as it may ſuit his intereſt, it may happen that one year there may go fifty ſhips for India, and another year perhaps not five: and theſe being all *ſeparate* traders, the government could have no certainty nor ſecurity from them, nor indeed from any other but an incorporated body, who have a great deal to loſe, and who are able to bear the ill fortune of ſome particular years trading, without preſently laying it aſide.

It was furthermore aſſerted, that by the ſeparate traders outbidding one another in India, for the ſake of diſpatch, the prices of goods there would be raiſed ſo high at length, as not to be worth the *buying*; and for the ſame reaſon at home, they could ſo underſell each other, till the goods would not be worth *ſelling*: that an united company will always be more diligent to watch the encroachments and attempts of other European nations in India, than ſeparate traders will or can be, whoſe views naturally are contracted within the narrow circle of their own private intereſt alone.

To ſum up the matter: the managers for the company told the houſe, that although the company had a claim to a perpetuity in this trade by the act of the tenth of queen Anne; yet ſome doubts having ariſen touching the certainty of this right, becauſe that act only repeats the proviſion in former acts, which directed, "That the privileges of trade ſhould ceaſe when the fund ſhould be redeemed;" but does not explicitly enact a perpetuity of trade to this company, in the ſame terms as the act of that ſame ſeſſion expreſsly does in favour of the South-ſea company; the Eaſt India company being unwilling that their title to this trade (however ſtrong) ſhould prove the occaſion of diſputes hereafter, therefore conſent to take up with a temporary certainty in lieu thereof, and moreover to give the public almoſt four hundred thouſand pounds for the ſame, by paying down two hundred thouſand pounds in money, and farther conſenting that their annuity of five per cent. which is not redeemable till the year 1736, be now reduced to four per cent. whereby they give up an annuity of thirty-two thouſand pounds for ſix years to come, the value of which is one hundred and ninety-two thouſand pounds.

Some other leſs important arguments were at this time advanced on both ſides, which I ſhall not particularize. To conclude, the miniſter, who had great connections with the Eaſt India company, had been at vaſt pains to inform himſelf of the nature of the trade, and was, from the beſt accounts he could receive, convinced that it could be carried on only by an excluſive charter; he therefore heartily engaged in the cauſe of the company. And indeed the majority in the houſe of commons appear to have been on this occaſion *unbiaſſedly* of the miniſter's opinion; for after very long and ſolemn debates, they rejected the above-recited petition of the merchants againſt the prolongation of the Eaſt India company's privileges: as likewiſe two others; one from the city of Briſtol, the other from the port of Liverpool, to the ſame purport; and paſſed the bill in the company's favour, which afterwards received the royal aſſent, by the title of "An act for reducing the annuity or fund of the united Eaſt India company, and for aſcertaining their right of trade to the Eaſt Indies, and the continuance of their corporation for that purpoſe:" whereby, after a full recital of former ſtatutes and charters, the company agrees, and it is enacted, "That their preſent yearly fund of one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds be reduced to one hundred and twenty-eight thouſand pounds, or from five to four per cent. from Michaelmas 1730; in conſideration whereof, and of two hundred thouſand pounds to be paid by them for the public ſervice of this preſent year (1730) all their excluſive privileges of trade to the Eaſt Indies are continued and prolonged, from Lady-day 1736 to Lady-day 1766, and three years notice then to be given, in all, including the ſaid three years notice to Lady-day 1769, being thirty-three years, when, on re-payment of their entire capital of three millions two hundred thouſand pounds, their excluſive privilege of trade ſhall ceaſe and determine; yet nevertheleſs the company ſhall continue as a corporation for ever, to enjoy the Eaſt India trade in common with all other ſubjects.

We have been the fuller here on the objections againſt this company, becauſe the objections again ſtarted in the year 1754, and renewed at this pre-

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Exported,			l.	s.	d.
From Chriſtmas. 1720	To Chriſtmas. 1721		740,643	17	10
1721	1722		805,954	7	9
1722	1723		689,482	18	10
1723	1724		553,396	14	3
1724	1725		658,221	2	1
1725	1726		547,757	7	9
1726	1727		641,148	2	11
Total exports in ſeven years			l. 4,636,584	11	5

Imported,			l.	s.	d.
From Chriſtmas. 1722	To Chriſtmas. 1723		968,570	14	6
1723	1724		1,165,203	1	4
1724	1725		759,778	12	3
1725	1726		914,122	13	7
1726	1727		1,125,829	14	4
1727	1728		869,474	16	9
1728	1729		972,033	16	11
Total imports in ſeven years			l. 6,775,013	9	8

ſent time in certain pamphlets and news-papers, with a view to the like private ends, are the very ſame as above, with ſome additional ones indeed, drawn from the prodigious territorial acquiſitions of the company in India within theſe three or four laſt years. The ſubject, however, has been ſo long canvaſſed by men of judgment and experience, that there is no room left to ſay any thing material now on the ſubject, and therefore I here cloſe it once for all, nor ſhall I enlarge thereon in any future part of this hiſtory.

The royal African company declining more and more, ſo as not to be able to ſupport their forts and factories on the coaſt of Africa, and the trade being thereby laid open ſo as to endanger them, the Britiſh parliament in this ſame year granted ten thouſand pounds for that purpoſe, by an act for raiſing five hundred and fifty thouſand pounds by Exchequer-bills, &c. which ſum of ten thouſand pounds was granted by parliament annually, till the year 1744, when, by reaſon of the war with France and Spain, twenty thouſand pounds were granted for that end; the two following years ten thouſand pounds were again granted annually for the ſame purpoſe; but nothing was granted for the year 1747.

In this ſame year the South-ſea company's great ſhip Prince Frederic, which had been ſo long detained at La Vera Cruz, in the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, occaſioned by the differences between Great Britain and Spain, arrived ſafe in the Thames, laden for that company's account with four hundred thouſand dollars, or Spaniſh pieces of eight, in ſpecie; one hundred and ninety thouſand pounds weight of cochineal*; forty-ſeven thouſand pounds weight of indigo; and one hundred and ſixty-ſeven tons weight of logwood; beſides what came in private trade; ſuppoſed altogether to be worth three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling.

On the fifteenth of May the king went to the houſe of peers, and cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, which concluded with the following remarkable words:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I am very glad that, for the general ſatisfaction, you entered into a particular conſideration of the ſtate of the nation; and it is a great happineſs to ſee, after ſo many unjuſt and unreaſonable clamours, raiſed with all poſſible art, induſtry, and malice, that upon mature deliberation, and the moſt ſolemn debates, you were ſo far from finding any thing worthy of blame or cenſure, that all matters that came under your cognizance met with your approbation.

"This muſt inſpire all mankind with a juſt deteſtation of thoſe incendiaries who, from a ſpirit of envy and diſcontent, continually labour, by ſcandalous libels, to alienate the affections of my people, and to fill their minds with groundleſs jealouſies and unjuſt complaints, in diſhonour of me and my government, and in defiance of the ſenſe of both houſes of parliament.

"But I entirely rely upon your prudence and your concern for the peace and happineſs of your country, to diſcountenance all ſuch ſeditious practices, and to make my people ſenſible, that theſe wicked proceedings have no other view and end than to create confuſion and diſtraction amongſt us."

The parliament was then prorogued to the fourteenth of July.

I have already obſerved that no tranſaction of any great moment paſſed in Great Britain this year. Seven chiefs of the Cherokee nation of Indians in America were brought to England by ſir Alexander Cumin, and introduced to the king, at whoſe feet they laid their crown and regalia, and by an authentic deed acknowleged themſelves ſubject to his dominion, in the name of all their countrymen, who had veſted them with full powers for this purpoſe. They gave their aſſent in the moſt ſolemn manner to articles of friendſhip and commerce propoſed to them by the government; and being loaded with preſents ſuitable to their taſte and inclination, were reconveyed to their own country.

England was at this period terribly infeſted with robbers, aſſaſſins, and incendiaries; the natural conſequences of degeneracy, corruption, and the want of police in the interior government of the kingdom; in which laſt article the miniſtry were certainly unaccountably remiſs. A new ſpecies of villainy now ſtarted up; a ſet of miſcreants made a practice of circulating letters, demanding ſums of money from perſons, on pain of having their houſes burnt down to the ground, and conſequently themſelves and families ruined. In one inſtance, they had the impudent barbarity to put theſe threats in execution, by ſetting fire to the houſe of a rich merchant of Briſtol, who had refuſed to comply with their demands. In ſhort, the peculiar depravity of the times became at length ſo alarming, that the government was obliged to interpoſe, and a conſiderable reward was offered for diſcovering the ruffians concerned in ſuch execrable practices.

In the courſe of this year the common-council of the city of London agreed that all the fines ariſing from thoſe perſons who were nominated ſheriffs, and declined that office, ſhould be appropriated for building a manſion-houſe for the lord-mayors of the city.

The hoſpital of St. Bartholomew being taken down in order to be re-built, the foundation-ſtone was laid by ſir Richard Brocas, lord mayor, on the ninth of July this year.

On the twenty-firſt of January, 1731, the parliament met, when his majeſty, in his ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion, told them, that the preſent critical juncture ſeemed in a very particular manner to deſerve their attention: that as the tranſactions then depending in the ſeveral courts of Europe were upon the point of being determined, the great event of peace or war might

* Mr. Anderſon, author of a judicious and elaborate Treatiſe on Commerce, lately publiſhed, tells us, that ſo unuſual a quantity of cochineal induced him to take with him two phyſicians down to the company's vaults, whereby they were perfectly ſatisfied that this drug is an inſect, in all reſpects the ſame with our lady-bird; and that it was purely by that inſect's feeding on the fine red juice or ſap of the Mexico ſhrub or tree, called the Prickly Pear, that it acquired its ſuperior excellence, agreeable to what had been before aſſerted by ſeveral authors. Anderſon, vol. II. p. 326.

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be much affected by their firſt reſolutions, which were expected by different powers with great impatience. He ſaid, the continuance of that zeal and vigour with which they had hitherto ſupported him and his engagements, muſt at this time be of the greateſt weight and importance, both with regard to his allies, and to thoſe who might be diſpoſed before the ſeaſon of action to prevent, by an accommodation, the fatal conſequences of a general rupture.

When the commons returned to their houſe, a motion was made for a loyal addreſs to his majeſty, by Mr. Campbel of Pembrokeſhire; but the anti-courtiers inſiſted on reſtricting it to a ſimple promiſe to aſſiſt him only in ſuch meaſures as ſhould be abſolutely neceſſary for procuring ſatisfaction to his allies, and providing for the intereſts of his people, expreſſing at the ſame time their hopes that his majeſty would take care to prevent the breaking out of a war upon the Rhine or in the Auſtrian Netherlands; the preſervation of which, in the hands that now held them, was of the greateſt importance to theſe kingdoms, and the maintenance of which had coſt the nation ſo much blood and treaſure.

In ſupport of this allegation the country party alleged, that the power of France was dangerous to the liberties, not only of England, but of all Europe: that evidence could be produced of that court having ſuffered the harbour of Dunkirk to be cleared and repaired, in direct violation of the treaty of Utrecht: that they had made great encroachments upon the Engliſh in the Weſt Indies, the natural conſequences of thoſe pernicious connections which we had lately contracted with them: that for England to join with France in an attempt againſt the emperor, either in Flanders or upon the Rhine, would be acting againſt the very intention of that glorious confederacy which had humbled the power of France during the reign of queen Anne: that it would deſtroy that balance of power which had been ſo happily eſtabliſhed, and had been the chief advantage that England or Europe had derived from that confederacy: that in any event it was extremely dangerous and inexpedient to promiſe, the very firſt day of the ſeſſion, to ſupport all his majeſty's meaſures and engagements, before they knew what they were: and that, in fact, ſuch an aſſurance rendered all their future deliberations fruitleſs and inſignificant.

The miniſter and his friends found themſelves hard preſſed by theſe popular arguments: however, they endeavoured to ſhew that the worſt conſequences, both at home and abroad, might ariſe from this amendment being approved, ſince it would carry an implication of his majeſty's intending ſomething that was not neceſſary for the intereſt of England, or agreeable to the principles of public liberty; an inſinuation which could not fail of diſcouraging the friends of the proteſtant ſucceſſion at home, and animating their enemies abroad; and therefore the houſe ought to truſt to his majeſty's wonted prudence: and, finally, that the inſerting ſuch expreſſions in the addreſs would have the appearance of encroaching on the royal prerogative, and dictating to his majeſty in the operations of the enſuing war.

To this the members of the oppoſition replied, by aſking how, if the French ſhould be ſucceſsful in making acquiſitions from the emperor in Flanders, or upon the Rhine, which muſt be extremely prejudicial to public liberty, the king could, with all the power the parliament could give him, prevent the fatal conſequences that muſt enſue?

Lord Hervey, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Briſto, who by this time began to make ſome figure in the houſe, and was a faſt friend of the miniſter, took notice, in anſwer to the objections of the oppoſition, that the houſe of Auſtria, as well as that of Bourbon, might by its ambition deſtroy that balance of power which was ſo juſtly dear to England. He ſaid, the conduct of the French at this time had nothing alarming in it: that he thought it would be highly abſurd to pull down the houſe of Bourbon to raiſe that of Auſtria into the power of acting in the ſame manner the other had done: and that he entertained not the leaſt doubt that his majeſty had intereſt enough with his allies to eſtabliſh a confederacy to oppoſe any meaſures that the court of France might adopt prejudicial to the deſired equilibrium of power. As to the propoſed alteration, he ſaid, ſhould it be adopted, this would be in fact proclaiming to all Europe that the emperor was left to act as he pleaſed; and if the allies ſhould agree that he was not to be attacked on the Rhine or in the Netherlands, the king of Great Britain and his allies might as well ſubmit at once to receive laws from the imperial court.

This debate, which was long and warmly agitated on both ſides, ended in the addreſs being voted in its original form; and ſuch another, preceded by the like conteſt (headed by lord Carteret, who had now joined the country-party) was carried in the houſe of lords.

The anti-courtiers, however, reſolved once more to revive the penſion-bill. The motion was introduced with great ſolemnity by Mr. Shippen, and the bill made its way with very little difficulty through the commons; but when it was ſent up to the lords, it was, as before, by them rejected. On this occaſion Dr. Sherlock, then biſhop of Bangor, who was among thoſe who oppoſed it, made a ſpeech on the occaſion, by which he incurred a great load of popular odium. After advancing a great number of arguments, in which he endeavoured to demonſtrate that this bill had a very bad tendency, he concludes with the following remarkable words: "Though this bill at firſt might ſeem to be a ſelf-denying act, and to ſome particular members may perhaps prove ſo; yet the commons, conſidered as an houſe of parliament, will find in it, no doubt, a very great enlargement of power; and whatever tends to break the balance between the powers eſſential to this conſtitution, muſt ſooner or later prove the ruin of the whole. An independent houſe of commons, or an independent houſe of lords, is as inconſiſtent with our conſtitution, as an independent, that is, an abſolute king; and whoever loves the liberties and laws of his country, will no more deſire to ſee the one than the other. Let bribery be puniſhed; let corruption be puniſhed; but let us not give ſo much ſtrength to one part of the conſtitution as ſhall make it able to overpower the reſt."

This ſpeech was induſtriouſly circulated through the kingdom by the country-party, with their own notes and commentaries upon it; in which they endeavoured to prove, that his lordſhip only ſpoke

the ſentiments of the miniſter, who had formed a ſubtle deſign to overturn the conſtitution, by deſtroying the independency of the two houſes of parliament. It muſt be confeſſed that the prelate made uſe of a very unlucky phraſe, though perhaps not in the ſenſe that his adverſaries applied to it.

The minority ſeeing every queſtion carried almoſt without a diviſion by the miniſter and his adherents, began to grow uneaſy at the remiſſneſs of their friends, who did not give a proper attendance; and as of themſelves they had no method of compelling them thereto ſooner than their own convenience ſuited, this occaſioned a new and diverting ſcheme of compulſion. A call of the houſe being ordered and held, two members, who were conſidered as of the country party, were, for non-attendance, moved by their friends to be taken into cuſtody. The court-party, however, interfered warmly in their behalf, and they were excuſed: the ſame indulgence was extended to ſeveral others; ſome on account of their indiſpoſition, others on pretence of their being on the road. This conduct of the court was certainly very ill judged, as it was againſt the moſt eſtabliſhed rules of parliament, ſince the attendance of every member in the houſe is to be conſidered not as optional, but as a matter of indiſpenſible duty. Beſides, they conſtitute a part of the great council of the nation; and therefore the ſovereign has an indubitable right, by the conſtitution of England, to inſiſt that the full complement of his counſellors ſhould attend his ſervice, upon the high and arduous matters that come before the parliament, relating to the public. The courtiers themſelves ſeem to have been ſenſible of their indiſcretion; for, in order to compromiſe the matter, they agreed to the appointing of certain days, within which the abſentees ſhould attend; and upon neglect they were to be committed to the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms attending the houſe.

This great preparation on the part of the minority was intended to ſtrengthen a ſecond attack they meditated upon the eſtabliſhment of the Heſſian troops in Britiſh pay; for after the houſe had been furniſhed with all neceſſary papers, a motion was made for referring the eſtimate of the twelve thouſand Heſſian troops to the committee of ſupply. This motion begat a very warm debate; and as there is ſomewhat new, and worthy of particular notice, in the following arguments, I ſhall introduce them here, for the reader's amuſement. Mr. Daniel Pulteney, though a ſtaunch Whig in his heart, yet on this occaſion adopted a maxim of the Tories, which had not been heard of ſince the death of queen Anne. He ſaid, that wars had happened on the continent of Europe, of which, tho' foreign to the intereſts of England, ſhe had borne the expence. It was urged in reply to this, that commerce had connected England with the continent, though nature had disjoined her from it: that the Engliſh, by their influence on the affairs of the continent, had acquired many advantages in trade; and, in order to maintain theſe, they were ſometimes obliged to interfere in foreign quarrels: that ſome of the countries of Europe, which conſumed a great many of the Engliſh commodities, had ſo little communication with the ſea, that they were inacceſſible to our fleets; and therefore, if they laid the trade of the Engliſh under any hardſhips or inconveniencies, or offered them any inſults or indignities, the Engliſh had no other means of aſſerting their rights, or recovering their wrongs, than by employing ſome of the powerful ſtates upon the continent to wreak their reſentment: that this had frequently been found a very uſeful expedient to England; but that ſhe could not any longer avail herſelf of it than while ſhe was ready, in her turn, to perform the more friendly offices to theſe potentates. They alleged, that it was upon this very principle that the treaty of Hanover was concluded, and the Heſſian troops were taken into Britiſh pay; and that thoſe two meaſures had prevented the fatal effects which might have attended the ambition and obſtinacy of the emperor: that upon the ſame principle likewiſe was founded the treaty of Seville, which, by our engaging for the introduction of ſix thouſand Spaniſh troops into Italy, had effectually detached Spain from the emperor: that the latter, however, had filled Italy with his armies, in order to prevent the introduction of theſe garriſons. The Heſſians, who were in our pay, it was ſaid, were the only curbs the emperor had in Germany; conſequently, that the diſmiſſion of theſe forces at preſent would leave him at liberty to kindle a flame in Europe, which might coſt Great Britain many millions to extinguiſh. Such were the arguments that determined this parliament to continue the eſtabliſhment of the Heſſian troops, as likewiſe the ſubſidy of the duke of Brunſwic-Wolfembuttel *.

The two parties were at this time exaſperated againſt each other to the higheſt degree of animoſity and reſentment. The court-writers charged the minority with ſedition and defamation, and with employing every art that could alienate the nation from his majeſty's perſon and government. The minority replied to this in ſeveral public papers and pamphlets, eſpecially in one, entitled, The Country Journal, or, The Craftſman; by Caleb D'Anvers, Eſq. a paper that ſoon diſcovered itſelf to be immediately directed againſt the miniſter. Lord Bolingbroke (whom Dr. Swift calls the greateſt genius in Europe) and Mr. W. Pulteney were immediately ſuſpected to be concerned in it; but the care of publiſhing it, and ſupplying it with materials, when none were communicated, was intruſted to Mr. Nicholas Amherſt, formerly of St. John's College, Oxford, from whence he was ſaid to have been expelled for his ſatirical wit, which he dealt about rather too freely upon his ſuperiors. His writings on different ſubjects, both in proſe and verſe, had been very well received.

The miniſter, as I have already obſerved, was unpardonably negligent in his choice of writers: the beſt amongſt them was Dr. Hare, biſhop of Chicheſter, who wrote a vindication of the treaty of Hanover, under the title of "An enquiry into the reaſons of the conduct of Great Britain, with regard to the preſent ſtate of Europe:" in which he endeavoured to ſet forth the dangerous tendency of the firſt treaty of Vienna, and to prove from

* Parliamentary Debates. Tindal. Journal of the Houſe of Commons.

thence the abſolute neceſſity of the counter-alliance formed at Hanover. This book ſeems to be written with a greater air of confidence, and intimate knowlege of facts which were a ſecret to the reſt of mankind, than almoſt any other political piece that appeared during ſir Robert Walpole's adminiſtration. Accordingly, it drew from the other ſide more anſwers, obſervations, and remarks, than perhaps were ever beſtowed upon a ſingle pamphlet.

The party-war was ſtill carrying on with great acrimony on both ſides, when the Remarks on the Hiſtory of England began to be publiſhed about this time, under the name of Humphrey Oldcaſtle. The judges of writing were ſoon convinced, both from the ſtile of theſe Remarks, and the thorough knowlege of mankind diſcovered in them, that the author could be no other than lord Bolingbroke. The publication of them continued through this year, and to the twenty-ſecond of May in the next, when that remarkable Craftſman came out, which contained the author's vindication of Mr. Pulteney and himſelf, and gave riſe to more perſonal invective than had been common, or, perhaps, than was decent, in perſons of ſuch high rank and diſtinction.

But, previous to this, and during the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, a quarrel happened between lord Hervey, then a member of the houſe of commons, and Mr. W. Pulteney, which occaſioned a duel. The riſe of this quarrel was as follows: A pamphlet had been publiſhed, it was thought, by the former, againſt the writers in the oppoſition, entitled, Sedition and Defamation diſplayed. In anſwer to which came out another, which the town aſcribed to Mr. Pulteney, called, A proper Reply to a late ſcandalous Libel, entitled, Sedition, &c As the author had uſed our nobleman with a pretty deal of contempt, it was on the preſumption that Mr. Pulteney was the man, that his lordſhip ſent him a challenge to meet him in the Green Park. They met accordingly; and ſeveral paſſes having been made on both ſides, in which lord Hervey received two or three wounds, and Mr Pulteney a ſlight one in his left hand, they cloſed in; and were diſarmed by ſir John Ruſhout and Henry Fox, eſq. their friends who attended them. Such an affair as this could have no other tendency than to inflame all the adherents of the reſpective parties, and make them ready on the firſt occaſion to expoſe private hiſtory, and whatever they knew or heard ſuggeſted of each other's characters.

It was about this time that two petitions were preſented to the houſe of commons, repreſenting the delays of juſtice occaſioned by the uſe of the Latin tongue in proceedings at law. The firſt petition on this head came from Yorkſhire; and the committee to whom they were referred, on Feb. 22, reported to the houſe, "That it appeared to them, that the proceedings in the law being in law-Latin, abbreviated and wrote in court-hands and characters, untintelligible, and not legible to the moſt part of the perſons concerned, eſpecially in criminal caſes, were a great delay to juſtice, and occaſioned moſt dangerous frauds: that ſpecial pleadings were very expenſive, intricate, and dilatory, and highly prejudicial to the property of the ſubject: that the recovery of ſmall debts, as the law was now practiſed, was ſo expenſive, that many prudent people choſe rather to loſe their juſt dues than go to law for the recovery of them; a circumſtance that tended to the deſtruction of credit, and the great detriment of trade: that the number of attornies admitted in the King's Bench amounted to eleven hundred and fifty-ſeven; and the number of thoſe in the court of Common pleas exceeded three thouſand."

In conſequence of this report, a bill was brought in for changing this practice complained of, and enacting, that all thoſe proceſſes and pleadings ſhould be entered in the Engliſh language. Though one would imagine very little could be advanced againſt ſuch a regulation, founded on the moſt obvious principles of common ſenſe, the bill met with a warm oppoſition, on pretence that it would render uſeleſs the antient records which were written in that language, and introduce confuſion and delay of juſtice, by altering the eſtabliſhed form and method of pleadings. The bill however paſſed through both houſes, and received the royal aſſent.

The Spaniards ſtill continuing their depredations and cruelties in the Weſt Indies, a great number of merchants, from different parts of the kingdom, preſented petitions for redreſs to the houſe of commons, who referred them to the conſideration of a grand committee. Their complaints, upon examination, appeared to be well-founded; whereupon a motion was made for an addreſs to his majeſty, deſiring he would be graciouſly pleaſed to continue his endeavours to prevent ſuch depredations for the future, and to procure full ſatisfaction for the damages already ſuſtained, and to ſecure to the Britiſh ſubjects the full and uninterrupted exerciſe of their trade and navigation to and from the Britiſh colonies in America.

The oppoſition were by no means ſatisfied with this motion; they propoſed an amendment to it, importing a deſire that his majeſty would take the moſt vigorous meaſures to procure ſatisfaction to our ſubjects for the loſſes they had ſuſtained from the Spaniards, and to prevent the like inſults for the future. In ſupport of this amendment the party alleged, that there was very little probability that we ſhould ever obtain any ſatisfaction from Spain by the means of negotiating; and that to delay matters any longer would, in fact, be giving up the Britiſh commerce in America: that the depredations complained of had been committed by virtue of expreſs orders from the court of Spain, whoſe whole conduct evinced an intention to drive the Engliſh entirely out of the Weſt Indies. Mr. Pulteney, ſir W. Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Barnard were the principal ſpeakers in this part of the debate.

They were anſwered by ſir Robert Walpole, Mr. Pelham, and ſir William Yonge, who urged, that the firſt propoſed addreſs was all that the houſe could properly, prudentially, or with any degree of decency, lay before the throne, in which the undoubted power of making peace or war was conſtitutionally veſted. Sir Robert Walpole ſaid, that orders had been ſent by the court of Spain to their governors to put a ſtop to thoſe depredations; and that his Catholic majeſty having, in fact, by the treaty of Seville, engaged to make good the loſſes ſuſtained by the Britiſh ſubjects from the Spaniards in America, it was evident that he could have no thought of a ſcheme of expulſion, as had been men-

mentioned by the gentlemen who were for the amendment. It was moreover alleged, that the captures ſince the treaty of Seville had been very few, and thoſe doubtful caſes; and inſiſted, that before the houſe adviſed his majeſty to proceed to hoſtilities, they ſhould be very ſure that the complaints on which they founded ſuch a reſolution were uncontrovertible; which could not be done, they ſaid, without hearing both parties, whereas only one as yet had been heard. After a great debate, the amendment was rejected, and the addreſs preſented in its original form.

Great part of this ſeſſion was taken up in relieving the ſubject from the abuſes of the law, as alſo from the exorbitant and unreaſonable rates exacted by the charitable corporation from the induſtrious poor, for the money they ſupplied them with upon goods pledged, &c. This affair was referred to a committee; and after proper examination of perſons and papers, it appeared that the corporation had taken, for large ſums they had lent, ten per cent. under colour and pretence of reaſonable coſts and charges: upon which a bill was brought into the houſe, and afterwards paſſed, for regulating the lending of money upon pledges, and for preventing uſury and extortion.

The merchants trading to the Britiſh ſugar-colonies, and the planters, having petitioned the houſe of commons, complaining againſt the Britiſh continent American colonies †, "for their carrying on a trade with the foreign ſugar-colonies of the French and Dutch, from whence they were ſupplied with ſugar, rum, molaſſes, &c. inſtead of thoſe of our own ſugar-colonies, as well as with foreign European goods and manufactures, contrary to the tenor or intention of the laws in being, and of the fifth article of the treaty between king James II. and the French king in the year 1686: and they alleged, that as this new method of trade (firſt begun to be complained of in the year 1715) increaſed and enriched the colonies of other nations, ſo it was injurious to the trade of this kingdom, and greatly impoveriſhed the Britiſh ſugar colonies; and therefore praying relief therein." Whereupon a committee was appointed, upon whoſe report a bill was brought in, and paſſed the houſe of commons, "For the better ſecuring and increaſing the trade of his majeſty's ſugar-colonies." It was indeed dropped in the houſe of peers; yet, as being a ſubject of the greateſt conſequence to our American commerce and colonies, I ſhall exhibit an abſtract of that bill, as it was ſent up to the lords.

It enacted, "That no ſugar, rum, or molaſſes, of the plantations of foreign nations, ſhall be imported into Great Britain or Ireland, or to any of the king's dominions in America, under forfeiture of lading, ſhip, and furniture; and thoſe who aided, abetted, or received, were to forfeit treble value thereof; maſters of ſhips taking in any ſuch foreign ſugar, in order to be landed in Great Britain or Britiſh America, were ſubjected to a fine of two hundred pounds; and all maſters of ſhips lading ſugars, &c. at the Britiſh ſugar-colonies, bound to any other part of the king's dominions, ſhall, before he ſails, deliver to the collector of the port, a true account of his lading, and take a certificate thereof, with the merchant's name who ſhipped them, and of him to whom conſigned; and when arrived at his intended port, ſhall take an oath, and ſign a true manifeſt of his lading. And whereas great number of horſes, and great quantities of lumber, had been exported from our continent colonies to the foreign ſugar-colonies, whereby they were enabled more eaſily to carry on their ſaid ſugar-plantations; none ſuch were to be tranſported hereafter to thoſe foreign colonies; and when any ſuch goods are to be ſhipped from the continent-colonies, the maſter ſhall give a bond for five hundred pounds that they ſhall not be carried to any foreign ſugar-colony. A fine of three hundred pounds was inflicted on any governor, cuſtom-houſe officer, &c. conniving at any fraudulent importation of foreign ſugars, &c. Nothing in this act, however, was to extend to the reſtraining the uſual importation of ſugars from the dominions of the king of Portugal."

During the courſe of the debates upon this bill, the friends of it clearly proved, that if a ſtop was not immediately put to the trade between New-England and the French ſugar-colonies in America, the abſolute ruin of the Engliſh ſugar-iſlands muſt enſue. It appeared, that by New-England ſhips furniſhing the French colonies with terſes and timber, cut out of the king's woods; and by the ſmall duties paid upon French ſugars in Martinico, compared to what was paid in Barbadoes and Jamaica, the French were enabled to underſel the Engliſh very much, no more than one per cent. being paid for exportation of all the produce of the French iſlands. It was farther proved, that the vaſt improvement in all kind of manufactures of linen, woollen, and iron, in and about Boſton and New-England, enabled them to ſerve the French with all theſe commodities, and in return they had their molaſſes, ſugars, rum, and ſilks, to the great prejudice of Great Britain.

On the other hand, it was attempted to be ſhewn, that the northern colonies, and conſequently the mother-country, profited greatly by the intercourſe complained of; and ſome hints were thrown out, that we might reject the diſabling ſo large and ſo powerful a people. It was alleged in behalf of the northern colonies, that as they and Great Britain do actually take off *all* the ſugar, rum, and molaſſes, which our ſugar-iſles do or can poſſibly produce; and that our ſaid northern colonies do moreover take off vaſt quantities of rum and molaſſes from the French of Martinico, and do likewiſe get a great deal of them from Surinam, Guadaloupe, the Grenadoes, Cape François, Cayenne, &c. ſhould all but our own ſugar, rum, and molaſſes, be abſolutely prohibited, many great inconveniencies would follow. In the firſt place, we ſhould loſe the employment of ſeveral thouſand tons of ſhipping in the trade between the northern colonies and theſe foreign ſugar colonies. Secondly, the northern colonies could not poſſibly be ſupplied with near the quantity of rum and molaſſes which they ſtood in need of for the carrying on many moſt profitable trades in which they are now engaged. Thirdly, this would put a moſt

† Viz. New-England, Rhode Iſland, New-York, Penſylvania, and New-Jerſey.

dangerous monopoly into the hands of our own ſugar-planters, ſo as that the India and Turkey trades by the northern colonies could not afford to pay the rates which would be demanded, even ſuppoſing our iſlanders could make ſufficient quantities of thoſe goods for both the American and Britiſh conſumption. Fourthly, it would greatly increaſe the French ſhipping and navigation, not only in bringing lumber, horſes, &c. to their own ſugar-iſlands, but in carrying from thence to Europe all their rum and molaſſes, where, no doubt, they could find markets for them, as they already do for their ſugars, ſo as to have ſupplanted us, and to underſel us in Holland, and at Hamburgh, Cadiz, &c. Fifthly, if the complaint of the Barbadians be true, viz. that their lands are ſo far worn out, that it requires the labour of three negroes to produce as much ſugar as could formerly be raiſed by the labour of one, they need but remove to Jamaica, where they may have excellent freſh land enough; and as the value of ſuch new land is a trifle, when compared to the value of the ſtock required for a ſugar-plantation, they have that entire to carry along with them to Jamaica; and the charge and trouble of their removing thither would be amply compenſated by the abundant product of thoſe new lands; and which, conſequently, would enable them to underſel the French and Dutch plantations, the only ſeeming means left for our recovering the trade of the re-exportation of our ſugars. Sixthly, that from the foreign ſugar-colonies our northern colonies bring back conſiderable quantities of gold and ſilver along with their ſugar, rum, and molaſſes, whereby they are enabled to pay their mother-country for the vaſt quantities of her product and manufacture which they take of her; and which, without this trade, ſo much complained of, they could not poſſibly do. Laſtly, that the prohibiting the continent people from purchaſing of the foreign colonies their ſugar, rum, and molaſſes, or even laying the high duties on them, would utterly deſtroy a commerce of ſuch great conſequence to the northern colonies, as that without it they could not carry on their fiſheries, their fur-trade, and their navigation, with the Indians; neither could they diſpoſe of the product of their lands and labour, a great part of the profits whereof center in Great Britain, in payment of the manufactures, &c. they had from thence. Upon the whole, ſaid the advocates for the northern colonies, the ſecret and real view of the ſugar-iſlands is, to gain the abſolute monopoly of ſugars and rum, with reſpect to the ſubjects of Great Britain, to themſelves, that ſo they may have it in their power to exact what prices they ſhall pleaſe from the buyers.

Theſe arguments, however, being chiefly founded on ſpeculation, were not deemed ſufficient to outweigh thoſe urged on the other ſide, particularly with regard to the vaſt diſadvantages that Martinico, and all the French ſugar-iſlands, muſt be under, were they not ſupplied with horſes, tools, wood, and all kinds of utenſils for carrying on their ſugar-works; while all that the northern colonies receive in return may be ſupplied by the produce of our own ſugar-iſlands. It was then ſtrongly urged, that if they were not timely checked in their illicit practices, there might be danger of their ſetting themſelves up as an independent ſtate: in the mean time, it was ſaid, the bill in queſtion would have this good effect at leaſt, that if it paſſed into a law, it would oblige the northern colonies to apply themſelves to raiſing flax and hemp, and other naval ſtores, which muſt be of immenſe ſervice to the mother country.

Notwithſtanding all theſe plauſible allegations on both ſides, in a matter of ſo great importance to our commercial intereſts, there was nothing legally decided until two years later. The miniſtry were highly cenſured for the backwardneſs they ſhewed in this affair, which was ſo very intereſting to the mother-country; for, as we before obſerved, the act for encouraging the ſugar-colonies was dropped in the houſe of peers: but, indeed, when ſuch material alterations are required to be made, in a long-eſtabliſhed, or even connived courſe of any important branch of commerce, great and ſerious deliberation, and mature obſervation and conſideration, ſeem abſolutely requiſite in a nation like ours, whoſe principal ſupport depends ſo much on commerce and plantations ‡.

Such were the principal tranſactions of this ſeſſion of parliament, which cloſed in the month of May, 1731, by a ſhort ſpeech from the throne.

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Thus did affairs continue in a doubtful ſituation between peace and war, as they had continued for ſeveral years paſt, till the beginning of the preſent year, 1731; about which time a private negotiation at Vienna, between Great Britain and the emperor, began to get air, and in leſs than three months afterwards a treaty of peace and alliance was actually concluded at Vienna between the emperor and the king of Great Britain. The truth is, that the depredations of the Spaniards in America, and their backwardneſs in executing the treaty of Seville, had provoked the Engliſh miniſtry to ſuch a degree (owing in great meaſure to the ſevere reflections caſt upon them, on account of their tameneſs, by the oppoſition, who had now the general voice of the nation on their ſide) that they made propoſals to the court of Vienna, which the latter accepted. What theſe were, and the treaty concluded in conſequence thereof, will be ſhewn hereafter.

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In the beginning of the year the duke of Parma died, after having made a will, in which he declared that his ducheſs was three months advanced in her pregnancy; intreating the powers of Europe to have compaſſion upon his people, and defer the execution of their projects until his conſort ſhould be delivered. In caſe the child ſhould be ſtill-born, prove a female, or, if a male, die after the birth, he bequeathed his dominions and allodial eſtates to the infant Don Carlos of Spain, and in the mean time appointed five regents to govern the duchy.

Notwithſtanding this diſpoſition, a body of Imperial horſe immediately took poſſeſſion of Parma and Placentia, under the command of general Stampa, who declared they ſhould conduct themſelves with all poſſible regularity and moderation, and leave the adminiſtration entirely to the regents whom the duke had appointed. They publicly proclaimed in the market-place, that they took poſſeſſion of theſe duchies for the infant Don Carlos; and that, if the ducheſs-dowager ſhould not be delivered of a prince, the ſaid infant might receive the inveſtiture from the emperor whenever he pleaſed, provided he came without an army.

Though theſe ſteps ſeemed to threaten an immediate war, the king of Great Britain and the States-general interpoſed their mediation ſo ſucceſsfully with the emperor, that he deſiſted from the proſecution of his deſigns. On the ſixteenth day of May, 1731, the ſecret negotiation between the courts of London and Vienna was perfected into a treaty.

By the firſt article of this treaty (known by the name of the treaty of Vienna) a mutual guaranty of all the territories belonging to the contracting powers is ſtipulated.

The ſecond article ſtipulates a general guaranty of the pragmatic ſanction in favour of the emperor's female heirs.

By the third article, his Imperial majeſty conſents to the introduction of the Spaniſh troops into the duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia; and binds himſelf to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to obtain the conſent of the empire for that purpoſe.

By the fourth article it is ſtipulated, that all parts of the treaty ſhall be duly and truly executed.

The fifth article entirely aboliſhes all navigation to the Auſtrian Netherlands; excepting the ſending (once only) two ſhips from Oſtend: and commiſſioners, by the ſame article, are to meet on the parts of both powers at Antwerp, for ſettling a tarif between Great Britain and the Auſtrian Netherlands.

By the ſixth article it is agreed, that all points of difference amongſt the contracting powers, or any of their allies, ſhould be amicably adjuſted; and that the preſent treaty is not to derogate from the force of any of the former treaties ſubſiſting between either the contracting parties, or their allies, excepting ſo far as they are inconſiſtent with the preſent treaty.

By the ſeventh article, the Engliſh, touching their commerce in the kingdom of Sicily, are to be treated on the ſame footing as they were in the reign of Charles the Second of Spain, and as it is uſual to treat a nation with which one is in ſtrict friendſhip.

The eighth article fixes eight months after the ratification for the acceſſion of the other powers who ſhall be invited into the treaty.

The ninth and laſt article allows ſix weeks for exchanging the letters of ratification.

Beſides theſe, there was a ſeparate article, which declared, "That the guaranty entered into by the contracting powers, ſhould not extend to the emperor's dominions, which might be attacked by the Turks. At the ſame time his Britannic majeſty declared authentically, that notwithſtanding the introduction of Spaniſh garriſons into the ſtrong places of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, yet that he had no intention to depart from what had been ſettled by the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, either with regard to the rights of his Imperial majeſty and the empire, or to the ſecurity of the kingdoms and ſtates which his Imperial majeſty actually poſſeſſes in Italy; or, laſtly, to the preſervation of the quiet and dignity of thoſe who were then the lawful poſſeſſors of theſe duchies, and therefore he renews to the emperor the guaranty of thoſe countries. But to take away all ſuſpicion of the emperor's trifling in this matter, he emitted a declaration, of the ſame force and date with the treaty, importing, "That if the pregnant ducheſs-dowager of Parma ſhould be brought to-bed of a ſon, the introduction of the Spaniſh troops to that duchy ſhould ſtill take place; and that, if ſhe ſhould be brought to-bed of a daughter, Don Carlos was immediately to be put into poſſeſſion of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, by an eventual inveſtiture from the emperor and the empire." And his Imperial majeſty farther declares, "That in caſe the ducheſs-dowager ſhould be brought to-bed of a daughter, he will immediately withdraw his troops from the duchies of Parma and Placentia, to give way to the peaceable poſſeſſion."

Although the States-general were included in this treaty, neither France nor Spain were ſo much as mentioned in it; which ſeemed to be ſomewhat extraordinary, as to the latter at leaſt, ſince the introduction of Spaniſh garriſons into Italy with the emperor's conſent, made one of the principal ſtipulations of this new treaty; nay, what is ſtill more ſurprizing, it was with extreme difficulty that they were brought into it at laſt; and even then not without inſiſting on ſeveral alterations in the act of approbation; one of which was, that the introduction of Don Carlos with ſix thouſand Spaniſh troops into Italy, ſhould be effectuated previouſly to the execution of any engagements on their parts, however they might ſtand prior to the treaty of Seville. The Dutch were ſtill more backward in their acceſſion, and did not accede at laſt without ſeveral reſtrictions. As for the court of France, they were ſo far from liſtening to any ſollicitations on this head, that they exerted their utmoſt endeavours to prevent the concurrence of Spain: nay, they expreſſed ſuch reſentment both againſt the treaty itſelf and the manner of negotiating it, that nothing leſs was apprehended by us from them than an invaſion from Dunkirk, where they had actually aſſembled a large body of troops. To guard againſt attempts of this nature, the coaſts of Kent were immediately covered with regiments of horſe, foot, and dragoons, who were ordered to march thither from all parts of the kingdom;

dangerous monopoly into the hands of our own ſugar-planters, ſo as that the India and Turkey trades by the northern colonies could not afford to pay the rates which would be demanded, even ſuppoſing our iſlanders could make ſufficient quantities of thoſe goods for both the American and Britiſh conſumption. Fourthly, it would greatly increaſe the French ſhipping and navigation, not only in bringing lumber, horſes, &c. to their own ſugar-iſlands, but in carrying from thence to Europe all their rum and molaſſes, where, no doubt, they could find markets for them, as they already do for their ſugars, ſo as to have ſupplanted us, and to underſel us in Holland, and at Hamburgh, Cadiz, &c. Fifthly, if the complaint of the Barbadians be true, viz. that their lands are ſo far worn out, that it requires the labour of three negroes to produce as much ſugar as could formerly be raiſed by the labour of one, they need but remove to Jamaica, where they may have excellent freſh land enough; and as the value of ſuch new land is a trifle, when compared to the value of the ſtock required for a ſugar-plantation, they have that entire to carry along with them to Jamaica; and the charge and trouble of their removing thither would be amply compenſated by the abundant product of thoſe new lands; and which, conſequently, would enable them to underſel the French and Dutch plantations, the only ſeeming means left for our recovering the trade of the re-exportation of our ſugars. Sixthly, that from the foreign ſugar-colonies our northern colonies bring back conſiderable quantities of gold and ſilver along with their ſugar, rum, and molaſſes, whereby they are enabled to pay their mother-country for the vaſt quantities of her product and manufacture which they take of her; and which, without this trade, ſo much complained of, they could not poſſibly do. Laſtly, that the prohibiting the continent people from purchaſing of the foreign colonies their ſugar, rum, and molaſſes, or even laying the high duties on them, would utterly deſtroy a commerce of ſuch great conſequence to the northern colonies, as that without it they could not carry on their fiſheries, their fur-trade, and their navigation, with the Indians; neither could they diſpoſe of the product of their lands and labour, a great part of the profits whereof center in Great Britain, in payment of the manufactures, &c. they had from thence. Upon the whole, ſaid the advocates for the northern colonies, the ſecret and real view of the ſugar-iſlands is, to gain the abſolute monopoly of ſugars and rum, with reſpect to the ſubjects of Great Britain, to themſelves, that ſo they may have it in their power to exact what prices they ſhall pleaſe from the buyers.

Theſe arguments, however, being chiefly founded on ſpeculation, were not deemed ſufficient to outweigh thoſe urged on the other ſide, particularly with regard to the vaſt diſadvantages that Martinico, and all the French ſugar-iſlands, muſt be under, were they not ſupplied with horſes, tools, wood, and all kinds of utenſils for carrying on their ſugar-works; while all that the northern colonies receive in return may be ſupplied by the produce of our own ſugar-iſlands. It was then ſtrongly urged, that if they were not timely checked in their illicit practices, there might be danger of their ſetting themſelves up as an independent ſtate: in the mean time, it was ſaid, the bill in queſtion would have this good effect at leaſt, that if it paſſed into a law, it would oblige the northern colonies to apply themſelves to raiſing flax and hemp, and other naval ſtores, which muſt be of immenſe ſervice to the mother country.

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Although the States-general were included in this treaty, neither France nor Spain were ſo much as mentioned in it; which ſeemed to be ſomewhat extraordinary, as to the latter at leaſt, ſince the introduction of Spaniſh garriſons into Italy with the emperor's conſent, made one of the principal ſtipulations of this new treaty; nay, what is ſtill more ſurprizing, it was with extreme difficulty that they were brought into it at laſt; and even then not without inſiſting on ſeveral alterations in the act of approbation; one of which was, that the introduction of Don Carlos with ſix thouſand Spaniſh troops into Italy, ſhould be effectuated previouſly to the execution of any engagements on their parts, however they might ſtand prior to the treaty of Seville. The Dutch were ſtill more backward in their acceſſion, and did not accede at laſt without ſeveral reſtrictions. As for the court of France, they were ſo far from liſtening to any ſollicitations on this head, that they exerted their utmoſt endeavours to prevent the concurrence of Spain: nay, they expreſſed ſuch reſentment both againſt the treaty itſelf and the manner of negotiating it, that nothing leſs was apprehended by us from them than an invaſion from Dunkirk, where they had actually aſſembled a large body of troops. To guard againſt attempts of this nature, the coaſts of Kent were immediately covered with regiments of horſe, foot, and dragoons, who were ordered to march thither from all parts of the kingdom;

and the fluctuation which ſuch an alarm naturally occaſioned in our ſtocks, afforded the locuſts of the alley a plentiful harveſt.

Theſe apprehenſions being at length diſſipated, and news arriving that general Stampa, with the imperial forces, had taken formal poſſeſſion of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, in conſequence of the relict of the deceaſed duke at length declaring that ſhe was not with child, ſir Charles Wager was diſpatched about the latter end of Auguſt to the court of Spain, with a large ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips, in order to wait upon Don Carlos and the Spaniſh troops to his new dominions. The admiral's ſhip was fitted out in a moſt ſplendid manner for the reception of his royal highneſs; but after a courſe of pompous viſits between the commander of the Spaniſh fleet and our admiral, on his arrival at Cadiz; and the ſame honours having been afterwards paid him at the court of Seville, his Catholic majeſty was pleaſed to diſcharge him from the trouble of taking Don Carlos under his care, and required no more at his hands than to convey the Spaniſh troops to Italy, in conjunction with his own admiral. The combined fleet accordingly ſet ſail from Barcelona in the month of October, and arrived at Leghorn, from whence our ſquadron afterwards returned to England.

As ſoon as the court of Spain received intelligence that their forces were ſafely landed, and that every thing relating to the introduction of Spaniſh garriſons in Tuſcany was finiſhed, the young prince was ſent after them by land as far as Antibes, they chuſing to let him travel through France, rather than accept of thoſe magnificent accommodations which had been provided for him and his retinue on board our ſquadron, at ſo great an expence. His highneſs embarking on board the Spaniſh gallies at Antibes, landed at Leghorn on the twenty-ſeventh of December, and was received there with all poſſible marks of joy and reſpect, eſpecially by the Engliſh factory, who erected a triumphal arch in honour of the day. The imperial general, Stampa, was no ſooner informed of his arrival, than he withdrew his forces into the Milaneſe, and the infant took poſſeſſion of his new dominions.

The Engliſh miniſtry exulted not a little in the completion of their ſchemes: they challenged the boldeſt of their enemies to mention a ſingle circumſtance neceſſary for the peace of Great Britain that had been neglected. It muſt be confeſſed, that this ſecond treaty of Vienna prevented an immediate war, and ſerved to keep things together for ſome time; but it certainly did not eſtabliſh a firm and laſting peace: for, to ſpeak in the mildeſt terms, a remarkable coldneſs enſued between us and France; and the preparations in the ports of Spain, for equipping another armament the very next ſpring, ſeemed to give our miniſtry ſuch an alarm, that a fleet was fitted out here likewiſe in a great hurry, and rendezvouſed for ſome time at the Nore, under the command of ſir George Walton. This ſeemed to intimate that our court had ſome jealouſy of the deſigns of the Spaniards; for as ſoon as ſoon as certain intelligence came that they were landed near Oran, the admiral was ordered to ſtrike his flag, and the ſhips returned into harbour *.

The ſtate of the nation at the end of this year was alſo far from being tranquil, notwithſtanding the new alliances it had formed. The violence of party-pamphlets continued to ſuch a degree, that even the moſt ſacred repoſitories of friendſhip were broken up and expoſed to every vulgar eye. This ſerved only to exaſperate matters, and to render party-controverſies merely perſonal. It was generally ſuppoſed to be ſomewhat of that kind which occaſioned the diſgrace of Mr. W. Pulteney, whoſe name was in July ſtruck out of the liſt of privy-counſellors by his majeſty's command; he was alſo ordered to be put out of all commiſſions of peace; and all this on account of his being the ſuppoſed author of ſome writings highly reflecting upon the miniſter, and againſt the meaſures of the court.

In the month of October this year the duke of Lorraine paid a viſit to England; and after having had ſeveral private conferences with his majeſty, he returned to Holland in December in one of the royal yachts. Few people at this time ſuſpected the motive of his viſit, which was afterwards ſaid to be to engage (by the deſire of the emperor) his Britannic majeſty's approbation of his becoming huſband to that monarch's daughter.

The parliament of Great Britain meeting on the thirteenth of January, 1732, the king in his ſpeech declared, "That the general tranquillity of Europe was now reſtored and eſtabliſhed, and all his expectations on that head fully anſwered: that the ſhare of credit and influence which the crown of Great Britain had had in accompliſhing that difficult and diſagreeable work, and which redounded ſo much to the honour and intereſt of the nation, as it was univerſally confeſſed abroad, would, he was confident, be agreeable to his people, and acknowleged with gratitude by his parliament: that from the time of concluding the quadruple alliance, the ſeveral courts of Europe had been employed in finding means to execute the meaſures which the contracting powers had concerted for ſecuring the ſucceſſion of Tuſcany and Parma in favour of the infant of Spain; but the various, jarring, and contending intereſts, hard to be reconciled, and united, in effectuating a point of ſo much importance; the ambitious views and hopes of obtaining on every ſide farther advantages; and the natural jealouſies and ſuſpicions ariſing among the ſeveral powers concerned; all theſe oppoſite principles and purpoſes had kept in ſuſpence and unexecuted, what the court of Spain had very much at heart, and had occaſioned ſuch troubles and diſturbances as embarraſſed the affairs of Europe for many years, and particularly affected the intereſt of this nation."

The reſt of the ſpeech is in the ſame congratulating ſtile; and it concludes in the following warm manner: "This happy ſituation of affairs, I promiſe myſelf, will inſpire you all with ſuch temper and unanimity, and ſuch ardent zeal for the public welfare, as becomes a parliament ſenſible of the great bleſſings they enjoy: the duty and affection of my ſubjects is all the return I de-

* Hiſt. Reg. Naval Hiſt. Tindal.

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ſire for my paternal care and concern for them: my government has no ſecurity but what is equally conducive to the happineſs and to the welfare of my people; and their happineſs has no foundation but in the defence and ſupport of my government: our ſafety is mutual, our intereſts inſeparable."

The oppoſition to the court meaſures appears to have been uncommonly ſpirited during the courſe of this ſeſſion. When the commons returned to their houſe, the lord Tyrconnel, an Iriſh peer, made a motion for an addreſs of thanks, in which they ſhould declare their entire approbation of the king's conduct, acknowlege the bleſſings they enjoyed under his government, expreſs their confidence in the wiſdom of his councils, and declare their readineſs to grant the neceſſary ſupplies. This motion was ſeconded by Mr. Clutterbuck, but violently oppoſed by ſir Wilfred Lawſon, Mr. Shippen, Mr. W. Pulteney, ſir W. Wyndham, and Mr. Oglethorpe. They did not object againſt a general addreſs of thanks, but expoſed the abſurdity and bad tendency of expreſſions which implied a blind approbation of all the meaſures of the miniſtry. Sir Wilfred Lawſon obſerved, that notwithſtanding the great things we had done for Spain, and the favours we had procured for the royal family of that kingdom, little or no ſatisfaction had as yet been received for the injuries our merchants had ſuſtained from that nation.

Mr. Pulteney took notice, that the nation, by being guaranty to the pragmatic ſanction, laid itſelf under an obligation to aſſiſt the Auſtrian family, when attacked by any potentate whatever, except the grand ſeignior. They might be attacked, he ſaid, when it would be much againſt the intereſt of the kingdom to engage itſelf in a war upon any foreign account: that it might one day be for the intereſt of the nation to join againſt them, in order to preſerve the balance of Europe, the eſtabliſhing of which had already coſt England ſuch immenſe ſums of money; and he expreſſed his apprehenſions, that the court of Verſailles would accuſe the Engliſh of a breach of good faith, in concluding the treaty of Vienna without their participation.

Sir William Wyndham inſiſted upon the abſurdity of entering into a ſtrange variety of obligations, not only inconſiſtent with, but oppoſite to each other; obligations, the motives of which could not readily be conceived nor accounted for upon any known principles of ſound policy; for by this conduct we were made to affront in their turns all the great powers of Europe; and not only ſo, but to ſet them at variance with each other; and this was done at a prodigious expence, at a time when the nation was loaded with debts and taxes; while, on the contrary, his Imperial majeſty, by his wiſdom and ſteadineſs, had compaſſed his own ends.

Mr. Oglethorpe was of opinion, that many other things related more nearly to the honour and intereſt of the nation than did the guaranty of the pragmatic ſanction: he inſtanced the obtaining reparation for the Spaniſh depredations, the procuring the complete demolition of the harbour of Dunkirk, and the putting the militia of our own country upon ſuch a footing as might render them more uſeful in caſe of an invaſion. He mentioned the hardſhips which the proteſtants of Germany ſuffered from the houſe of Auſtria; and expreſſed his hopes, that before the Dutch acceded to the treaty of Vienna, ſuch explanations and conceſſions would be made by the emperor as ſhould ſecure the future tranquillity of Europe.

The motion was defended by Mr Pelham and Mr. H. Walpole, brother to the miniſter: the former was pay-maſter of the forces, and brother to the duke of Newcaſtle: he was liberal, candid, benevolent, and attached to the intereſts of his country, though frequently miſtaken in the true nature of them, and at all times ready to ſupport the meaſures of the miniſtry. On this occaſion he aſſerted, that it was no way inconſiſtent with the dignity of that houſe to thank his majeſty in the moſt particular terms, for every thing he had been pleaſed to communicate in his ſpeech from the throne: that no expreſſions of approbation in the addreſs could be any way made uſe of to prevent an enquiry into the meaſures which had been purſued, when the treaties ſhould be laid before the houſe. He ſaid, at the opening of a ſeſſion the eyes of all Europe were turned towards Great Britain; and from the reſolves of her parliament the neighbouring powers judged of the unanimity that would enſue between his majeſty and his people: that their appearing jealous of his majeſty's conduct would weaken his influence upon the councils of foreign ſtates and potentates, and perhaps put it out of his power to rectify any falſe ſteps that might have been made by his miniſters.

Mr. Walpole made a long ſpeech, in which he juſtified the miniſtry in every ſtep they had taken. He ſhewed that they could not, conſiſtently with the national honour and intereſt, have ſooner guarantied the pragmatic ſanction, inaſmuch as they were not ſure but the emperor deſigned Don Carlos for his ſon-in-law; in which caſe the extenſive dominions he was to poſſeſs in Italy might have proved fatal to the repoſe of Europe. He denied that there was any thing to fear from the reſentment of the court of Verſailles, who were ſtill deſirous and willing to continue in the ſtricteſt friendſhip with us. He affirmed, that had his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty guarantied the pragmatic ſanction, Don Carlos might have met with invincible obſtacles to his ſucceſſion; and that, in all probability, neither the Dutch or Great Britain would have been able to perſuade the emperor to give up the Oſtend company, or to do them juſtice in other reſpects. After a long debate the queſtion was put, the motion carried, and the addreſs preſented.

The next ſubject of importance which came before the commons was the number of land-forces. When the ſupply fell under conſideration, ſir W. Strickland, ſecretary at war, moved for ſeventeen thouſand ſeven hundred and nine men for the ſervice of the current year. He was oppoſed by Mr. (afterwards ſir) Watkyns-William Wynn, who moved that the army ſhould be reduced to twelve thouſand men. A warm debate enſuing, was managed in favour of the firſt motion, by lord Hervey, ſir Robert Walpole and his brother, Mr. Pelham, Sir Philip Yorke, attorney-general, who was a better lawyer than a politician, and ſhone more as an advocate at the bar than as an orator in the houſe of commons. The laſt partizan of the miniſtry was ſir W. Yonge, one of the lords commiſſioners of the Treaſury, of whom a modern writer has given a character, which ſeems rather dictated by party-inveteracy than by that ſpirit of

of impartiality and truth which ought to diſtinguiſh every hiſtorian. Mr. Wynne's motion was ſupported by the lord Morpeth, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Carliſle; by Mr. Walter Plumer, who ſpoke with great weight, though embittered with too great a proportion of ſeverity; by ſir W. Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, Mr. W. Pulteney, and Mr. Barnard.

The courtiers argued, that it was neceſſary to maintain ſuch a number of land-forces as might defeat the deſigns of malcontents, ſecure the interior tranquillity of the kingdom, defend it from external aſſaults, overawe its neighbours, and enable it to take vigorous meaſures, in caſe the peace of Europe ſhould be embroiled: they endeavoured to ſhew, that ever ſince the Revolution the government had never reduced its forces without having cauſe to repent it, by the encouragement which ſuch a reduction gave to their foreign and domeſtic enemies. They expoſtulated on the wiſdom of his majeſty, and his tenderneſs for the liberties of his people; together with the jealouſy of the parliament which would never ſuffer any army, raiſed by their conſent, to ſubvert either the freedom or the property of the ſubject. It was moreover obſerved, that the forces now in pay could not be properly deemed a ſtanding army, inaſmuch as they were voted and maintained from year to year.

To theſe arguments the members in the oppoſition replied, that a ſtanding force in time of peace was unconſtitutional, and had been always thought dangerous: that a militia was as capable of diſcipline as a ſtanding army, and would have more incentives to courage and perſeverance: that the civil magiſtrate was able to preſerve the power of the country; and that the number of malcontents was contemptible, though it might be conſiderably augmented by maintaining a ſtanding army, and meaſures of the like arbitrary tendency. Other nations, it was ſaid, had been enſlaved by ſtanding armies. Hiſtory, ancient and modern, was produced for examples. The Roman army, who had ſubverted the liberties of their country, that of Cromwell, and of James II. were adduced as inſtances to heighten the parallel the oppoſers of the bill laboured to eſtabliſh.

Theſe remarks were anſwered by ſir Robert Walpole, who ſaid, that there could be no danger of this ſort from the preſent army, which was commanded by men whoſe properties were too conſiderable to ſuffer them to head, or even to encourage any attempt againſt the civil conſtitution of their country: that all arguments drawn from paſt times, againſt a regular military force, were foreign to the purpoſe, conſidering the vaſt alterations which had been introduced into the civil ſyſtem of Great Britain, and of all Europe: that England was now a commercial nation, and could not ſpare from her trade and manufactures a number of men ſufficient to defend her as a militia, in caſe ſhe was attacked by regular troops, great armies of which were now kept on foot by all her neighbours: that the maintaining of the propoſed number of troops was not only dictated by prudence, but, if the matter was duly conſidered, by oeconomy likewiſe: that, ſhould the army be reduced, the nation would be in the moſt imminent danger, from the deſigns of Jacobites and diſaffected perſons: and, finally, that it was well known that the papiſts and Jacobites were then, and always had been, the moſt forward in the cry for the reduction of the army.

Mr. Plumer complained, that the country was oppreſſed by an arbitrary method of quartering ſoldiers, in an undue proportion, upon thoſe publicans who refuſed to vote in elections, according to the direction of the miniſtry. Mr. Pulteney aſſerted, that the money raiſed for the ſuſtenance of eighteen thouſand men in England would maintain ſixty thouſand French or Germans, or the ſame number of almoſt any other people on the continent. Sir W. Wyndham declared, that eighteen thouſand of the Engliſh troops in the late war were maintained on leſs than two thirds of the ſum now demanded for the like number. Beſides, the expediency of reducing the number from eighteen thouſand to twelve thouſand, was inſiſted upon as the natural conſequence even of his majeſty's own declaration from the throne; by which he had given his parliament to underſtand, "that the peace of Europe was eſtabliſhed, and that he had nothing ſo much at heart as the eaſe and proſperity of his people." If eighteen thouſand men then, it was ſaid, were ſufficient, on the ſuppoſed eve of a general war in Europe (as was the caſe laſt year) it was ſurely reaſonable to think that a leſs number would ſuffice when peace was perfectly re-eſtabliſhed. Whatever ſolidity might be in theſe reaſons, or however they might be the ſentiments of the nation, they made no impreſſion on the houſe, where the majority reſolved that the ſtanding army ſhould be maintained without reduction *.

The miniſter, conſcious of his own unpopularity, reſolved at this time to make an attempt to recover his credit with the landed gentlemen of England. This was no other than a ſcheme to give them relief by reviving the duty upon ſalt, in order the more eaſily to lighten the burden of the land-tax. Accordingly, in a grand committee of the houſe, ſir Robert Walpole ſaid, "That in raiſing the ſupplies granted, his majeſty's intention was, that the burden ſhould fall as equally as poſſible upon the ſubjects: that it had long lain upon the gentlemen of the landed intereſt: that no tax could be more general than that upon ſalt, or more tolerable to individuals, be they ever ſo poor; whereas the land-tax, which had continued for forty years, affected the land-holders only. He therefore moved, that the duties upon ſalt, which about two years before had been aboliſhed, ſhould now be revived, and granted to his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, for the term of three years." In order to ſweeten this propoſal, he declared, that the land-tax for the enſuing year ſhould be reduced to one ſhilling in the pound.

Plauſible as this propoſal was, it did not operate ſo ſtrongly with the houſe as the author expected. The country-party to a man inveighed loudly againſt it: they obſerved, that two years had elapſed ſince the king, in a ſpeech from the throne, had exhorted them to aboliſh ſome of the taxes that were the moſt burdenſome to the poor. The

* Parliamentary Debates. Hiſt. Rep. Tindal. Smollett.

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houſe was then of opinion, that the tax upon ſalt was the moſt burthenſome, and the moſt pernicious to the trade of the kingdom of all the impoſitions to which the poor were ſubjected, and therefore it was taken off; but that no good reaſon could be produced for altering their opinion ſo ſuddenly, and reſolving to grind the faces of the poor, in order to eaſe a few rich men of the landed intereſt.

Mr. Plumer, in particular, took upon him to anſwer the miniſter, and, in the courſe of his ſpeech, obſerved, that the character of a right tax was wanting in this: for, ſo far from taxing the luxuries, it taxed the moſt ordinary neceſſaries of life; that the motion, if approved, tended to diſtreſs the landed gentlemen more than the land-tax itſelf, inaſmuch as by diſabling manufacturers from carrying on their trade, it would diſable tenants from paying their rents; and, moreover, it was highly impolitic, ſince the revival of it might alienate the affections of the people from his majeſty. He deſired every landed gentleman that heard him, to conſider what he could make of his eſtate if we had no trade, no manufactures, nor any number of populous trading towns in England: he aſked, who would be ſuch a fool as to deſire to be relieved of one ſhilling in the pound upon the land-tax, when he muſt pay as much another way, namely for the ſalt made uſe of in his family, and when at the ſame time he diminiſhes the yearly income of his eſtate much more than one ſhilling in the pound, nay more than any land-tax ever amounted to in England. The land-tax, he ſaid, was but an annual diminution of a gentleman's eſtate; he might be free of it, or part of it, the ſucceeding year: but if, by the decay of trade and the hardſhip that was laid upon the poor farmer, he ſhould be obliged to lower the rents of his eſtate, that would be a diminution which, it was to be feared, would endure for ever."

Some other gentlemen in the oppoſition obſerved, that while this tax was exacted in England, a great number of merchants ſent their ſhips to Ireland to be victualled for their reſpective voyages; that ſince it had been aboliſhed, many experiments had been ſucceſsfully tried with ſalt for the improvement of agriculture, which would be entirely defeated by the revival of this impoſition, which was likely to anſwer no one good purpoſe, but to the miniſter, who would now have it in his power to employ a great number of additional officers in the revenue, all of them wholly depending upon him, whoſe influence in elections they would proportionably increaſe.

Mr. Walpole, reſuming his diſcourſe, ſaid, that with regard to the objection, that the revival of the duty would be prejudicial to the commerce of England, he begged leave to obſerve, that the trade and commerce of England had never made ſo rapid a progreſs as during the thirty years that this tax laſted, and that the victualling of ſhips at Corke, in Ireland, in order to avoid paying the duty in England, was ſo far from being detrimental, that it was in fact beneficial to the kingdom; that as to another objection, as if the revival of the duty would hurt agriculture, the allegation itſelf was founded on a falſe fact, inaſmuch as that ſpecies of the commodity which was proper for manure, might be had in any quantity free from duty.

Some other ſpeeches were made upon the ſubject, particularly one by Mr. Pulteney, who undertook to refute all the arguments of the miniſtry in favour of the tax. The queſtion, however, being put, was carried in the affirmative, but not without the moſt violent debates. The bill met with much the ſame treatment in the upper houſe, where it was warmly conteſted, but finally paſſed.

The reader will readily remember, that, in the laſt ſeſſion, ſome complaints had been made againſt the Charitable Corporation, to the houſe of commons: it now became a very ſerious affair. This company was firſt erected in the year 1707. Their profeſſed intention was to lend money at legal intereſt to the poor, upon ſmall pledges, and to perſons of better rank upon an indubitable ſecurity of goods impawned. Their capital was at firſt limited to thirty thouſand pounds, but, by licences from the crown, they increaſed it to ſixty thouſand pounds. In the month of October, of the preceding year, George Robinſon, eſq. member for Marlow, their caſhier, and John Thompſon, warehouſe-keeper of the corporation, diſappeared in one day. The proprietors, alarmed at this incident, held ſeveral general courts, and appointed a committee to examine the ſtate of their affairs, when it ſoon appeared that a moſt pernicious ſcene of villany had been carried on, inaſmuch as thirty thouſand pounds was all that could be diſcovered to anſwer a capital of near ſixty thouſand pounds, the remainder having been embezzled by means which could not be diſcovered. The proprietors hereupon preſented a petition to the houſe of commons, repreſenting, that by the moſt notorious breach of truſt in ſeveral perſons, to whom they had committed the management of their affairs, the corporation had been defrauded of the greateſt part of their capital, and many of the proprietors were reduced to abſolute beggary; they therefore humbly prayed, that, as they were unable to detect the combinations of thoſe who had ruined them, or to bring the delinquents to condign puniſhment, without the aid and aſſiſtance of parliament, that houſe would be pleaſed to examine into the ſtate of the corporation, and the conduct of the managers, and give ſuch relief to the petitioners as the houſe ſhould think proper.

This petition was very graciouſly received, and the houſe appointed a committee to conduct the enquiry. They ſoon diſcovered a moſt iniquitous ſcene of fraud, in conſequence of which, Mr. Robinſon, ſir Robert Sutton, and ſir Alexander Grant, were expelled the houſe, for having had a conſiderable ſhare in theſe malpractices; and a bill was brought in to reſtrain them, with their accomplices, Dennis Bond, William Burroughs, George Jackſon, Benjamin Robinſon, Richard Wooley, and Thomas Warren, eſqrs. from leaving the kingdom, or alienating their effects.

While the committee was ſitting upon this black affair, they received a letter from one Belloni, a banker at Rome, informing them, that Thompſon, the warehouſe-keeper, was ſecured in that city, with all his papers, and confined in the caſtle of St. Angelo, and that the papers were tranſmitted to his (Belloni's) correſpondent at Paris, who ſhould deliver them up, on certain conditions ſtipulated in favour of the priſoner.

From ſeveral concurring circumſtances, and the characters of the perſons concerned in conducting

this intelligence, the committee inferred, that it was no other than an artifice to insinuate a favourable opinion of the pretender, as if he had procured the arrest of Thompson, from his zeal for justice, and affection to the English nation; the proposals contained in the letter were therefore rejected with disdain, and both houses concurred in an order, that the letter should be burned by the hands of the common hangman, at the Royal Exchange: and the lower house came to the following resolution: "That it was an insolent audacious libel, attempting, by false and insidious insinuations, to impose upon the parliament and people of Great Britain; and, by specious pretences, and professions of esteem, affection, and compassion, to amuse the unhappy sufferers of the Charitable Corporation, with vain and deceitful hopes of relief; that the said letter was, in itself, absurd and contradictory, conceived, at the beginning, in terms, and in the style of power and authority, or as proceeding from some extraordinary interest and influence, but concluding in the person and character of a private banker at Rome, who agreed upon certain conditions in behalf of John Thompson to deliver certain books and papers belonging to the said Thompson; that the conditions required and demanded in favour of Thompson, seemed at the same time to be vague, evasive, and uncertain, tending to procure advantages and indemnity to himself and his accomplices, without any prospect of benefit to the corporation: and that the whole transaction appeared to be a scandalous artifice, calculated purely to delude the unhappy, and partly to disguise and conceal the wicked practices of the professed enemies to his majesty's person, crown, and dignity."

Another, but a more daring and barefaced instance of the abuse of parliamentary confidence, happened to be discovered this session, by the unwearied application of lord Gage. Certain commissioners had been appointed to sell the English estates forfeited by the rebellion of the year 1715; and among others, the forfeited reversion of one that had belonged to the Derwentwater family, which was adjudged worth nine thousand pounds a year: this reversion had been sold, in a clandestine manner, by two of the commissioners only, to one Mr. Smith, a friend of theirs, for the trifling sum of one thousand pounds. This affair was no sooner known abroad, than it made a very great noise, and, by the indefatigable pains which lord Gage took, the whole mystery of iniquity was minutely detected; in consequence of which a bill was prepared in the lower house, to make the sale void. Dennis Bond, esq. (the same who was concerned in the Charitable Corporation affair) and serjeant Birch, commissioners for the sale of the forfeited estates, were declared guilty of a notorious breach of trust, and expelled the house, of which they were members. During this session, no less than five members of parliament were expelled for the most sordid acts of knavery; a melancholy proof of national degeneracy.

All the supplies were granted, and, among other articles, the sum of twenty-two thousand six hundred and ninety-four pounds, seven shillings, and six pence, for the agio or difference of money in the subsidies payable to the crown of Denmark, in pursuance of the treaty subsisting between the late king and that monarch; but this was not obtained without a violent dispute, in which Mr. Pulteney greatly distinguished himself. On this occasion some words happened between him and Mr. Pelham, which brought on a challenge, and both gentlemen went out of the house in order to terminate their dispute without delay; which being observed by the speaker, he ordered the serjeant at arms to follow them forthwith, and summon them to return to the service of the house: they complied, and Mr. Speaker then obliged each severally to declare that they would not prosecute any quarrel, or shew any farther resentment, for what had passed between them in the house; and here the affair ended. The misfortune was, at the time we now treat of, personal invectives were too common between both parties.

The pension-bill was revived this session, for the third time, and again rejected by the house of lords. Some efforts were likewise made towards restoring the trade of the sugar-colonies in America, but they met with so strong an opposition from the northern colonies, that they proved of little or no effect: an act, however, passed for encouraging the growth of coffee in his majesty's plantations in America.

It was not only in the house of commons that the minister had a strong opposition to encounter; the peers were far from unanimously approving his measures. On the rejection of the pension-bill, several lords entered very spirited protests. When the number of standing forces came to be debated, the earl of Chesterfield argued for the court motion. The earl of Oxford moved for the reducing them to twelve thousand effective men. The earl of Winchilsea observed, that a standing army rendered ministers of state more daring than otherwise they would be, in contriving and executing projects that were grievous to the people; schemes that never could enter into the heads of any but those who were drunk with excess of power. The marquis of Tweedale, in reasoning against such a number as the ministry proposed, took occasion to observe, that not one shilling of the forfeited estates was ever applied to the use of the public; he likewise took notice, that the eighteen thousand men demanded as a standing force, were now modelled in such a manner, that they might be speedily augmented to forty thousand, on any emergency. The duke of Argyll endeavoured to demonstrate the danger of depending for the safety of the kingdom upon an undisciplined militia, a fleet, or an army of auxiliaries; then he represented the necessity of having recourse to a regular army in case of invasion; and, after all, acknowleged that the number proposed was no way sufficient for that purpose. All his arguments were answered by lord Carteret; nevertheless victory declared for the ministry.

The parliament having granted every branch of the supply, towards the payment of which they borrowed a sum out of the sinking fund, and passed divers acts for the encouragement of commerce and agriculture, the king, on the first day of June, gave the royal assent to the bills that were prepared, and closed the session, after having informed both houses, that the States-general had acceded to the treaty of Vienna, that he had determined to visit his German dominions, and to leave the queen regent in his absence: he accordingly set out for Hanover in the beginning of June. By this time the pragmatic sanction was confirmed by the diet of the empire, though not without a formal protest by the electors Palatine, Bavaria, and Saxony.

In this ſame year, a number of gentlemen of diſtinction and worth ſet on foot one of the moſt diſintereſted, charitable, and (to the public) beneficial deſigns, that was ever undertaken. Hitherto all our American colonies were profeſſedly planted for the immediate benefit of the undertakers; but this was ſolely for a national and charitable purpoſe, without any other benefit to the undertakers than what reſults from the pleaſure of doing good. Moſt of them were members of parliament, who having lately had occaſion to obſerve the miſery of the priſoners confined in our gaols for debt, were moved with compaſſion for the relief of ſuch unfortunate objects, who, were they ſettled in ſome new colony in our plantations, might, inſtead of a burden and a diſgrace, prove a great advantage to their country; and that, moreover, many perſecuted proteſtants from beyond ſea might take the benefit of ſuch a colony, for ſetting up their reſidence there, with the free enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties.

There was ſtill a great part of the charter-lands of South Carolina, ſituated on the ſouthern part of that province, bordering upon Florida, remaining unplanted, which it was highly the intereſt of Great Britain to occupy and plant as ſoon as poſſible, leſt either the Spaniards from Florida, or the French behind it, from their uſurpation of Miſſiſippi, ſhould ſeize on and plant what they found ſo unoccupied; more eſpecially as the latter people greatly lamented their not having any footing on any part of the eaſtern ſhores of North America, ſo as to communicate more eaſily with their ſugar-iſlands, their voyages to and from the Miſſiſippi colony being by no means ſo convenient for receiving thence ſupplies of proviſions, lumber, &c. which they were, for that reaſon, obliged to take from our Britiſh continent-colonies. This vacancy then was judged abſolutely neceſſary to be filled up as ſoon as poſſible.

Theſe reaſons were ſufficiently urgent for gentlemen of ſo public-ſpirited a character and diſpoſition to make the attempt. But firſt they were to be authoriſed by his majeſty's perpetual charter, which they obtained in this ſame year, 1732, on the ninth of June, "empowering twenty-one gentlemen by name, and ſuch others as they ſhould, from time to time, elect into their body, to be truſtees for eſtabliſhing the colony therein named Georgia, in America, bounded between the moſt northern ſtream of the river Savannah, and the moſt ſouthern ſtream of the river Alatamaha (an extent of upwards of one hundred miles) along the ſea-coaſt; and going weſtward from the heads of the ſaid rivers, in direct lines, to the South Sea; with the iſlands within twenty leagues of the ſea-coaſt. The ſaid truſtees were thereby empowered to receive and manage the contributions of all perſons and corporations inclined to give money for the tranſporting of people to, and ſettling them in, the ſaid colony. This corporation was made capable in law to hold and purchaſe lands, &c. in Great Britain, to the value of one thouſand pounds yearly, and in America to an unlimited value, for the ſaid charitable purpoſe. Their common council was to conſiſt of fifteen perſons, with power to make them up twenty-four (as they afterwards were). Georgia was to remain for ever an independent province, ſave only that the government of its militia ſhall remain in the governor of South Carolina; but the government of the colony in other reſpects to be in the truſtees for twenty-one years, when it was to be veſted in the crown. Liberty of conſcience and freedom of worſhip allowed to all its inhabitants, papiſts excepted. No truſtee to hold lands or office in Georgia. The grants of lands to be regiſtered in England, in the office of the auditor of the plantations."

It may be truly ſaid that the truſtees took all poſſible pains for executing the truſt, and no one diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much as Mr. (afterwards lieutenant general) Oglethorpe, who had the principal ſhare in firſt ſetting this undertaking on foot. They erected two good towns, Savannah and Frederica, at the north and ſouth extremities of the province, beſides ſeveral villages and ſmall forts; and one in particular among the Indians, called Auguſta, with a ſmall garriſon, for the protection of the Indian trade, two hundred and forty miles inland, up the river Savannah. They planted a common nurſery-garden for white-mulberry trees, for the feeding of ſilk-worms. By the planting of Georgia, Carolina has felt the benefit of being able to run out (as they term it) much land, which till that new frontier barrier was eſtabliſhed, they had no inclination to do, whereby thoſe lands have been raiſed to five times their former value about Port Royal and towards the river Savannah.

Georgia produces a great variety of excellent plants and drugs, and orange-trees in ſome parts of it; great plenty of horſes and black cattle are raiſed, and the Saltzburghers (who went over there from Germany) have ſince raiſed more corn than the colony could conſume. There is plenty of wild fowl, and alſo fiſh on its coaſts; and ſince it has fallen under the government of the crown, it gradually increaſes in people and improvements. Upon the whole, Georgia cannot fail to be of great ſervice to Great Britain on many accounts. The Engliſh navy may, in its harbours and bays, in caſe of a war, ſafely lie in wait for the Spaniſh galleons, or for the French from Miſſiſippi, in their return to Europe through the dangerous gulph of Florida. The truſtees erected a fort in the country of the Upper Creek Indians, almoſt four hundred miles from the ſea, and not above forty miles from the neareſt French fort in Miſſiſippi, whereby all that tract of country is kept poſſeſſion of for us.

We will now turn our eyes upon the ſituation of affairs on the continent. The States-general had ſucceeded in forwarding the project of a marriage between the eldeſt archduchеſs of Auſtria and the duke of Lorraine, by which means the indiviſibility of the Auſtrian dominions, the great object of the pragmatic ſanction, was ſecured, without ſubjecting Europe to any apprehenſions of danger by her matching with a more powerful prince. They had procured a full and perpetual abolition of the Oſtend company; and all their diſputes with the emperor in Eaſt Frieſland were adjuſted to their entire ſatisfaction.

The court of Vienna ſeemed cordially to return to its ancient ſyſtem of harmony and friendſhip with Great Britain; but carried its perſecutions againſt its proteſtant ſubjects to ſuch an height of cruelty, that the king of England was obliged to interpoſe in their behalf. France, by the bigotry of cardinal de Fleury, and the blind deference of the ſovereign to that miniſter, was rent in pieces by

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religious diſſenſions, which, while they deſtroyed her own internal tranquility, rendered her incapable of diſturbing that of her neighbours.

Spain having compaſſed her favourite point of ſetling don Carlos in Italy, now undertook an expedition againſt Oran, a town of ſome conſequence, which lies oppoſite to Carthagena, and which the Spaniards, after having poſſeſſed for two hundred years, had loſt to the Moors in 1708. This expedition fully anſwered the purpoſe for which it had been undertaken, they not only taking Oran, but making themſelves alſo maſters of the ſtrong fort of Mazalquivir. It was the armament fitted out for this expedition that had given that alarm to our court, of which I have already taken notice.

Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, after having abdicated the throne in favour of his ſon Charles Emanuel, ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded by his wife, an ambitious woman, to engage in ſome intrigues for reſuming the ſovereign ſway; but theſe being diſcovered by his ſon, the reigning king, he ordered his perſon to be ſecured at Montcalier, and conveyed to Rivoli, under a ſtrong guard: his wife, the counteſs of St. Sebaſtian, was conducted to Ceva.

The diſpute that had long ſubſiſted between the king of Pruſſia and the young prince of Orange, touching his ſucceſſion to the eſtates poſſeſſed by king William III. (in quality of prince of Orange) was at laſt adjuſted by a formal treaty, ſigned at Berlin and Dieren.

I ſhall cloſe this ſhort review of the affairs of Europe this year, with an intereſting event that happened in Pruſſia, where the prince-royal (the preſent famous king of Pruſſia), nephew to his Britannic majeſty, had fallen under the diſpleaſure of his father; a reconciliation, however, was happily effected this year, by the prince-royal conſenting to marry the princeſs of Bevern, a match which, though rather diſagreeable to himſelf, was the price he was obliged to pay for being re-admitted into favour with his father. The virtues of this lady, however, were ſuch, that when the prince ſucceeded to the throne, he voluntarily ſhared with her his royalty.

The Dutch were alarmed about this time with an apprehenſion of being overwhelmed by an inundation, occaſioned by an extraordinary ſpecies of worms which bred in the piles and timber-work that ſupported their dykes, and threatened the deſtruction of thoſe props of their common-wealth. They prayed, they faſted, they humbled themſelves in the moſt extraordinary manner before heaven, in order to avert a calamity which they knew not how otherwiſe to guard againſt: at length they were delivered from their terrors by an hard froſt, which effectually deſtroyed theſe dangerous enemies. At the cloſe of this year, M. Dieden, plenipotentiary from the elector of Hanover at the imperial court, received the inveſtiture of Bremen and Verden from the hands of the emperor*.

The hiſtory of England at this period, cannot but be very dry and unentertaining to the reader, as it furniſhes no domeſtic occurrences worth mentioning, conſiſting chiefly in an annual revolution of debates in parliament, in which the ſame arguments are perpetually recurring on the ſame ſubjects.

His majeſty being returned from his German dominions, the ſeſſion of parliament was opened on the ſixteenth of January, 1733, by a ſpeech from the throne, wherein the king declared, that the ſituation of affairs, both at home and abroad, rendered it unneceſſary for him to lay before the two houſes any other reaſons for calling them together, but the ordinary diſpatch of the public buſineſs, and his deſire of receiving their advice in ſuch affairs as ſhould require the care and conſideration of parliament. When an addreſs of thanks came to be propoſed, importing the entire ſatisfaction of the houſe at the preſent ſituation of affairs, as well foreign as domeſtic, the country members obſerved, in oppoſition to it, that there appeared very little reaſon for the nation to be ſatisfied with the preſent poſture of affairs; for, in the firſt place, it was very well known that the French were actually buſied in repairing the fortifications of Dunkirk, in direct violation of the moſt ſolemn treaties; that the Britiſh merchants were ſtill left expoſed to the cruel and inſolent depredations of the Spaniards; that the commerce of England daily decreaſed; and that every ſeſſion of parliament opened a new ſcene of villany and impoſition: the addreſs, however, was carried by the court party by a conſiderable majority.

The penſion-bill was once more revived, and again loſt in the houſe of peers. All the reaſons formerly advanced againſt a ſtanding army were now repeated, and a reduction of the number warmly inſiſted upon; but to very little effect, the army being voted on the preſent eſtabliſhment. The next debate of note was with regard to the Spaniſh depredations, when ſir Wilfred Lawſon made a motion to addreſs his majeſty, to know what ſatisfaction had been made by Spain for the depredations committed on the Britiſh merchants. This motion occaſioned a violent debate; the miniſter would gladly have evaded it, but he could not do it with decency, or even without danger. His tenderneſs for the court of Spain had made him indulge them in various delays, as to the execution of the treaty of Seville, with regard to their harraſſing the Engliſh in America. Sir Robert Walpole was ſenſible this conduct of his had given the oppoſition an advantage againſt him; but he acted on this occaſion with great addreſs and no leſs honour, by frankly owning that his majeſty had nothing to lay before the houſe upon the motion which had been made, as many unforeſeen accidents had prevented the commiſſaries from entering upon buſineſs ſooner than the month of February laſt: however, he hoped affairs would be ſettled in ſuch a manner as to give full ſatisfaction to every member of that houſe, and full reparation to every one of the ſubjects of Great Britain, who had met with a real injury from the Spaniards. This apology, however, was treated with great contempt by the members in the oppoſition, and the miniſter, though he could have carried the queſtion, ſuffered it to go againſt him, rather than inflame the minds of his adverſaries too much, whom he well knew poſſeſſed the confidence of the nation. The addreſs was accordingly preſented, and an anſwer came from the crown, which was little more than a copy of the apology which the miniſter had made in the houſe.

* Hiſtorical Regiſter. Annals of Europe. Tindal.

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The warm diſpute between the Britiſh American ſugar-colonies and the Britiſh northern colonies, which had laſted from the year 1731, concerning the trade of the latter with the French, Dutch, and Daniſh ſugar-colonies, of which we have already treated, was now reconſidered by the houſe, and at length finally terminated by the prudent temperament of an act for the better ſecuring and encouraging the trade of his majeſty's ſugar colonies in America, which laid a duty upon all rum, ſugar, and molaſſes, brought from the northern colonies.

While the commons were deliberating upon the ſupply, ſir Robert Walpole moved, on the twenty-third of February, that five hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be iſſued out of the ſinking fund for the ſervice of the enſuing year. It is not to be ſuppoſed that a motion of this nature could paſs without being ſeverely animadverted upon by the members in the oppoſition: accordingly ſir William Wyndham, Mr. Pulteney, and ſir John Barnard, exerted all their force of argumentation to expoſe the miniſter for his iniquitous practices of pillaging ſo ſacred a depoſit, ſolemnly appropriated to the diſcharge of the national debt. Sir Robert heard and anſwered with amazing temper and coolneſs, all the invidious reflections, the bitter ſarcaſms, and the perſonal invectives with which his opponents loaded him; he knew that the oppoſition might juſtly be termed "vox & preterea nihil," a mere empty ſound, and that all their objections would vaniſh before his ſuperior influence. The motion was approved by the majority, and the ſum accordingly taken for the uſe of the crown.

A ferment very dangerous to the miniſter was, however, now working in the nation. He had begun, ſo long ago as the year 1724, to encreaſe the number of exciſes, by changing the cuſtoms on coffee, tea, and chocolate, to an inland duty; he had brought the ſalt duty, after he had detached it from the ſinking fund, and remitted it a ſhort time (to ſoothe the people), under the ſame regulation. This laſt alteration gave ſome alarm, though the firſt had paſſed off very eaſily; but the ſcheme which the miniſter now meditated, and of which he made no ſecret, namely, an exciſe upon the two articles of wine and tobacco, had impreſſed the people with the notion that little leſs than a general exciſe was intended. Never in the memory of man was the nation ſo alarmed at the deſigns of a miniſter as in the preſent caſe. The court-writers had endeavoured to prepare the people for this new inland duty, by a pamphlet entitled "Some general Conſiderations concerning the Alteration and Improvement of the Public Revenues;" but for ſome months before it was propoſed in the houſe, it became the chief ſubject of contention between the court and country-writers; and the Craftſman in particular gave ſuch a hiſtory and picture of exciſes in his weekly eſſays, as raiſed in the people moſt terrible apprehenſions concerning the extenſion of them. Theſe papers were collected together, and publiſhed under the title of "Arguments againſt Exciſes." They had their effect, and an univerſal clamour was raiſed againſt the miniſterial propoſal even before it had been offered to the public. When the parliament met, it was every week expected that ſir Robert Walpole would lay his ſcheme before the commons, and very broad hints were thrown out upon that ſubject; and in the debates occaſioned by the miniſter's motion for iſſuing and applying five hundred thouſand pounds out of the ſinking fund, for the ſervice of the current year, Mr. Pulteney happening to ſay, that "Though he was aware of the motion now made by that honourable gentleman ſitting near him, yet he was in hopes, that what he had now moved for, was not all that he was to open that day in the committee," and then mentioning the exciſe project, and painting it in the moſt frightful colours, almoſt all the gentlemen who ſpoke after, made a digreſſion from the point under conſideration to that in expectation, and anticipated the propoſition before it was made. In all probability, however, it was made the ſooner on this occaſion, the country gentlemen inſiſting on it while the houſe was full, and before the members were tired with attendance. The call of the houſe having been fixed to the ſeventh of March, ſir Robert Walpole then propoſed that day ſevennight for reſolving into a committee of the whole houſe, to conſider of the moſt proper methods for the better ſecurity and improvement of the duties and revenues charged upon, and payable from, tobacco and wine.

On the fourteenth of March the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms and of the exciſe attending, purſuant to an order of the preceding day, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer opened and explained his ſcheme in a long ſtudied ſpeech. He began by taking notice of the arts which had been uſed to prejudice the people againſt his ſcheme before it was known. He affirmed, that the clamours occaſioned by theſe prejudices had originally ariſen from ſmugglers and unfair traders, who had enriched themſelves by cheating the public; and that theſe had been ſtrenuouſly aſſiſted by another ſet of men, fond of every opportunity to ſtir up the people of Great Britain to mutiny and ſedition. He expatiated on the frauds that were committed in that branch of the revenue ariſing from tobacco; upon the hardſhips to which the American planters were ſubjected by the heavy duties payable on importation, as well as by the ill uſage they had met with from their factors and correſpondents in England, who, from being their ſervants, were now become their maſters; upon the injury done to the fair trader, and the loſs ſuſtained by the public in reſpect to the revenue. He aſſerted, that the ſcheme he was about to propoſe, would remove all theſe inconveniencies, prevent numberleſs frauds, perjuries, and falſe entries, and add two or three hundred thouſand pounds per annum to the public revenue. He entered into a long detail of frauds practiſed by the knaviſh dealers in thoſe commodities; he recited the ſeveral acts of parliament that related to the duties on wine and tobacco; he declared he had no intention to promote a general exciſe; he endeavoured to obviate ſome objections that might be made to his plan, the nature of which he at length explained. He propoſed to join the laws of exciſe to thoſe of the cuſtoms: that the farther ſubſidy of three farthings per pound, chargeable upon imported tobacco, ſhould be ſtill levied at the cuſtom-houſe, and payable to his majeſty's civil liſt, as heretofore: that then the tobacco ſhould be lodged in warehouſes, to be appointed for that purpoſe by the commiſſioners of the exciſe; that the keeper of each warehouſe, appointed likewiſe by the commiſſioners, ſhould have

one lock and key, and the merchant importer have another, and that the tobacco ſhould be thus ſecured until the merchant ſhould find vent for it, either by exportation or home conſumption: that the part deſigned for exportation ſhould be weighed at the cuſtom-houſe, diſcharged of the three farthings per pound, which had been paid at its firſt importation, and then exported without farther trouble: that the portion deſigned for home conſumption ſhould, in the preſence of the warehouſe-keeper, be delivered to the purchaſer, upon his paying the inland duty of four pence per pound weight to the proper officer appointed to receive it; by which means the merchant would be eaſed of the inconvenience of paying the duty upon importation, or of giving bond and finding ſecurities for the payment, before he had found a market for the commodity: that all penalties and forfeitures, ſo far as they formerly belonged to the crown, ſhould for the future be applied to the uſe of the public: that appeals in this, as well as in all other caſes relating to the exciſe, ſhould be heard and determined by two or three of the judges, to be named by his majeſty, and in the country by the judge of aſſize upon the next circuit, who ſhould hear and determine ſuch appeals in the moſt ſummary manner, without the formality of proceeding in courts of law and equity.

Such was the ſubſtance of the famous exciſe ſcheme, the propoſing of which occaſioned the moſt intereſting debate that could happen in a Britiſh houſe of commons. It held till two of the clock next morning, and was managed and maintained by all the ableſt ſpeakers on both ſides the queſtion. Sir Robert Walpole was anſwered by Mr. Perry, one of the members for the city of London. Sir Paul Methuen joined in the oppoſition. Sir John Barnard, another repreſentative of the city of London, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſame cauſe: he was ſupported by Mr. Pulteney, ſir William Wyndham, and others of the country party; while ſir Philip Yorke (now appointed lord chief juſtice of the King's Bench, and ennobled in the courſe of the enſuing year), warmly eſpouſed the miniſter's ſcheme; as did alſo ſir Joſeph Jekyll, maſter of the Rolls, aſſiſted by the lord Hervey, ſir Thomas Robinſon, ſir William Young, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Winnington, which laſt was far the moſt eminent for talents and addreſs of all the miniſterial advocates.

Thoſe who argued againſt the ſcheme, accuſed the miniſter of having miſrepreſented the frauds, and made falſe calculations as to the hardſhips under which it had been ſaid the planters laboured. They affirmed, that the planters had never thought of complaining, till put upon it by letters and applications from London: that the ſcheme was ſo far from being calculated to relieve the planters, that it would expoſe the factors to ſuch grievous oppreſſion, that they would not be able to continue the trade, conſequently the planters would be utterly ruined; and, after all, it would not prevent the frauds againſt which it was ſaid to be provided: that from the examination of the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, it appeared that thoſe funds did not exceed forty thouſand pounds per annum, and might be in a great meaſure aboliſhed by a due execution of the laws in being, conſequently this ſcheme was unneceſſary, would be ineffectual in augmenting the revenue, deſtructive to trade, and dangerous to the liberties of the ſubject, as it tended to promote a general exciſe, which was in all countries conſidered as a grievous oppreſſion. They ſuggeſted that it would produce an additional ſwarm of officers and warehouſe-keepers appointed and paid by the Treaſury, ſo as to multiply the dependents on the crown, and enable it ſtill farther to check the freedom of elections: that the traders would become ſlaves to exciſemen and warehouſe keepers, as they would be debarred all acceſs to their own commodities except at certain hours, when attended by thoſe officers; that the merchant, for every quantity of tobacco he ſhould ſell, would be obliged to make a journey, or ſend a meſſenger to the office for a permit, which could not be obtained without trouble, expence, and delay; and that if a law ſhould be enacted in favour of this ſcheme, it would in all probability be ſome time or other uſed as a precedent for introducing exciſe laws into every branch of the revenue, in which caſe the liberty of Great Britain would be no more.

After a very warm debate, the queſtion being put, upon a motion made by the miniſter, that the preſent duties on wine and tobacco ſhould, from and after the twenty-fourth of June next, ceaſe and determine, it was carried in the affirmative by two hundred and ſixty-ſix againſt two hundred and five.

The other reſolutions ſubſequent to this, for altering the cuſtoms to an inland duty on thoſe commodities, and appropriating this inland duty to the ſame uſes as the cuſtoms, were paſſed without a diviſion. Thus did the exciſe ſcheme triumph for the firſt day; and even on the ſixteenth, upon the report of the committee, after another long debate, it was agreed to by much the ſame majority, when it was ordered that a bill ſhould be brought in purſuant to the ſaid reſolutions. As the hiſtory of this bill will be ever memorable in Great Britain, I ſhall give an abſtract of it from the Hiſtorical Regiſter for the year 1733, with the arguments for and againſt it, as the only means of giving a juſt notion of the whole affair.

This famous bill was brought in on the fourth of April, and read the firſt time, after which Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, by his majeſty's command, acquainted the houſe, that his majeſty conſented to their making ſuch alterations as they ſhould think fit for the public ſervice, in relation to the ſubſidy on tobacco, then payable on account of his majeſty's civil liſt. It was next objected, that ſome parts of the ſaid bill were not within the reſolutions of the houſe purſuant to which the ſaid bill had been ordered to be brought in, and therefore it was moved, that the bill ſhould be withdrawn, which paſſed in the negative, two hundred and thirty-two againſt one hundred and ſeventy-ſix. Then a motion was made for adjourning, which likewiſe paſſed in the negative. At laſt it was reſolved that the bill ſhould be read a ſecond time, on that day ſevennight; two hundred and thirty-ſix againſt two hundred. Next day after bringing in of this bill, a motion was made for the printing ſuch a number of copies as ſhould be ſufficient for the uſe of the members of the houſe; but, upon the queſtion, the Noes had it by one hundred and twenty-eight againſt one hundred and twelve.

As this bill very much concerned the trade and commerce of this nation, the lord-mayor of the city

city of London (John Barber, eſq.) procured a copy of it ſoon after it was brought into the houſe of commons, and having laid it before the common-council, it was there reſolved to petition the houſe againſt it; and a petition being immediately drawn up, and agreed to, the ſame was preſented to the houſe of commons on the tenth of April. The petitioners herein expreſs themſelves as follows: "That they preſume, in all humility, to expreſs to the houſe, as they had already done in ſome meaſure by their inſtructions to their members, the univerſal ſenſe of the nation concerning any farther extenſion of the laws of exciſe: that the burden of taxes already impoſed on every branch of trade, however chearfully borne, was ſeverely felt; but the petitioners apprehended that this burden would grow too heavy to be borne, if it was encreaſed by ſuch vexatious and oppreſſive methods of levying and collecting the duties, as, they are aſſured by melancholy experience, the nature of all exciſes muſt neceſſarily produce: that the merchants, tradeſmen, and manufacturers of the kingdom, had ſupported themſelves under the preſſure of the exciſe laws now in force, by the comfortable and reaſonable expectation, that thoſe laws, which nothing but public neceſſity could be a motive to enact, would be repealed in favour of the trade of the kingdom and of the liberty of the ſubject, whenever that motive ſhould be removed, as the petitioners preſume it effectually was, by the undiſturbed tranquility which the nation enjoyed at home, and the general peace which was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed abroad: that if this expectation ſhould be diſappointed; if the exciſe-laws, inſtead of being repealed, were extended to other ſpecies of merchandize not yet exciſed, and a door opened for extending them to all; the petitioners cannot, in juſtice to themſelves, to the merchants, tradeſmen, and manufacturers of the whole kingdom, and to the general intereſt of their country, conceal their apprehenſions, that the moſt fatal blow, which ever was given, would be given on this occaſion, to the trade and navigation of Great Britain: that that great ſpring, from which the wealth and property of the ſubject flowed, would be obſtructed, and the mercantile part of the nation would become not only leſs able to trade to advantage, but unwilling to trade at all; ſince no perſon, who could enjoy all the privileges of a Britiſh ſubject out of trade, even with a ſmall fortune, would voluntarily reſign ſome of the moſt valuable of thoſe privileges, by ſubjecting himſelf to the laws of exciſe: that the petitioners are able to ſhew, that theſe apprehenſions are founded both in experience and reaſon; and therefore they hope, that the houſe will be pleaſed to hear them by their counſel againſt the bill."

It has always been a privilege enjoyed by the city of London, that any petition from them is preſented to the houſe by their ſheriffs, and brought up by the clerk of the houſe, and read at the table, without asking the leave of the houſe for that purpoſe; whereas all other petitions muſt be preſented by a member of the houſe, and cannot be by him brought up, or read at the table by the clerk, till leave be firſt asked and obtained of the houſe. Accordingly, the petition was brought up and read at the table; and as ſoon as it was read, ſir John Barnard got up, and, in a very expreſſive manner, repreſented how much the city and citizens of London, as well as all the other trading parts of the nation would be affected by the bill for altering the method of raiſing the duties payable upon tobacco, and how juſt reaſon they had to inſiſt upon being heard by their council againſt it; concluding with a motion for granting them leave to be heard by their counſel, if they thought fit.

In oppoſition to this motion it was inſiſted on, by the miniſter and his friends, that it had always been the practice of that houſe, never to receive any petition, much leſs to admit counſel to be heard, againſt any bill for impoſing of taxes upon the ſubject; for that, if ſuch a thing was to be admitted, it would be impoſſible ever to paſs any ſuch bill, becauſe there would be ſo many different petitions preſented againſt it, by thoſe who were to be ſubject thereto, that it would be impoſſible to hear counſel ſeparately upon every ſuch petition within the uſual time of the continuance of one ſeſſion of parliament; and that in refuſing to admit counſel to be heard, there could be no inconvenience, becauſe every man, and every body of men, had their repreſentatives in that houſe, who certainly would repreſent their caſe to the houſe, if any particular hardſhip was to be put upon them by any bill then before the houſe.

To this it was replied, that the houſe had never pretended to any particular cuſtom of refuſing petitions, except againſt thoſe bills which were called money-bills, that was to ſay, ſuch bills as were brought in for raiſing money for the ſervice of the current year; and that even as to them there were many precedents where the houſe had admitted the parties whom they thought to have a real intereſt therein, to be heard by their counſel againſt the paſſing of ſuch bills: that the admitting of counſel, even in ſuch caſes, could never prevent the paſſing ſuch bill, becauſe the houſe could always order all parties petitioning to be heard at one time, and could give ſuch directions, that it would never take up many days to hear every thing that could be objected by every one of the parties petitioning: that though every part of the nation had their repreſentatives in that houſe, yet it was very well known, that ſpeaking in public was not the talent of every man; from whence it might happen that the particular perſons or part of the nation which was then to be aggrieved by what was paſſing in the houſe, might not have any ſuch members as were proper to lay their caſe fully and clearly before the houſe; and that therefore, even as to money-bills, it was proper to admit parties to be heard againſt them, when it appeared that they were very particularly intereſted therein.

But as to the caſe then before them, there was not the leaſt pretence for refuſing the deſire of the petition; becauſe the bill againſt which it was preſented, was no money-bill; on the contrary, it was even inſiſted on by the advocates for it, as one of the greateſt arguments in its favour, that there was no new duties to be impoſed; it was a bill only for altering the method of collecting the taxes already impoſed; and therefore it could never be pretended that there was any practice or cuſtom of the houſe to refuſe parties intereſted to be heard againſt ſuch a bill: that if there had been ſuch a cuſtom introduced, it ought not to be obſerved, eſpecially when ſuch a conſiderable body as the lord-

lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of the city of London came with an humble petition to be heard againſt the bill, which they thought would not only be highly injurious to them in particular, but deſtructive to the trade and commerce of the whole nation.

In this debate there were many precedents brought by Mr. Sandys, Mr. Gibbons, and Mr. Bootle, where the houſe had received petitions, and admitted counſel to be heard againſt many bills; and there were likewiſe precedents brought by ſir William Young, and Mr. Winnington, where the ſame had been refuſed, the reading of which took up a great part of the day.

After the debate had laſted ſome time, upon putting the queſtion for allowing the petitioners to be heard by their counſel againſt the bill, there was a diviſion, and the queſtion had a negative put upon it, two hundred and fourteen againſt one hundred and ninety-ſeven: after which it was ordered, that the petition ſhould lie upon the table until the ſaid bill ſhould be read a ſecond time.

The ſtrain in which the petition of the city of London was drawn up, could not fail of having great effect with the public, eſpecially as it was ſeconded by others, in the like ſtyle, from Briſtol and all the capital towns in the kingdom. The truth is, the minds of the people were wrought up to ſuch a pitch of fury and reſentment, as threatened little leſs than a general rebellion. While the bill was depending with the commons, the houſe was ſurrounded with ſuch immenſe crouds of people, and theſe too ſo noiſy and riotous, that it was at the imminent hazard of their lives that any who favoured the ſcheme could either enter or come out. This occaſioned ſir Robert Walpole to conclude a ſpeech he made in the courſe of the debate with the following remarkable, though unguarded, expreſſions. After having declared, that he did not look upon the clamours without doors againſt the ſcheme, to be the voice of the nation, "Gentlemen (continued he) may ſay what they pleaſe, of the multitudes now at the door, and in the avenues leading to this houſe: they may call them a modeſt multitude, if they will; but, whatever temper they were in when they came hither, it may be very much altered now, after having waited ſo long at our door: it may be a very eaſy matter for ſome deſigning ſeditious perſon to raiſe a tumult and diſorder among them; and when tumults are once begun, no man knows where they will end: he is a greater man than any I know in the nation, that could with the ſame eaſe appeaſe them; for this reaſon I muſt think, that it was neither prudent nor regular to uſe any methods for bringing ſuch multitudes to this place, under any pretence whatever: gentlemen may give them what name they think fit: it may be ſaid, that they come hither as humble ſupplicants; but I know whom the law calls ſturdy beggars, and thoſe who brought them down hither could not be certain, that they might not have behaved in the ſame manner."

It is hardly to be expreſſed how great a ferment this part of the miniſter's ſpeech threw the houſe into; it was with much difficulty they could be brought into ſuch a temper as to be able to reſume the debate: at length ſir John Barnard ſtood up, and ſaid, that merchants of character had an undoubted right to come down to the Court of Requeſts and lobby of the houſe of commons, in order to ſolicit their friends and acquaintance againſt any ſcheme or project which they might think prejudicial to their commerce; that when he came to the houſe he ſaw none but ſuch as deſerved the appellation of Sturdy Beggars as little as the honourable gentleman himſelf, or any gentleman whatever; that it was well known, that the city of London was ſufficiently apprized of what was that day to come before the houſe: where they got their information he knew not; but he was very certain, that they had a right notion of the ſcheme which had now been opened; and they were ſo generally and zealouſly bent againſt it, that whatever methods might have been uſed to call them hither, he was ſure it would have been impoſſible to have found any legal methods to have prevented their coming thither.

Although the power of the miniſter was then very great, tho' he had the ſucceſs of this ſcheme very much at heart, and tho' there was no doubt that, had he puſhed it, he might have got the bill paſſed into a law: yet, obſerving that the whole nation was now alarmed, and beginning to be in fear of his life, he thought proper to drop the deſign, by moving the next day, April 11, when the bill was about to be read the ſecond time, that ſuch ſecond reading might be poſtponed to the twelfth day of June next. Though by this motion it evidently appeared that the bill was to be dropped, yet ſome gentlemen, who had from the beginning appeared ſtrenuouſly againſt the whole ſcheme, were not ſatisfied with letting it drop in ſo eaſy a manner, and therefore they were for having it rejected; but this propoſition did not come to a motion, much leſs to the queſtion, ſo that the firſt motion was agreed to without oppoſition; and upon the Friday after, which was the day appointed for the houſe to reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe, to conſider farther of the moſt proper methods for the better ſecurity and improvement of the duties and revenues then charged upon and made payable from tobacco and wines, it was reſolved, that the houſe would, upon the fourteenth day of June next, reſolve itſelf into the ſaid committee: ſo that part of the ſcheme which related to the duties upon wine was never laid before the houſe.

Such was the concluſion of a project, which the populace was taught to believe threatened no leſs than the utter extinction of their liberties and properties; but which, ſince the rage of party has ſubſided, has been conſidered by many ſenſible and experienced perſons in a more favourable light; nay, the moſt exceptionable parts of this project have, though in another ſhape, been ſince paſſed into a law, and that too at the requeſt and application of thoſe very perſons who were moſt forward in oppoſing the meaſure.

However, the miſcarriage of the bill was, at the time we are ſpeaking of, celebrated with public rejoicings in London and Weſtminſter; the Monument was illuminated, and the miniſter burned in effigy by the populace.

There having been great crowds of people about the houſe of commons on the eleventh of April, and ſome of them having behaved in a very tumultuous manner, the next day complaint was made to the houſe, by ſeveral members who had voted in

in favour of the ſcheme, "That a tumultuous crowd of people had aſſembled the night before, and ſeveral days during the ſeſſion, in the Court of Requeſts and other avenues to that houſe, and that they themſelves, and ſeveral other members of the houſe, had been laſt night, in their return from the houſe, menaced, inſulted, and aſſaulted, by a tumultuous crowd of people in the paſſages to the houſe *." Whereupon it was ordered and declared, nemine contradicente, "I. That the aſſaulting, inſulting, or menacing any member of that houſe, in his coming to or going from that houſe, or upon account of his behaviour in parliament, was an high infringement of the privilege of that houſe, a moſt outrageous and dangerous violation of the rights of parliament, and an high crime and miſdemeanor. II. That the aſſembling and coming of any number of perſons, in a riotous, tumultuous, and diſorderly manner, to that houſe, in order either to hinder or promote the paſſing of any bill, or other matters, depending before that houſe, was an high infringement of the privilege of that houſe, was deſtructive of the freedom and conſtitution of parliament, and an high crime and miſdemeanor. III. That the inciting and encouraging any number of perſons to come in a riotous, tumultuous, and diſorderly manner, to that houſe, in order either to hinder or promote the paſſing of any bill, or other matter depending before that houſe, was an high infringement of the privilege of the houſe, deſtructive of the freedom and conſtitution of parliament, and an high crime and miſdemeanor."

Then it was ordered, "I. That the members of that houſe who ſerved for the city of London ſhould ſignify the ſame to the lord-mayor of London. II. That the members of that houſe who ſerved for the county of Middleſex, ſhould ſignify the ſaid reſolutions and declarations to the ſheriff of Middleſex. III. That the members of that houſe, who ſerved for the city of Weſtminſter, ſhould ſignify the ſaid reſolutions to the high-bailiff of Weſtminſter." Which orders were accordingly ſignified by their reſpective members, who next day reported their having done ſo to the houſe †.

After the miſcarriage of the exciſe-ſcheme, the houſe unanimouſly reſolved to enquire into the frauds and abuſes in the cuſtoms, and a committee of twenty-one members was choſen by ballot for this purpoſe. The ſubſequent debates of this ſeſſion were occaſioned by a bill to prevent the infamous practice of ſtock-jobbing, which with great difficulty made its way to the houſe of lords, who made ſome amendments, in conſequence of which it was laid aſide; and by another bill, eſtabliſhing a lottery to raiſe five hundred thouſand pounds, for the relief of thoſe who had ſuffered by the Charitable Corporation. After having undergone ſome alterations, it paſſed through both houſes, and received the royal aſſent.

His majeſty having at this time determined for ſome wiſe reaſons of ſtate, to beſtow his eldeſt daughter, the princeſs royal, upon the prince of Orange, he ſent a meſſage to the commons, on the eighth of May, acquainting them with the ſame. He ſaid, he made no doubt that this match would be acceptable to all his good ſubjects, and therefore promiſed himſelf the aſſiſtance and concurrence of the houſe in enabling him to give ſuch a portion to his eldeſt daughter, as ſhould be ſuitable to the preſent occaſion, and might contribute towards ſupporting with honour and dignity an alliance that would tend ſo much to the farther ſecurity of the proteſtant ſucceſſion on the throne of theſe realms, and the farther ſtrengthening the proteſtant intereſt on the continent of Europe.

In reply to this meſſage, the commons returned a moſt warm and affectionate addreſs, and immediately voted, that out of the money ariſing from the ſale of lands in the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, his majeſty ſhould be empowered to apply the ſum of eighty thouſand pounds as a marriage-portion for his eldeſt daughter.

The laſt affair in this ſeſſion which engaged the attention of the commons, was a queſtion concerning the conſtitution of their houſe. Lieutenant-general Wade, member for Bath, had been appointed governor of Fort William, Fort George, and Auguſtus, in Scotland; the point therefore in diſpute was, whether his accepting thoſe offices had vacated his ſeat in parliament? The anticourtiers were ſtrenuous in maintaining the affirmative; and in ſupport of their opinion they produced a number of precedents, and then moved, "That the accepting a commiſſion of governor or lieutenant-governor of any fort, citadel, or garriſon, upon the military eſtabliſhment of Great Britain, by any member of the houſe who was an officer of the army, ſhould vacate his ſeat as member of parliament." The queſtion, however, being put, was carried by the court, ninety-ſix againſt eighteen; and this determination has been regarded as deciſive of all ſucceeding caſes of the like nature.

Several warm attacks were made on the miniſter in the houſe of peers, during the courſe of this ſeſſion; particularly on the thirtieth of May, a motion was made to reſolve, "That it is the opinion of this houſe, that the produce of the ſinking fund ſhould be applied for the future towards reducing ſuch taxes as are moſt grievous to the ſubject, oppreſſive to the manufacturer, or detrimental to trade." This motion occaſioned a long and warm debate, in which all the arguments which have been already recited for taking money from the ſinking fund, were repeated, as alſo thoſe againſt it. The lords, however, which ſupported this motion (amongſt whom the lords Carteret and Bathurſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves) ſaid, that a great difference lay between the intereſt of the creditors of the public and the intereſt of the nation; for though the former might find it for their intereſt not to draw their money out of the public funds, yet it never could be the intereſt of the nation that taxes ſhould be perpetuated, which muſt be the caſe, if the money of the ſinking fund continued to be alienated. In reply to this, the lords of the court-party ſaid, that the taking money from the ſinking fund was in fact no alienation of it from the purpoſes of its firſt eſtabliſhment, and that the intereſt of the nation could not be more effectually

* The miniſter in particular, in his coming to and returning from the houſe, had been inſulted in the moſt outrageous manner; and at one time his life was ſaved by Mr. Cunningham, a Scotch member, who had the courage to draw his ſword and keep off the rabble till his friend eſcaped: for which ſeaſonable piece of ſervice his majeſty rewarded him with the government of Jamaica.

† Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Parliamentary Debates. Hiſtorical Regiſter.

conſulted, than by eaſing the landed intereſt, which was done by applying part of the money of the ſinking fund to the ſervice of the current year. The motion being rejected, among other reaſons, for being a motion for a reſolution very improper for a houſe of peers to come to, a ſtrong proteſt was entered by eighteen lords, in which they very clearly and impartially ſtated all that had been urged for the motion; but the moſt remarkable was the cloſe of the proteſt, and which was directly levelled at the miniſter. It ran thus:

"We inſiſt with great earneſtneſs and concern on this point, from our obſervation of what has lately paſſed on the occaſion of attempts being made to extend the cruel and arbitrary methods practiſed under the laws of exciſe, and naturally and neceſſarily, as we apprehend, flowing from them. If any new law of this kind has paſſed elſewhere, we perſuade ourſelves it could not have prevailed in this houſe: but we think it the more incumbent upon us, after ſuch an attempt, and ſuch national reſentment expreſſed againſt it (both which are of public notoriety), to promote as effectually as we are able, the quiet and happineſs of his majeſty's reign, by cutting off any hopes or fears which may be ſtill entertained, that ſuch a project will ſome time or other ſucceed; and to this good and laudable end we conceive, that nothing would have contributed more, than ſuch a ſolemn declaration of the ſenſe of this houſe, as is contained in the queſtion."

The affairs of the South Sea company were at this time run into great diſorder: the lords of the oppoſition moved, and carried their motion, that the directors of that company ſhould lay an account of the produce of the forfeited eſtates which had belonged to the former directors, who had been mulcted by the parliament. From this it appeared, that the large ſums of money ariſing from thoſe forfeited eſtates had been diſtributed among the proprietors by way of dividend, even before recourſe was had to parliament for directions in what manner that produce ſhould be applied. Lord Bathurſt therefore moved for a reſolution of the houſe, that the diſpoſal of this money by way of dividend, without any order of a general court for that purpoſe, was a violation of the act of parliament made for the diſpoſal thereof, and a manifeſt injuſtice done to the proprietors of that ſtock. This motion, however, was defeated by a majority of members in the court intereſt; and then the houſe ordered, that the preſent and former directors of the South Sea company, together with the late inſpectors of their accounts, ſhould attend and be examined. They were accordingly interrogated; but as no direct proof could be eſtabliſhed of any embezzlement, and as the diſcuſſion of the matter would have been attended with more bad than good conſequences, the majority thought proper to poſtpone the ſcrutiny *. A bill, however, paſſed, for converting a farther part of the capital ſtock of the South Sea company into annuities, redeemable by parliament.

The perſecution againſt the proteſtants in Germany, particularly the Saltzburghers, ſtill reigning, it was thought, by many of the public-ſpirited gentlemen concerned in the ſcheme for ſettling the colony of Georgia, that it would be good policy to grant thoſe unhappy people an aſylum in the Britiſh dominions in America, particularly in that infant colony, which, through the indefatigable pains of Mr Oglethorpe, wore a very promiſing aſpect: a petition was accordingly preſented to parliament for that purpoſe, who were pleaſed to give encouragement to the propoſal, and even to grant ten thouſand pounds to the truſtees, out of the ſale of the lands in the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, for carrying it into execution.

On the eleventh of June, the public buſineſs being by that time all diſpatched, the king put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſhort but ſevere ſpeech againſt the authors of the heats and animoſities that had been lately ſpread through the nation.

It is by no means foreign to this hiſtory, to obſerve, that this ſame year, 1733, a new and moſt laudable corporation was erected for promoting Engliſh proteſtant working ſchools in Ireland. Mr. Anderſon, author of the Origin of Commerce, tells us, that he having been at this time ſomewhat uſeful in correſponding with Dr. Maule, then biſhop of Dromore, for promoting the charter of the corporation, received from that biſhop the following well vouched account of the number of people, both proteſtants and papiſts, in all Ireland; a matter ſufficiently curious to claim a place in the body of this work.

By the biſhop's books, and other authentic vouchers, it appeared that there were at leaſt two millions of people in that iſland, of which there are very near ſix hundred thouſand proteſtants, and ſomewhat above one million four hundred thouſand papiſts, or nearly five papiſts to two proteſtants. The following is a liſt of the total of both religions in the four great diviſions, called provinces, of Ireland, viz.

	Proteſtant Families.	Popiſh Families.
In Ulſter	62,620	38,459
Leinſter	25,238	92,424
Munſter	13,337	106,407
Connaught	4,299	44,133
Total	105,494	281,423

Which, at five to each family in the country, and ten for Dublin, the capital, and ſeven for Corke city, makes in all two millions fifteen thouſand two hundred and twenty-nine ſouls.

This account makes the proteſtant families to be in Dublin	8,823
The popiſh families in the ſame city	4,119
	12,942
Which, at ten to each family, makes the people of Dublin amount to	129,420
Proteſtant families in the city of Corke	2,569
Popiſh families	5,398
	7,967
Which, at ſeven to a family, makes the number of ſouls in the city of Corke	55,769

So noble a part of the Britiſh empire as this iſland, is well worth the cheriſhing, as far as can be done without prejudice to Great Britain. King William III. on his firſt landing on it, turning to

* Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords. Hiſtorical Regiſter.

old marſhal Schomberg, ſaid, "This iſland is well worth fighting for."

We are now to attend foreign affairs. The court of Spain, this year, fell upon a project for erecting an Eaſt India company for trading to the Philippine Iſlands directly from Cadiz, by the Cape of Good Hope; and although it concerned all the other European nations trading to India, yet it more eſpecially concerned the Dutch to oppoſe it, as it was directly contrary to the latter part of the Vth article of the treaty of Munſter, anno 1648, between Spain and them; and as the ſame article had been lately ſucceſsfully made uſe of againſt the Oſtend company of the Spaniſh or Auſtrian Netherlands, it might be yet more ſtrongly oppoſed to the erection of this new company, viz. "Moreover it is ſtipulated and agreed, that the Spaniards ſhall confine their navigation in the Eaſt Indies in ſuch manner as it is at preſent poſſeſſed by them, without having it in their power to extend the ſame any farther. As alſo the inhabitants of the Netherlands ſhall abſtain from frequenting thoſe places which belong to the Caſtilians in the Eaſt Indies." Now the Eaſt India trade, as then poſſeſſed by Spain, was practiſed ſolely from New Spain to the Philippines, and back to the port of Acapulco; but no Eaſt India trade at all from Spain by the way of the Cape of Good Hope: wherefore the Dutch at this time moſt juſtly and zealouſly, and in the end effectually, oppoſed ſo palpable a contravention of that treaty. But it is probable I may have occaſion to mention this ſubject again, and therefore ſhall at preſent ſay no more of it.

On the fifth of Febuary this year (1733) died Auguſtus II. king of Poland, whoſe death opened a new and dreadful ſcen of war in Europe, the neighbouring princes intereſting themſelves ſtrongly in the choice of a new ſovereign. The elector of Saxony, ſon to the late monarch, and Staniſlaus, whoſe daughter was married to the French king, declared themſelves candidates. The emperor, the czarina, and the king of Pruſſia eſpouſed the cauſe of the Saxon: it was natural for the king of France to ſupport the pretenſions of his father-in-law; and no ſooner was he informed that the emperor had aſſembled a body of forces in Sileſia, than he ordered the duke of Berwick to advance to the Rhine with a numerous army, and take meaſures for entering Germany, in caſe the Imperialiſts ſhould attempt to penetrate into Poland, on the frontiers of which they, and a large body of Ruſſian troops, were now hovering.

In the mean time Staniſlaus, who was ſtill at the court of France, found means to tranſport himſelf privately into Warſaw, the capital of Poland, where he continued undiſcovered till he found it for his intereſt to appear in public. As the day of election drew nigh, the Ruſſian and Pruſſian miniſters delivered their ſeveral declarations, by way of proteſt, againſt the eventual election of Staniſlaus, as a proſcribed perſon, and one rendered for ever incapable of wearing the crown.

About the middle of Auguſt, the Ruſſian general Laſci entered Poland, at the head of fifty thouſand men: the diet of the election was opened with the uſual ceremony. Prince Winozawiſki, chief of the Saxon intereſt, retired to the other ſide of the Viſtula (or Wiezer) with three thouſand men, including ſome of the nobility who adhered to the party of Auguſtus. The primate of Poland, who always acts as regent during an interreghum, endeavoured to reconcile all differences among the grandees, in order to proceed peaceably to the new election: Staniſlaus was unanimouſly choſen king, and appeared in the electoral field, where he was received with loud acclamations. Auguſtus's party proteſted againſt the election, and, being now increaſed to ten thouſand men, they joined the Ruſſian army, which had advanced by haſty marches. Staniſlaus, ſenſible of his inability to withſtand ſuch powerful enemies, retired, with the primate and French ambaſſador, to Denmark, leaving the palatine of Kiow at Warſaw. This general attacked the Saxon palace, which was inſtantly ſurrendered, and the ſoldiers and inhabitants plundered the houſes belonging to the grandees who had declared for Auguſtus, as likewiſe the hotel of the Ruſſian ambaſſador.

While theſe tranſactions paſſed, the Poles, who had joined the Muſcovites, finding it impoſſible to paſs the Viſtula before the expiration of the time fixed for the ſeſſion of the diet, erected a colo, or great council, at Cracow, where the elector of Saxony was choſen, and proclaimed by the biſhop of that place, king of Poland, by the name of Auguſtus III. on the ſixth day of October. The two armies then croſſed the river, and the palatine of Kiow retiring towards Cracow, they took poſſeſſion of Warſaw, where, in their turn, they plundered the palaces and houſes belonging to the oppoſite party.

Mean while the French king, incenſed at the part the emperor had acted againſt his father-in-law, entered into a treaty with the courts of Madrid and Turin, by which they agreed jointly to declare war againſt the emperor. Theſe three powers had their reſpective intereſts, but they all concurred in one view, namely, the weakening the houſe of Auſtria.

The dukes of Savoy had been a long time gradually encreaſing their dominions, by ſometimes aſſiſting the emperors, and ſometimes declaring againſt them. The king of Sardinia, Charles Emanuel, hoped to procure the duchy of Milan, and it had been promiſed him both by the miniſters of Verſailles and Madrid. Philip V. king of Spain, or rather Elizabeth of Parma, his conſort, aſpired at more conſiderable eſtabliſhments for the royal offspring than Parma and Placentia. Lewis XV. ſought to aggrandize his own glory by pulling down his enemies. Never was negociation more ſpeedily concluded, than that which united theſe three monarchs, and Europe was now filled with manifeſtoes by all the parties at variance.

England could not declare herſelf without the concurrence of the United Provinces; and that cautious republic ſhewed no great readineſs to launch into an expenſive and ruinous war, merely for the ſake of ſupporting the emperor's quarrel. In vain did the Imperial miniſters ſolicit, with the greateſt earneſtneſs, both our court and the States-general, to take the moſt ſpeedy and vigorous meaſures to prevent their ally from being cruſhed by the power of his enemies, and the ballance of power in Europe thereby utterly disjointed: we both ſtood by, unconcerned ſpectators of the rapid progreſs of the French, who paſſed the Rhine in the month of October, under the duke of Berwick, and laid ſiege to Fort Kehl, which he ſoon reduced; while another body of French forces, under marſhal Villars,

Villars, joined by the king of Sardinia, ſubdued Pavia, Pizzighitone, Cremona, Secco, Frezzo, with the fort of Fuentez; and not long after marſhal de Villars ended a glorious career, at the age of eighty-two, after having reduced the important city of Milan.

The emperor, dreading the effects of ſuch a powerful confederacy againſt him, offered to accommodate all differences with the crown of Spain, under the mediation of the king of England; and Mr. Keene, the Britiſh miniſter at the court of Madrid, made propoſals for that purpoſe. Philip expreſſed his acknowlegements to the king of England; but declared that the emperor's advances came too late, and that his own reſolutions were already taken. In the mean time he ſent a powerful army into Italy, under the duke of Montemar, who reduced the whole kingdom of Naples, which was beſtowed upon the infant don Carlos, who had already been acknowleged hereditary prince of Tuſcany. Thus did the emperor Charles VI. loſe almoſt all Italy, by giving a king to Poland; and a ſon of the king of Spain obtained, in two campaigns, the Two Sicilies, which had been ſo often before taken and retaken, and had been the conſtant objects of the attention of the houſe of Auſtria for above two centuries. All this time the other potentates of Europe looked on without intermeddling: the Venetians declared they would take no ſhare in the war in Italy; the Dutch ſoon entered into a neutrality with France; and we, in concert with thoſe ſtates, employed ourſelves in mediations, inſtead of affording the deſired aſſiſtance.

On the ſeventh of November, this year, his ſerene highneſs the prince of Orange arrived, in the Fubbs yacht, at Greenwich; proceeded, in one of the king's barges, to the Tower, and from thence, in one of his majeſty's coaches, to Somerſet-houſe; and the next day was received by the royal family with the greateſt reſpect. Soon after his highneſs was taken ill, which retarded his marriage for ſome time.

Not long after the riſing of the parliament, the court party loſt one of its ableſt advocates in the earl of Cheſterfield, who, being diſguſted at the conduct of the miniſter, reſigned his place of ſteward of his majeſty's houſhold. The duke of Montroſe relinquiſhed his office of lord privy-ſeal of Scotland; and his example was followed by lord Clinton, one of the lords of his majeſty's bed-chamber, and lord-lieutenant of the county of Devon. About the ſame time the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham were deprived of their poſts in the army. Theſe removals and reſignations gave great uneaſineſs to the public, which was, however, in ſome meaſure allayed by ſome promotions in the law, which were univerſally agreeable. Mr. Talbot, ſolicitor-general, one of the moſt accompliſhed lawyers and upright judges in the kingdom, was conſtituted lord high chancellor of Great Britain, and created baron Talbot of Henſoll; ſir Philip Yorke, attorney-general, was advanced to the office of lord chief-juſtice of the court of King's Bench, and honoured with a peerage, by the title of lord Hardwicke: the place of ſolicitor-general was then beſtowed on Mr. (afterwards ſir) Dudley Ryder, and that of attorney-general on Mr. (afterwards ſir) John Willes.

The year 1733 was diſtinguiſhed by the death of many perſons of high rank: George Byng, lord viſcount Torrington, ſo famous for the defeat he gave the Spaniards in 1718, died on the ſeventeenth of January, and was ſucceeded by ſir Charles Wager as firſt lord of the admiralty: on the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month died the earl of Pembroke, who had gone through the greateſt offices of ſtate ſince the Revolution: on the nineteenth of March died lord Raymond, lord chief-juſtice of the King's Bench: on the ſeventh of May died the earl of Cholmondeley; and in October died Henrietta, the young ducheſs of Marlborough, by which that title devolved to her ſiſter's ſon, the earl of Sunderland; and about the ſame time the ducheſs of Ormond departed this life.

This year, indeed, was uſhered in with an epidemic diſorder, much like a cold, which attacked all ſorts of people, and proved fatal to great numbers, particularly thoſe in years, inſomuch that in one week, the laſt in January, the Weekly Bills were at the amazing height of fifteen hundred and eighty-eight, being more by ſix hundred than had died in any one week ſince the great plague.

It may not be altogether uſeleſs to remark, that his majeſty having, in the courſe of this year, by proclamation, prohibited the paſſing or circulating of the old and much worn-out gold coins of the realm, of twenty-five and twenty-three ſhillings, commonly called Broad Pieces, and the halves and quarters thereof, he alſo, for the eaſe of his people, directed his receivers of taxes, and alſo the officers of his mint, to receive them at four pounds one ſhilling per ounce troy, during one whole year; and that ſuch of them as ſhould be ſo brought to the mint, ſhould be coined into the modern current gold coins of the kingdom. But it being apprehended that the advantage of ſo good an allowance as four pounds one ſhilling per ounce might be a temptation for bad perſons to counterfeit the ſaid old coins, a law was paſſed afterwards, making ſuch a practice high-treaſon, and forty pounds reward was offered to ſuch as ſhould diſcover the counterfeiters thereof.

On the 17th of January, 1734, the parliament met, and the ſeſſion was opened with a ſpeech from the throne as uſual, in which, among other things, his majeſty told the two houſes, "That though he was no way concerned in the war which had broke out in Europe, except by the good offices he had employed among the contending powers, he could not remain an idle ſpectator of the preſent events, or be indifferent about the conſequences of a war undertaken and ſupported by ſuch a powerful confederacy. He ſaid, he had thought proper to take time to examine the facts alledged on both ſides, and to wait the reſult of the councils of thoſe powers which were more immediately intereſted in the conſequences of the rupture. He declared he would concert with his allies, more particularly with the States-general of the United Provinces, ſuch meaſures as ſhould be thought moſt adviſeable for the common ſafety, and for reſtoring the peace of Europe; that he ſhould order the eſtimates to be laid before them, of ſuch ſervices as demanded their preſent and immediate care: that the augmentation, which would be propoſed for the ſea-ſervice, would be very conſiderable; but he was confident, they would think it reaſonable and neceſſary: that he muſt particularly recommend to their care the debt of the navy, which had been every year laid before them; but, from the preſent circum-

ſtances

ſtances of the times, he believed, they would be perſuaded, that it now required ſome proviſion to be made for it; a thing that could not well be longer poſtponed, without manifeſt detriment to the public ſervice: that, as theſe extraordinary charges and expences were unavoidable, he made no doubt but they would effectually raiſe the ſupplies neceſſary for defraying them, with that readineſs and diſpatch, and with that juſt regard to the true intereſt of his people, which this parliament had hitherto ſhewn upon all occaſions: that he hoped they would proceed in all their deliberations with ſuch temper and unanimity, and ſuch expedition in the public buſineſs, as might give him the ſooner an opportunity of taking the ſenſe of a new parliament: that he flattered himſelf his preſent reſolutions would meet with their hearty concurrence and approbation; and, whatever inſinuations might be thrown out againſt the conduct of the government, he was confident a little time would effectually remove all groundleſs jealouſies, and make it appear, that Great Britain ought always to act that part which the honour and intereſt of the nation called upon it to undertake."

The motion for an addreſs of thanks produced, as uſual, a debate in both houſes, which, it muſt be confeſſed, appears to have proceeded more from a ſpirit of contradiction and cavilling, than from any reaſonable cauſe of objection.

On the twenty-third of January the commons agreed to addreſs his majeſty for a copy of the treaty of Vienna in 1731, with the ſecret and ſeparate articles, and the States-general's act of concurrence; and on the ſame day ſir John Ruſhout moved for another addreſs, deſiring that the letters and inſtructions relating to the execution of the treaty of Seville ſhould be ſubmitted to the inſpection of the commons.

This motion introduced a long and violent debate. Sir W. Yonge obſerved, that the treaty of Seville being prior to that of Vienna, letters and inſtructions relating to the former could have no connection or concern with the latter: that nothing could be more improper than to call for papers which might reveal the nature of any negotiation that was then upon the carpet: that nevertheleſs, if the houſe ſhould think fit to take the treaty of Seville under their conſideration, it might then be proper to call for any particular paper that might give light to their deliberations; but if they want to confine their preſent enquiries to the treaty of Vienna, the motion now made was altogether improper.

Sir W. Wyndham on the contrary declared it his opinion, that the impoſſibility of carrying the treaty of Seville into execution had given riſe to the ſtipulations contained in the treaty of Vienna; and that they could not pretend to judge of the propriety of the latter, without having the papers that related to the former laid before the houſe.

After a hard ſtruggle this motion was overruled; but the oppoſition, far from being diſcouraged by this defeat, reſolved to return to the attack with double vigour. Accordingly, on the twenty-fifth day of January, Mr. Sandys, a gentleman who had for ſome time appeared ſtrenuous in the oppoſition, and had a ſurpriſing perſeverance in wrangling, moved, that the houſe ſhould examine the inſtructions which had been ſent to the Britiſh miniſter in Poland ſome years before the death of king Auguſtus, that they might be the better able to judge of the cauſes which produced this new rupture among the powers of Europe. The intention of this motion was to come at the truth of a report which had pretty confidently prevailed, that the Britiſh miniſtry had not only favoured the election of Staniſlaus, but had even entered into a ſecret engagement with France, to aſſiſt her in ſupporting him on the Poliſh throne.

This motion was violently oppoſed by all the court-party, and inſiſted on with no leſs vehemence by thoſe in the oppoſition. In the debate the ſeveral ſpeakers gave into the moſt unwarrantable and ungentleman-like perſonalities, the repetition of which would diſgrace a national hiſtory; and they were carried on both ſides ſo far, that the ſpeaker was obliged to inform the gentlemen, that they had loſt ſight of the queſtion, which he again read. Then ſir W. Wyndham, who was always decent and parliamentary, ſtood up to ſupport Mr. Sandys's motion by clear argumentation. He began by obſerving, that this motion implied no diſreſpect to his majeſty, but only tended to canvaſs the conduct of the miniſter, and that the papers called for might be neceſſary for that effect: that this he ſaid, in order to obviate the arguments that might poſſibly be urged in favour of the miniſtry, as if the motion was unneceſſary and diſreſpectful, becauſe his majeſty at the opening of the parliament had told them, that he was in no wiſe engaged in the war, and had no concern except by his good offices in thoſe tranſactions, which had been declared to be the principal cauſes and motives of the rupture: that, in a conſtitutional ſenſe, the ſpeech of the king was to be conſidered as the ſpeech of the miniſter; and that the houſe had even a right to enquire, whether his majeſty's declarations were or were not agreeable to truth: that it was well known the States-general had concluded a treaty of neutrality, without the knowlege or conſent of England; a circumſtance which ſeemed to imply a diſtruſt of the Britiſh power, or at leaſt a ſuſpicion that they could not with ſafety place any confidence in the councils of the Britiſh miniſtry.

Sir Robert Walpole ſtood up in perſon to anſwer this gentleman, and refute his allegations. He ſaid, he did not deny that the king's ſpeech was to be conſidered as the ſpeech of the miniſter; but ſtill he thought it ought to be treated with decency, as it was ſtamped with the ſanction of his majeſty's name; and that in any event it was both unjuſt and unparliamentary to arraign it of falſehood, without producing any one charge againſt it, except ſuch as were founded on bare ſurmiſes and vain ſuppoſitions. He took notice, that all the late motions about papers were calculated to plunge the nation precipitately into war in a quarrel and at a conjuncture when there was no great occaſion to deliberate. "I believe, continued he, it will appear that our preſent ſituation is one of the very beſt that the nation could poſſibly be in, with relation to the preſent poſture of the affairs of Europe. The gentleman who ſpoke laſt thought proper to mention the ſtates of Holland, and to affirm they have done ſomething for their own ſecurity: it is true they have done ſomething; they have entered into a treaty of neutrality, whereas we have remained entirely inactive; but on that very

very account I look upon the Engliſh to be in a much better condition than the Dutch: by that neutrality they have engaged not to act at all, nor to concern themſelves in the preſent war: we are ſtill at liberty, and may on any event take that part which ſhall then appear moſt for the intereſt of Great Britain."

In the courſe of the debate Mr. Pulteney reflected on the ſcandalous deciſions, as he called them, of the majorities in parliament, and inveighed with great ſeverity againſt the majority who had rejected the two late motions, and whom, he ſuppoſed, were influenced and directed by the miniſter. This charge, added to the aſſertions which were daily advanced with the utmoſt confidence, in the legion of pamphlets and papers which at this time ſwarmed throughout the nation, that every member who voted for the miniſter was a mercenary hireling, and ſold his voice for the ſake of place or penſion, in poſſeſſion or expectancy, made ſir Robert think it neceſſary to ſeize this occaſion to exculpate himſelf and his friends from ſo black a charge. This he endeavoured to do in a ſpeech, from which I ſhall here give the reader an extract, by way of ſpecimen of this great man's talent for oratory.

"An honourable gentleman, ſir, who ſpoke ſome time ago, took indeed a great deal of liberty in talking of majorities; but I would have gentlemen to know, that when they talk of ſuch majorities at preſent, they ſpeak of their equals as members of this houſe, of their equals on any ground in England: let gentlemen but caſt their eyes round the houſe, and they will find a number of gentlemen ſuperior to the higheſt number of their minority, who can as little be ſuſpected of corruption, as any of thoſe who generally appear on the minority of the queſtion.

"It is eaſy for gentlemen to repreſent the meaſures lately taken by the government, as unwiſe, inconſiſtent, and the like; but when the day comes for enquiring into them, which I as heartily wiſh for as any in this houſe, I believe thoſe meaſures will appear in a quite different light; and thoſe gentlemen who may, perhaps, have hearkened to every little whiſper of ſome of the foreign miniſters at this court, which is, I believe, the only foundation for what they have aſſerted, will find themſelves at laſt ſorely diſappointed. Whenever ſuch an enquiry ſhall be reſolved on, I doubt not but the majority of this houſe will agree to call for every paper that can be thought neceſſary for giving a full information of the preſent ſtate of the nation: but this is not the queſtion at preſent, nor are we now to enquire, whether his majeſty has had any ſhare in thoſe tranſactions which have given occaſion to the preſent war; and therefore, I cannot think we have, at preſent, any thing to do with any inſtructions to his majeſty's miniſters in Poland, or elſewhere.

"His majeſty, it is true, expects the aſſiſtance of his parliament; but for what? He does not immediately expect ſuch an aſſiſtance as to enable him to take any part in the preſent war; he wants only ſuch as may enable him to put the nation in a proper poſture of defence; and ſurely we may determine what will be neceſſary for that end, without enquiring into any of our foreign negotiations. It is for this reaſon, ſir, that I think the houſe has done right in rejecting all the motions hitherto made for letters and inſtructions relating to our foreign affairs; and for the ſame reaſon, I make no doubt but they will likewiſe reject the preſent motion."

After theſe and ſome other ſpeeches the queſtion was put, when the motion was overpowered by the majority; and this was the fate of ſeveral other propoſals made by the members of the oppoſition. Sir John Barnard preſented a petition from the druggiſts, and other dealers in tea, complaining of the inſults and oppreſſion to which they were ſubjected by the exciſe laws, and praying relief. Sir John and Mr. Perry, another of the city members, explained the grievous hardſhips which thoſe traders ſuſtained, and moved that the petition might be referred to the conſideration of the whole houſe. They were oppoſed by ſir W. Yonge and Mr. Winnington, and other friends of the miniſter, and very warm debates enſued thereupon; but in the end the minority were baffled, who ſeemed to diſplay the moſt conſummate talents in ſatire, argument, and reaſoning, for no other purpoſe but to add to the triumph of thoſe they oppoſed.

Great debates alſo aroſe about a motion for an addition of one thouſand eight hundred men to the number of land forces which had been continued ſince the preceding year; in which the oppoſition exhibited greater proofs of perſonal animoſity againſt the miniſter than of a real attention to the intereſts of their country, or the ſafety and advantage of the kingdom. The augmentation, however, was carried in deſpite of all their efforts; but they reſolved, in return, to clog the wheels of adminiſtration with every rub they could poſſibly throw in its way. With this view, leſs patriotic than invidious, they laid hold of the diſmiſſion of the duke of Bolton and the lord Cobham from their reſpective regiments, to raiſe a furious outcry againſt the miniſter, as if theſe noblemen had been ſet aſide merely becauſe they had refuſed to concur implicitly with all the court meaſures. On the thirteenth of February the lord Morpeth, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Carliſle, made a motion in the houſe of commons for a bill to prevent the officers of the army from being deprived of their commiſſions, otherwiſe than by the judgment of a court-martial to be held for that purpoſe, or by addreſs of either houſe of parliament. Even the friends of this motion were ſtruck at firſt hearing it, with a ſenſe of the abſurd manner in which it was expreſſed, which indeed tended to little elſe than the eſtabliſhing a ſtratocracy, or abſolute deſpotiſm in the army, as it took from the ſovereign the power of removing from his command even the general of the forces, however dangerous or diſloyal the deſigns or conduct of ſuch general might be: the motion was therefore amended, and reſtricted to "officers not above the rank of colonels." Extravagant as this motion was, it was ſuſtained with great vigour and addreſs by the ableſt ſpeakers among the minority: the noble lord who made it had recourſe, in defending it, to the government of foreign countries, and particularly mentioned the example of Holland and Sweden. In the former country, he ſaid, no officer could be broken without the ſentence of a court-martial; and in the latter none could be removed from his commiſſion without the conſent of the ſenate. He was ſeconded by ſir John Ruſhout,

Rushout, who observed, that there were then upwards of forty officers of the army members of that house; and said, that by the house agreeing to the motion, it would effectually secure the independency of those gentlemen upon the minister, which would not a little contribute to the freedom of votes, as well within that house as without, on the occasion of elections. And here it will be proper to hint to the reader, that this was supposed to be the last session of the present parliament; and therefore the anti-courtiers endeavoured to weaken the influence of the minister as much as possible, in order to break the powerful majority which had so long put a negative upon their most favourite motions.

These arguments were answered by Mr. Clutterbuck, colonel Bladon, Mr. Winnington, sir Thomas Robinson, and other gentlemen of the court-party, who all vehemently opposed the motion, which they treated as absurd and extravagant, and the most bare-faced attempt to unhinge the constitution, and introduce a commonwealth, that had ever been made since the commencement of the civil wars under Charles I. Should this motion, they said, be approved, the whole of the British constitution would soon be at the mercy of the army: that at present the officers depended on the king for their commissions, and the army itself upon the parliament for its countenance and pay; but if the parliament should once make the officers independent of the crown, and give them a sort of freehold in their commissions, they would soon make both king and parliament dependent on them: for could it be supposed, that if both king and parliament should be inclinable to make a reduction of the army hereafter, those gentlemen, with swords in their hands, would willingly comply, and retire to their respective habitations at the desire of the commons? Would they not rather tell the commons that their commissions were for life? They were their freehold, made so by a law of the parliament, and that they could not be deprived of them unless they had been guilty of some crime, which could only be determined by a court-martial? and in that case gentlemen might easily guess what redress the nation could expect from a court-martial, every member of which must necessarily be personally interested in opposing the will of king and parliament in the matter of military reduction.

The debate was concluded by sir Robert Walpole, who, after affirming that the motion aimed at reducing the government to a military constitution, said, that he knew great endeavours had been of late used to make it believed abroad, that this was a divided nation, and the people disaffected; and that, should this proposition receive the sanction of the legislature, it would induce foreigners to give credit to what they had heard; for they would naturally infer that the parliament had no confidence in the king, and had therefore taken from him that power which his predecessors enjoyed. This, he observed, might produce a multitude of evils, especially at this juncture; and therefore, he thought, they should all say on this occasion what their forefathers said on another, "Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari."

The debate being closed, the question was put, and carried in the negative without a division. The opposition however had another stroke in reserve; for no sooner was the opinion of the house declared on this motion than Mr. Sandys made another for an address to the king, desiring to know who addressed his majesty to remove the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham from their respective regiments. He was seconded by Mr. Pulteney and sir W. Wyndham; but the ministry foreseeing another tedious dispute, called for the question, and the motion was set aside by the majority.

The next source of contention was a bill for securing the freedom of parliament, by limiting the number of officers in the house of commons. It was read a first and a second time; but when a motion was made for its being committed, it met with a strong opposition, and produced a warm debate, which issued in a question that, like the former, underwent a negative.

Many great inconveniencies to commerce, and frequent frauds, having long notoriously prevailed by means of stock-jobbing in the city of London, a bill was brought in to prevent that infamous practice, by prohibiting and rendering void all bargains for stocks bought or sold, for a future time, by persons on one hand not possessed of such stock, and on the other, by many not of circumstances or ability to pay for such stock, whereby many unwary persons, and their innocent families, have been undone. This bill was proposed by the minority, and the passive conduct of the ministry, who suffered it to pass into a law, with little or no opposition, seems in some degree to invalidate a charge generally alleged against sir Robert Walpole, and perhaps too implicitly believed; namely, that the principal part of his income, and that of his family, arose from trading in the stocks; and that, as he was in the secret of affairs both at home and abroad, he made use of his knowlege to influence the funds in the manner he thought most advantageous to himself and his dependents.

But the subject which of all others in the course of this session produced the most violent debates between the two parties, was, a motion made by Mr. Bromley for repealing the act for septennial parliaments.

In support of this motion he alleged, that the reasons for prolonging the sitting of parliaments from three to seven years, were now at an end: that the people in general looked upon septennial parliaments as a grievance and innovation in the constitution: that he begged leave to remind the house of the act made in the sixteenth of Charles II. which wisely provided against the too long continuance of one and the same parliament, by ordaining that a new parliament should be called once in three years, or oftener if need required: that this act was expressly confirmed by the bill of rights: that from the time of the Revolution to the first year of the late king, no parliament had sat above three years, and some only one session: that he thought triennial parliaments were more grievous than annual ones, and consequently septennial parliaments must be doubly more grievous than those which lasted only three years: that supposing he should be mistaken in this point, which nevertheless he could never admit without due conviction, the argument in the preamble to the septennial bill was altogether inapplicable to the present times: the act against bribery and corruption, he said, would necessarily remedy that evil, as it would prevent corruption in the elections;

but nothing but the frequent return of new parliaments could prevent it in the elected. In order to effectuate this desirable purpose, he moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill for repealing the septennial act, and for the more frequent meeting and calling of parliaments.

Sir John St. Aubin, knight of the shire for Cornwall, and a gentleman of considerable influence in the house, stood up to second this motion. In the course of his speech he gave an historical detail of the duration of parliaments from the time of Henry VIII. shewed how triennial parliaments came to be lost by the revival of the septennial act; and endeavoured to prove that septennial parliaments were better adapted than triennial ones for the purposes of a wicked minister; and that, in proportion to the frequency of parliaments, they were more advantageous both to the king and people.

These and many other arguments were used in favour of this motion, which was opposed by the whole weight of court influence: the ministry in particular insisted on the great increase of popery and Jacobitism in the kingdom, as a reason against weakening the hands of government at this time: they called upon those on the other side of the question to produce a single instance in which the administration had encroached upon the rights and liberties of the people since the septennial act had taken place; or to shew that his present majesty had ever endeavoured to extend any branch of the royal prerogative beyond its legal bounds.

Sir John Willes, the new attorney-general, made a long and learned speech in favour of septennial parliaments, in which he endeavoured to prove, that the transition from triennial parliaments to septennial was in itself a right measure, and agreeable to the true principles of the English government: nay, he insisted that even the triennial act was not obtained upon the principles of liberty, but merely with design to distress king William and the friends of the Revolution, which, he said, had the effect looked for by the proposers of this alteration, by drawing that monarch into several engagements, equally disadvantageous and disgraceful to him and his people, and were afterwards made a handle by his enemies to depreciate and revile his goverment. With regard to the objection made by some gentlemen, that the elected during a long parliament were apt to lose their dependence on their constituents, a thing which could never happen if parliaments were annual, he begged leave to remark, that although all the members of the house had undoubtedly a dependence upon the people for their election; yet after they were chosen, and had taken their seats in the house, he thought that dependence ceased, at least in so far as regarded their behaviour in parliament, the whole power of the electors then devolving upon the members, who, in every question that came before the house, were to regard only the public good in general, and to determine according to their own judgments; otherwise they could not be said to act freely, nor could such parliaments be called free parliaments.

This doctrine of the independency of members upon their constituents after elections, gave so much offence to sir John Barnard, that he thought proper to answer it in a particular speech, in which he accused the attorney-general of advancing a doctrine altogether new. He declared, that he valued himself more upon the honour of sitting in that house, as one of the representatives of the people, elected such by their free and uncorrupted choice, than he should do on the greatest honours the crown could bestow; and that he thought the dependence he had, and should always acknowlege to have, on his constituents, preferable to any mercenary dependence on the greatest sovereign in the universe. At last, the subject being entirely exhausted, the question was put and carried in the negative by a great majority.

On the twenty-eighth of March sir Robert Walpole delivered a message from the crown to the house of commons, importing, "That as the war which had lately broke out in Europe still continued to rage, his majesty hoped he might be enabled to augment his forces, if such augmentation should be found necessary between the dissolution of this parliament and the election of another." This message, introduced as it were by surprize into the house, at the latter end of a session, when a great many members had retired to their country seats, could not fail of alarming those who thought unfavourably of the minister: they considered it as a stroke aimed at the vitals of our liberties; they made a suitable stand against it; they disputed every inch of the argumentation: nor did they recede till, borne down by the weight of superior numbers, they perceived all farther contest vain. The result was, the voting and presenting an address to his majesty, signifying the compliance of his faithful commons with his royal request. In consequence of another message, the house prepared and passed a bill, impowering his majesty to settle an annuity of five thousand pounds for life on the princess-royal, as a mark of his paternal favour and affection *.

The opposition was carried on with equal ardour in the house of peers as it had been in the house of commons, and with no better success. The leading speakers against the measures of the administration were, the lords Bathurst and Carteret, the earls of Chesterfield and Abingdon. The duke of Marlborough made a motion for a bill to regulate the army, much to the same purpose with that which had been rejected by the commons; and after a warm dispute, it also underwent a negative. The like fate attended a motion made by lord Carteret for an address to his majesty, to acquaint the house by whose advice the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham had been dismissed from their respective commands, and what crimes were laid to their charge to occasion such dismission.

The house of peers were also a good deal busied this session in matters concerning their own body. Those who had framed the act of union had, by an unaccountable oversight, neglected to establish any proper judicatory for trying the validity of any claim to a Scottish peerage, excepting the court of session of Scotland, which many of the English peers thought was an encroachment upon their rights. It was therefore moved to resolve, "That no peer who hath claimed or shall claim

* Parliamentary Debates. Hist. Reg. Tindal.

right by ſucceſſion to any peerage of Scotland, other than a deſcendant from the body of a peer or peereſs, who has been in poſſeſſion of the peerage claimed ſince the twenty-fifth of April 1690, ſhall be admitted to vote at any election of a peer or peers, to ſit in parliament for that part of Great Britain called Scotland, until his right and title be determined in this houſe." This was certainly a very excellent motion, and it had been greatly to be wiſhed that it could have been complied with; but it was directly repugnant to the articles of union, as well as to the right of ſucceſſion to the peerage in Scotland.

It had been an evil long complained of, and, as ſhould ſeem, with but too good foundation, that the great majority of the Scottiſh repreſentatives, who always voted for the miniſtry, was owing to the exertion of an undue influence in the elections: the lords of the upper houſe therefore made ſeveral attempts to prevent this evil for the future. Among other things, they moved to reſolve, "for the better freedom of the election of a peer or peers to ſit in the parliament of Great Britain on the part of Scotland, that the election ſhall be by way of ballot." This motion, however, being proved contrary to the articles of union, was likewiſe rejected. The anti-courtiers then made another more directly to the purpoſe: it was introduced by the earl of Marchmont, who moved to reſolve, "That it is the opinion of this houſe, that any perſon or perſons taking upon him or them to engage any peer or peers of Scotland, by threats, promiſes of place or penſion, or any reward or gratuity from the crown whatſoever, is an encroachment on the freedom of elections, and highly injurious to the honour of the peerage." This motion was ſupported by the earls of Cheſterfield, Winchelſea, and Stair; the lords Willoughby de Broke, Bathurſt, and Carteret. Theſe were oppoſed by the dukes of Newcaſtle and Argyle, the earls Cholmondeley and Paulet, lord Hervey (now called up by writ to the houſe of peers as baron Hervey of Ickworth) and by the lord-chancellor Talbot. Unexceptionable, and perfectly conſtitutional and abſolutely neceſſary as a law of this kind appeared to be to every candid and impartial perſon; yet as it carried with it too cloſe a reſtriction on miniſterial operations, the motion was rejected upon a previous queſtion (for the main queſtion would not have borne a debate) by a majority of ſeventy-three againſt forty three peers preſent, and of twenty-ſix againſt ſeventeen proxies. A proteſt however was entered in favour of the motion, ſigned by thirty-two peers.

The other debates and proteſts of the peers this ſeſſion turned upon the king's meſſage, demanding a power to augment the forces during the receſs of parliament; as alſo againſt a bill for enabling his majeſty to apply the ſum of one million two hundred thouſand pounds out of the Sinking Fund for the ſervice of the current year. The houſe alſo took under conſideration the ſtate of our American colonies, and the encouraging thoſe manufactures thereof that could no way interfere with the trade of Great Britain, or which may be of uſe to the mother-country.

Purſuant to an order of their lordſhips while deliberating on theſe matters, the lords commiſſioners of trade and plantations laid before the houſe the following repreſentation, exhibiting an exact and curious ſtate of the trade, people, and ſtrength of our ſugar-colonies in the Weſt Indies, which I ſhall here inſert, together with the judicious remarks of that accurate commercial writer Mr. Anderſon.

I. "JAMAICA, though having nineteen pariſhes, had but ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-four white people on it, even although its militia conſiſted of three thouſand men, horſe and foot, diſperſed all over the uninhabited part of the iſland. They had ſix forts, and of late had no fewer than eight independent companies of the king's forces, each conſiſting of one hundred men."

Here Mr. Anderſon obſerved, that the diminution of the white people of Jamaica was owing to the great decay of their private or illicit trade to the Spaniſh main, that trade having drawn thither many white people, who made handſome fortunes in a few years, and returned therewith to the mother-country; and thus the Spaniſh money they got in Jamaica did at length center in England. From Jamaica our people privately carried all ſorts of our manufactures, &c. to New Spain, which it is well known can only be legally carried thither by the flota and flotilla from Old Spain. They alſo carried thither great numbers of negroes.

"Our exports to Jamaica, at a medium of four years, from Chriſtmas 1728 to Chriſtmas 1732, were to the value of one hundred and forty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-five pounds two ſhillings and three-pence halfpenny; and our imports were five hundred and thirty-nine thouſand four hundred and ninety-nine pounds eighteen ſhillings and three-pence halfpenny: the annual exceſs of our imports from Jamaica is three hundred and ninety-one thouſand eight hundred and twenty-four pounds fifteen ſhillings and elevenpence three farthings.

II. "BARBADOES had eighteen thouſand two hundred and ninety-five white people. Its militia conſiſted of one troop and two regiments of horſe, and of ſeven regiments of foot; in all, four thouſand eight hundred and twelve men. In this iſland are no fewer than twenty-one forts and twenty-ſix batteries, mounted with four hundred and ſixty-three cannon."

All our ſugar iſles together, according to Mr. Anderſon, are thought annually to produce eighty-five thouſand hogſheads of ſugar, each hogſhead containing one thouſand two hundred weight, or in all one million two hundred thouſand cwt. of which Great Britain was thought to conſume annually ſeventy thouſand hogſheads, or ninety-four millions eighty thouſand pounds of ſugar. It is computed that three hundred ſail of ſhips go annually from Great Britain to the ſugar-iſlands (beſides thoſe which go thither from our continent-colonies) and about four thouſand five hundred ſeamen are employed in navigating them; and there is annually exported thither the value of two hundred and forty thouſand pounds in Britiſh manufactures.

III. In all the Britiſh Leeward Iſlands, viz. St. Chriſtopher's, Antigua, Nevis, and Montſerrat, (with their dependencies, Barbuda, Anguilla, Spaniſh-town, Tortoſa, and the reſt of the Virgin Iſles) there are ten thouſand two hundred and

ſixty-two white people, and their militia conſiſts of three thouſand two hundred and eighty-four men."

But the before mentioned writer adds, that by an account of theſe Leeward Iſlands in the year 1736, their ſtrength was as follows:

In Antigua	1500 men	2 forts	7 batteries.
St. Chriſtophers	1340 men	3 forts	6 batteries.
Montſerrat	360 men	1 fort	1 battery.
Nevis	300 men	1 fort	1 battery.
In all	3,500 men		
And in Anguilla	80 men		
Spaniſh Town	72 men		
Tortoſa	120 men		

3,772 white men in all the Leeward Iſlands.

IV. "The iſlands called the Bahamas are the next in thoſe ſeas of any importance to Great Britain, where Providence is the only iſland as yet of any conſideration to us, or that is peopled in any degree; and here they have five hundred white people, out of whom they have formed ſix companies of militia, beſide one independent company in his majeſty's pay. On this iſland are two forts.

V. "In the Bermudas there were, a few years ſince, five thouſand white people, out of which there are one thouſand white men (beſides officers) for their militia. They have one fort and ſix batteries."

Nothing is ſaid of Newfoundland in this report, which indeed is properly no colony, it having ſcarcely any ſoil capable of cultivation; and the forts and people there are chiefly, if not ſolely, for the protection and accommodation of our important cod-fiſhery on the adjacent ſhoals called "The Banks of Newfoundland." Theſe garriſons are alſo requiſite for preventing any other European nation from getting poſſeſſion of that iſland; which poſſeſſion would render our fiſhery there extremely precarious on a rupture with any ſuch nation, as it would alſo our communication with our northern colonies on the continent. Newfoundland therefore, on theſe accounts, is of very great importance to us *.

When the lords had gone through the whole courſe of their enquiries relative to the commercial intereſts of our colonies reſpecting Great Britain, it was reſolved to make no alteration in the diſpoſition of their manufactures, from an apprehenſion that it might interfere with the trade of ſome of our allies on the continent, and our connections with them †.

The public buſineſs being now diſpatched, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers on the ſixteenth day of April, 1734; and having given his aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, among which was a bill for naturalizing the prince of Orange, took leave of this parliament with the warmeſt acknowlegements of their zeal, duty, and affection. The parliament was then prorogued, afterwards diſſolved, and another convoked by the ſame proclamation.

On the fourteenth of March this year the nuptials of his ſerene highneſs the prince of Orange with the princeſs-royal were celebrated with great magnificence, which occaſioned great rejoicings both in town and country, and addreſſes of congratulation from all parts to their majeſties and the prince and princeſs, it being a match very agreeable to the nation in general. On the twenty-ſecond of April the prince and princeſs embarked in one of his majeſty's yachts for Holland, and ſoon after their arrival his ſerene highneſs ſet out to make the campaign under prince Eugene on the Rhine; and during his abſence the princeſs came to her father's court, and reſided here till the prince her conſort returned from the Imperial army, when ſhe went to meet him.

The war in 1734 was carried on by the confederates with great ſucceſs againſt the emperor. Two moſt bloody battles at Parma and Guaſtalla were fought with doubtful ſucceſs. Don Carlos took poſſeſſion of Naples, and was declared king thereof and of Sicily; which laſt was ſoon reduced alſo. Upon the Rhine the French took Philipſburgh, before which their general, the duke of Berwick, natural ſon of king James II. loſt his life in the trenches. Dantzick was reduced to the obedience of Auguſtus III. after a grievous ſiege by the Ruſſian army; and that prince was univerſally acknowleged king of Poland, while his rival and competitor Staniſlaus eſcaped with great difficulty, in the diſguiſe of a peaſant, into the territories of the king of Pruſſia.

In the mean time, nothing was omitted by the miniſtry towards putting the nation in a poſture of defence, to which they were principally induced by the doubtful behaviour of ſome of the allies. The court of Spain ſuffered the eldeſt ſon of the pretender to ſerve in the army of Don Carlos, by whom he was treated with diſtinguiſhed marks of reſpect: nay, that prince made no ſcruple publicly to declare that, whenever the ſituation of his affairs would permit, he would ſupport with all his power the intereſts of the abdicated family.

The conduct of the French alſo at this juncture was ſuch as beſpoke no very friendly ſentiments in reſpect to Great Britain, they having publiſhed about this time a ſevere edict, compelling all Britiſh ſubjects either to quit France or enliſt in their armies; and the perſons of many Engliſhmen were actually ſeized and held in durance. This produced a ſpirited memorial on the part of our court, which lord Waldegrave, our miniſter at Paris, was ordered to deliver to the French council, who, when they ſaw us earneſt upon the affair, thought proper to excuſe themſelves, by alleging, they only meant to execute their edict againſt Britiſh and Iriſh vagabonds, and ſuch as had no viſible means of ſubſiſtence.

In June this year the lord Forbes waited upon his majeſty at Kenſington from Ruſſia, with the copy of a treaty of commerce he had concluded with the czarina, greatly to the advantage of the Britiſh nation, as will appear from the following abſtract:

* Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 350, 351.

† Journal of the Houſe of Lords. Hiſtorical Regiſter, &c.

" The fourth article of this treaty ſtipulates, that the ſubjects of Great Britain may carry to Ruſſia all ſorts of merchandize, and may tranſport them from thence by land to Perſia, on paying a duty of three per cent. and may likewiſe bring back from Perſia, through Ruſſia, all ſorts of merchandize, on again paying the ſaid duty, without being obliged to open their bales.

" The ſeventh article declares, that in caſe of ſhipwreck, all manner of aſſiſtance ſhall be given, without offering the leaſt violence to the ſhip's company or effects.

" By the ninth article, the Britiſh merchants in Ruſſia are exempted from being obliged to ſhow their books to any one whatſoever, except it be to prove ſomething in diſpute. And for the greater eaſe and encouragement of the Britiſh commerce, it is agreed, that for the future the Engliſh manufactures ſhall pay no greater duty on importation than is ſpecified.

" This treaty to be in force for fifteen years from the year 1734."

On the nineteenth of September this year a treaty was alſo concluded with the king of Denmark. The miniſters employed in negotiating it were, on the part of his Britannic majeſty, the duke of Newcaſtle and the lord Harrington (who then were the two ſecretaries of ſtate) and ſir Robert Walpole; and on the part of Denmark, the ſieur de Johnn, the Daniſh reſident.

" The firſt and ſecond articles of this treaty are general profeſſions of friendſhip, and renewals of all former treaties between the two nations.

" By the third article, his Daniſh majeſty, at the deſire of our king, engages to hold in readineſs one thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot for three years, to be tranſported over to England in caſe his Britannic majeſty's dominions ſhould be threatened with an invaſion.

" By the fourth article, his Britannic majeſty engages to pay to the king of Denmark, for every horſeman eighty crowns, and for every foot ſoldier thirty crowns; one half to be paid on ſigning the treaty, and the other half when the troops ſhall be delivered; over and above which, king George engages to pay to the king of Denmark an annual ſubſidy of two hundred and fifty thouſand crowns during the time the treaty ſubſiſts: but if the troops ſhould paſs into the pay of the king of Great Britain, then his Daniſh majeſty is to receive a yearly ſubſidy of one hundred and fifty thouſand crowns while they are in his Britannic majeſty's ſervice.

" By the ſixth article, theſe troops are not to be ſent to Italy, nor obliged to ſerve on board a fleet, nor to be tranſported beyond ſea, but to be employed for the defence of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland; in which event they have the ſame pay that Engliſh troops have.

" The ſeventh article ſtipulates, that the ſaid troops ſhall be immediately ſent back to Denmark, with a month's pay, in caſe the king of Denmark's dominions are attacked; and his Britannic majeſty engages, in ſuch event, to give his Daniſh majeſty all the aſſiſtance the caſe ſhall require by ſea and land: the king of Denmark alſo binds himſelf in the like engagement of aſſiſtance towards the king of Great Britain.

" The eighth article determines in what caſe ſuch aſſiſtance, may be demanded and is to be given; namely, if either of the parties be actually attacked by force of arms, without that party having before uſed open force againſt him who attacks.

This treaty to be void at the end of three years, unleſs renewed *."

Nothing material paſſed in England during the courſe of this year, if we except the conteſt for electing members to ſit in the approaching parliament, which turned entirely in favour of the miniſter, whoſe influence at this period ſeemed to be all-powerful.

On the fourteenth of January 1735, the new parliament met, when the commons again made choice of Mr. Onſlow for their ſpeaker. After ſome days ſpent in the uſual formalities of qualifying the members, &c. his majeſty on the twenty-third opened the ſeſſion with a moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne, in which he told the two houſes, That having undertaken, in concert with the States-general, to mediate between the powers at war, he had met with ſo good ſucceſs, that a plan would ſpeedily be offered to the conſideration of all parties engaged in the war, as a baſis for a general negociation of peace. He alſo acquainted them that he had concluded a treaty with the crown of Denmark; a matter, he conceived, of great importance in the preſent conjuncture; and which, being attended with ſome expence, he would order it to be ſubmitted to the conſideration of the commons. At the ſame time he put them in mind, that while a war was raging in Europe, it would be proper in all events (though it might be attended with ſome expence) for Great Britain to keep herſelf in a poſture of defence.

The addreſs of thanks occaſioned a diſpute, as uſual, which ended, as may be readily conceived, in favour of the court; and the addreſs was voted and preſented.

The next ſubject of debate was concerning a motion made in a committee of the whole houſe on ſupplies, February the ſeventh, for encreaſing the number of ſeamen to thirty thouſand effective men, for the ſervice of the current year. The minority affirmed, that twenty thouſand, the number employed laſt year, were fully ſufficient: that the unneceſſary naval armaments of Great Britain during laſt ſummer had occaſioned the ruin of Dantzick, inaſmuch as they prevented the French from ſailing in time to relieve it: that the Spaniards, from the apprehenſion that the Engliſh fleet was deſigned to act againſt them in the Mediterranean, had obliged the French miniſtry to keep their ſhips at Breſt, inſtead of ſending them to Dantzick, until they could diſcover the deſtination of the Engliſh ſquadron.

The miniſtry replied, that gentlemen were greatly miſtaken if they imagined the French to have been ever ſerious in their deſign either to relieve Dantzic, or to aſſiſt Staniſlaus in mounting the

* Extracted from the Journals of the Houſe of Commons.

throne

throne of Poland: that it was true they had laſt year equipped a fleet, under pretext of relieving Dantzick, and had circulated a report that this was their real intention: that nevertheleſs, it was certain that the French fleet was not only detained at Breſt all ſummer, but orders were given by the courts of Verſailles and Madrid to fit out, in all their ports, all the ſhips that could poſſibly be got ready: that his majeſty having come to the knowlege of theſe orders, had judged it indiſpenſibly neceſſary to increaſe his ſea forces with the additional number of ſeven thouſand men; an expedient which, in all probability, had defeated the deſigns which the French and Spaniards had formed againſt theſe kingdoms: that both theſe powers, far from relaxing their preparations, were at this very time ſtrengthening their marine with the utmoſt induſtry; ſo that the addition of ſeven thouſand men to the naval force of Great Britain muſt be thought by all impartial perſons a reaſonable augmentation; and that this meaſure would appear the more neceſſary when it was conſidered, that in a free country like ours, where there was no regiſter for ſeamen, by which the fleet might be inſtantly ſupplied with men, the government was obliged, on any ſudden emergency, to have recourſe to preſſing; a moſt diſagreeable expedient in a country of liberty. After this and a great deal more had paſſed to the ſame purpoſe, the queſtion being put, was carried in the affirmative for thirty thouſand ſeamen, the office of ordnance being included.

On the twenty-fourth of February ſir W. Wyndham moved, that the eſtimates of the navy for the enſuing year might be referred to a ſelect committee. He was ſeconded by Mr. Sandys, and ſupported by ſir Joſeph Jekyll and Mr. Pulteney; but after ſome debate the motion was carried in the negative.

On the twenty-eighth, the treaty concluded laſt year with Denmark came under conſideration in a grand committee, when Mr. H. Walpole moved, "that the ſum of fifty-ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty pounds ſhould be granted to his majeſty, as a ſubſidy to the king of Denmark, purſuant to the ſaid treaty, for the ſervice of the enſuing year." This demand was vehemently oppoſed by the gentlemen in the country intereſt, as both unreaſonable and unneceſſary, at a time when Denmark had rather greater reaſon than England for maintaining the balance of power in Europe. They ſaid, the money would be much more properly applied in gaining over the elector of Bavaria, in detaching the king of Sardinia from his engagements with France, or in enabling the Poles to chuſe ſuch a king as might have prevented the breaking out of the war; and in ſhort, that the ſubſidy was no more than a bribe given by England to induce a foreign prince to follow his own intereſt. The debate having had its free courſe, the queſtion was put, and the motion approved by the majority.

A bill was afterwards brought in for limiting the number of officers in the houſe of commons; but on the ſecond reading was rejected, after a learned debate; in the courſe of which the oppoſition was ſtrengthened by the coming over of lord Polwarth, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Marchmont, a nobleman of clear, keen, and elegant elocution.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion the mutiny-bill received a material alteration. By this act, any juſtice of the peace had it formerly in his power to throw a poor fellow into gaol, if, after receiving the inliſting money (while perhaps he was drunk) he refuſed to take the oaths, even though he offered to return the money: but now a clauſe was inſerted, importing, that every officer who ſhould hereafter inliſt any man to ſerve in any regiment, ſhould, within a certain number of days, carry the perſon inliſted before one of the next juſtices of the peace, where the man ſhould be at liberty to declare his diſſent to ſuch an act, and his having repented of what he had done; and upon his ſo doing, and returning the officer the inliſting money, and the expences incurred in the progreſs of the affair; ſuch juſtice ſhould forthwith diſcharge him: and that an officer guilty of any failure or neglect in this particular ſhould be liable to the ſame penalties which were inflicted on thoſe chargeable with falſe muſters. At the ſame time, to prevent any abuſe of this indulgence, another clauſe was added, ordaining, that if any perſon ſhould receive inliſting money (knowing it to be ſuch) and ſhould afterwards abſcond or refuſe to go before a magiſtrate, to declare his aſſent or diſſent to the enliſting, ſuch perſon ſhould be deemed to be inliſted to all intents and purpoſes †.

An affair of a very ſerious nature was at this time depending before the houſe of commons. The magiſtrates of the royal burgh of Haddington had been ſeized and impriſoned in a diſtant gaol, without being admitted to bail, by a warrant from one of the Scots judges; but another judge had ventured to take their bail, and ſet them at liberty. The injured parties preſented a petition to the houſe of commons; and the caſe appeared ſo flagrant, that a motion was made to refer it to the conſideration of a committee of the whole houſe. This was oppoſed by the miniſter and his friends, from what motive is hard to ſay, unleſs we may ſuppoſe that the unjuſt judge had ſuch an intereſt in the country, as to make it neceſſary to ſcreen him at all events. However, the motion was thrown out by the majority, which did the miniſter no ſervice. The minority, though often baffled, ſeized every opportunity of renewing the ſtruggle, and on the fourteenth of March moved, that part of an act of the parliament of Scotland, made in 1701, entitled, "An act for preventing wrongous impriſonments, and againſt delays in trials," might be read, which was accordingly done, and a bill afterwards brought in by Mr. Dundaſs, lord Polwarth, and Mr. Sandys, for explaining and amending the above act. This act was all the natives of Scotland had in lieu of the Habeas Corpus act, though, as we have ſeen, it did not ſcreen them from oppreſſion; yet when the bill, after paſſing the commons, was ſent up to the lords, it was thrown out there, through the oppoſition made to it by the earl of Ilay, who undertook to prove,

* Parliamentary Debates. Hiſtorical Regiſter, &c. † See Stat. 9 Geo. II.

that the Scots were on a footing with their neighbours in England in this reſpect.

On the tenth of April a petition of the then late general aſſembly of the church of Scotland was preſented to the houſe and read, praying the houſe "to paſs a bill for repealing an act of parliament paſſed in the tenth year of queen Anne, reſtoring the right of patronage in Scotland, ſo far as it concerns the power of patrons to preſent miniſters to vacant churches, in order to reſtore the church of Scotland to the rights and privileges ſhe was poſſeſſed of at the union of the two kingdoms." A bill was ordered in upon this petition, and went through a firſt reading; but when it came to be read a ſecond time, it was oppoſed chiefly by the deſire of the Scotch members themſelves, who, being moſt of them patrons, thought the bill was an invaſion upon their rights. In fine, the bill was poſtponed for a month, which was the ſame as dropping it.

This ſeſſion the commons endeavoured to rectify the laws relating to the poor of England, which they found in ſome reſpects to be defective, and attended with difficulty and charge in the execution. Upon mature conſideration, therefore, they came to the following reſolutions on this ſubject; "That in each county a number of proper perſons ſhould form themſelves into a body-politic for erecting and governing hoſpitals and work-houſes, for the maintenance and encouragement of the poor, for the reception of foundlings and other infants, and for the puniſhment of vagrants and other diſorderly perſons; and that all the laws relating to the poor ſhould be reduced to one act of parliament." But it being late in the ſeſſion before this report was made to the houſe, nothing was done in this important matter *.

But the attention of the public was chiefly engaged by an affair of a very delicate and intereſting nature, which came before the upper houſe in the courſe of this ſeſſion. This was a petition ſubſcribed by the dukes of Hamilton, Queenſberry, and Montroſe, by the earls of Dundonald, Marchmont, and Stair, repreſenting, that undue influence had been uſed in carrying on the election of the ſixteen peers for Scotland.

This petition was delivered by the duke of Bedford on the fifteenth of February, who at the ſame time propoſed a day for taking it into conſideration; which propoſal was readily agreed to. Nevertheleſs, the affair was of ſuch an unprecedented nature, that the houſe ſeemed to be divided in opinion about the manner in which they ought to proceed. The duke of Newcaſtle obſerved, and certainly with great juſtice, that it was doubtful whether the houſe had even a power of receiving ſuch a petition, nothing in the articles of union, he ſaid, giving a Britiſh houſe of lords a right to interfere in the election of the Scottiſh peers; nor indeed had they otherwiſe any ſuch right, unleſs ſome particular charge was ſtated and offered to be proved. On the other hand, the friends of the petition urged that it was general, and the facts contained in the allegations were of a very bad complexion, and ſuch as ought to be puniſhed if they were proved. However, as it ſeemed to be uncertain what was the ſcope and deſign of the petition, a motion was made and aſſented to, that it ſhould be adjourned to a ſhort day, before which the petitioners ſhould be ordered to declare, "whether they intended to controvert the election of the ſixteen peers, or the election of any, and which of them."

This order being communicated by the lord-chancellor to the petitioners, they in a few days delivered in a declaration, importing, "That they did not intend to thwart the election or return of the ſixteen peers for Scotland; but they thought it their duty to lay before their lordſhips the evidence of ſuch facts and undue methods as appeared to them to be dangerous to the conſtitution, and might in future elections equally affect the right of the preſent ſixteen peers, as that of the other peers of Scotland, if not prevented by a proper remedy."

This declaration being read in the houſe, the court-party objected to it as unſatisfactory. Its meaning, they ſaid, was equally vague and undetermined with that of the petition; and therefore the duke of Devonſhire made a motion, "That the petitioners might be ordered to lay before the houſe in writing, inſtances of thoſe undue methods and illegal practices upon which they intended to proceed, and the names of the perſons they ſuſpected to be guilty." This motion was warmly oppoſed by the earls of Cheſterfield, Abingdon, and Strafford, and the lords Bathurſt and Carteret. Lord Cheſterfield concluded a ſpeech he made on this occaſion, with the following expreſſions: "Suppoſing, my lords, we ſhould get information that ſeveral barrels of gun-powder had been placed under this houſe, in order to blow us up, would it not be very fooliſh to delay going to ſearch for and remove the gun-powder, till we ſhould be informed by what means, at what time, and by whom the powder was placed there? The caſe before us is the very ſame; there is a ſort of metaphorical gun-powder placed under this houſe, which will in time blow us up, if it be not removed; and in ſuch a caſe are we to trifle away our time in enquiries after the names of the perſons who placed it there, and the methods by which it was conveyed?" Beautiful as this compariſon was, it had no effect, any more than the reaſoning of the other friends of the petition, with the majority of the houſe, who voted the declaration unſatisfactory; that the conſideration of the matter ſhould be delayed for eight days longer; and that the petitioners ſhould be ordered to lay before the houſe in writing, &c. as expreſſed in the above motion.

On the day appointed the petitioning lords preſented a remonſtrance to the houſe, in which they obſerved, "that as they had no intention to ſtate themſelves accuſers, they could not take upon them to name particular perſons who might have been concerned in thoſe illegal practices; but who they were would undoubtedly appear to their lordſhips, upon their taking the proper examination: that, nevertheleſs, they begged leave to acquaint their lordſhips, that the petition was laid before them, upon information that the liſt of the ſixteen peers for Scotland had been framed, previous to

* Parliamentary Debates. Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons. Hiſt. Reg. Tindal.

the election, by perſons in high truſt under the crown: that this liſt was ſhewn to peers as a liſt approved by the crown; and was called the king's liſt, from which there was to be no variation, unleſs to make way for one or two particular peers, on condition they ſhould conform to meaſures: that peers were ſolicited to vote for this liſt, without the liberty to make any alteration: that endeavours were uſed to engage peers to vote for this liſt, by promiſe of penſions and offices, civil and military, to themſelves and relations, as well as by offers of money: that ſums of money were actually given for this purpoſe: that penſions, offices, and releaſes of debts owing to the crown, were granted to peers who concurred in voting for this liſt, and to their relations: that, on the day of election, a battalion of his majeſty's troops was drawn up in the Abbey-court, contrary to cuſtom, and without any other apparent cauſe than that of overawing the electors: that theſe inſtances of undue practices would, they hoped, be abundantly ſufficient to ſatisfy their lordſhips, that they had juſt cauſe to pray the houſe to take this matter into their ſerious conſideration, and to provide ſuch remedy as might be effectual for preſerving the right and freedom of elections; ſuch right of electing being the only right that now remained with the peers of Scotland, in lieu of a conſtant and hereditary ſeat in parliament."

This remonſtrance gave riſe to another violent diſpute. The lords in the oppoſition endeavoured to make the moſt of a particular fact mentioned therein, which was the holding under arms a battalion of ſoldiers during the time of the election, which they repreſented to be a moſt ſcandalous, arbitrary, and flagrant infringement of the rights and liberties of the ſubject, and of that independency which is ever to be preſerved in all elections. The court lords, who made no ſcruple to acknowlege the fact, alleged in defence of ſuch a ſtep, that it was both legal and prudent: that the ſoldiers were drawn out by the authority of the civil magiſtrate, as a preventative againſt riots and tumults among the populace, who had been inflamed by the oppoſite party to a pitch of reſentment that threatened the moſt fatal conſequences, if not timely checked. In fine, the remonſtrance was voted unſatisfactory, the petition diſmiſſed, and the whole affair entirely ſuppreſſed †.

Notwithſtanding this diſcouragement, the minority renewed their attacks on every freſh occaſion; but all their motions were ſucceſſively rejected by the invincible power of a majority.

The public buſineſs being at length finiſhed, and the ſupplies granted (which this year amounted to upwards of three millions) the ſeſſion was cloſed on the fifteenth of May, 1735, by a ſpeech from the throne; in which the king was pleaſed to acknowlege, that the plan of pacification which he had formed with the States-general had not yet proved effectual; but added, that he was ſtill determined to perſiſt in the ſame pacific meaſures, and to uſe his utmoſt endeavours for compoſing the troubles of Europe. He thanked the parliament for the power they had given him to augment his forces by ſea and land; acquainted them with his intention to viſit his German dominions; and told them, that he ſhould conſtitute the queen regent of the realm during his abſence. Immediately after the prorogation, his majeſty embarked for Holland in his way to Hanover, from whence he did not return till the twenty-ſixth of October following.

A committee of inſpection into the ſtate of the South-ſea company's commerce to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies having been appointed by their general court out of the ſtock-holders, it appeared by the accounts which that committee publiſhed about this time, that the entire balance of that trade from the beginning (or of their ten years American or Aſſiento trade) amounted to no more than thirty-two thouſand two hundred and ſixty pounds eighteen ſhillings profit to the company. This was, by the proprietors of the ſtock, thought (and indeed it was) a very inconſiderable profit, being but three thouſand two hundred and twenty-ſix pounds for each year of that trade. This made the ſtock-holders very earneſt to accept of an equivalent formerly offered by the court of Spain: but thoſe proprietors or ſtock-holders conſidered only their own private advantage by that equivalent: for as the king and his miniſters muſt have been conſulted before the company could be permitted to accept of ſuch equivalent, there was a more important and extenſive conſideration to be duly weighed, viz. whether by the illicit and very profitable trade carried on by that company's ſupercargoes, factors, captains, and other ſervants employed by them in the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, and alſo under their wings from Jamaica, &c. the nation was not a greater gainer, upon the whole, than they could be by the propoſed equivalent, and the carrying back the trade to the channel of Cadiz, where, without doubt, our merchants had alſo a great intereſt in that trade? But I ſhall have occaſion to conſider this ſubject hereafter.

Great complaints came over from Nova Scotia at this time, and particularly from the Britiſh ſettlement at Canſo, a place of great conſequence to our fiſhing-trade in thoſe parts; that although the late king had ſent thither four companies of ſoldiers, yet there had been no money laid out in fortifying that place: that they were particularly apprehenſive of the French encroachments in their neighbourhood, who always pay great attention to their own fortifications; and that by our ſhameful neglect of Nova Scotia, our fiſhery there was almoſt dwindled to nothing. Notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances and repreſentations, our miniſtry ſeemed quite to diſregard, or rather to be quite ignorant of, the great importance of that province.

At this period the affairs of Europe were in a very delicate and critical ſituation. The emperor complained loudly of the tame and pacific conduct of our court, which, from the treaties ſubſiſting between Great Britain and the empire, he expected would have eſpouſed his cauſe. His Britannic majeſty, however, gave the world an inſtance about this time, that it was from no perſonal pique to the emperor that he took no part in his affairs, relative to the war now carrying on; for having received certain advice that the French had formed a ſtrong party at the Ottoman Porte, who were

† Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords. Hiſt. Regiſt. Parliamentary Debates.

labouring

labouring to bring the Divan to declare war againſt his Imperial majeſty, king George, conjunctly with the States-general, ſent orders to their reſpective miniſters at that court to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to counteract the French in their ſcheme; which theſe miniſters did ſo effectually, that the grand ſeignior was brought to lay aſide all thoughts of attacking the emperor, who, ſenſible of the friendly office done him, ſent his Britannic majeſty his hearty thanks upon the occaſion.

Nor was it in this inſtance only that our court acted the part of mediator, with a view to the maintenance of the balance of power, which at this time ſeemed to be in danger of being ruined. A miſunderſtanding had lately ariſen between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, occaſioned by affronts mutually offered to their ambaſſadors at each court. The affair could not be amicably compromiſed, and the king of Spain began to make preparations for a war with Portugal, which ſo alarmed his moſt Faithful majeſty, that he inſtantly made the moſt earneſt application to the Britiſh government for protection from the deſigns of his enemies. Agreeable to the plan we had framed of univerſal pacification, we readily promiſed our aſſiſtance, and reſolved, by a timely and powerful relief, to overcome the Spaniſh court, and fruſtrate their deſigns. Accordingly, in the month of May this year, ſir John Norris was diſpatched with a fleet of twenty-eight ſhips of the line to the river Tagus, where he was received by the king of Portugal and the inhabitants of Liſbon as their guardian and deliverer. The Spaniſh court inveighed in the moſt haughty and acrimonious terms againſt this interpoſition of the Engliſh, and threatened to pour a numerous army into Portugal over land; but when the firſt tranſports of their reſentment were ſubſided, they thought it moſt adviſeable, for their own intereſt, to lay aſide their hoſtile preparations.

Mean while, the powers at variance upon the continent began to grow heartily tired of the war, though neither cared to own their ſentiments. Conferences for peace had for ſome time been carried on at the Hague, under the auſpices of his Britannic majeſty and the States-general, though at the ſame time the latter had renewed, for another year, their treaty of neutrality with France. Couriers were continually paſſing between London and Verſailles; and although the king of Great Britain could not claim the merit of having abſolutely compleated the deſired work of peace, yet he undoubtedly ſmoothed the way to it by the plans he propoſed: but as the two courts of Verſailles and Vienna had already been diſguſted by certain proceedings of the congreſs who were to conſider of theſe plans, the two belligerant powers fell upon a more ſimple and effectual means of terminating their differences. An armiſtice was propoſed by the emperor, and agreed to by the court of France, which ſoon after terminated in the concluſion of certain preliminary articles, by which France engaged to reſtore to the empire all the places ſhe had taken from it in the courſe of the late war. It was alſo ſtipulated that the emperor ſhould poſſeſs the Mantuan, Parma, Placentia, and the Milaneſe. Don Carlos was acknowleged king of Naples and Sicily; John Francis, duke of Lorraine, who afterwards married Maria-Thereſa, eldeſt archduchеſs of Auſtria, was aſſigned the duchy of Tuſcany after the death of the reigning duke, when Lorraine was to be annexed to the crown of France.

King Staniſlaus renounced the kingdom of Poland, which he had twice obtained, and which his allies were unable to ſecure to him. He was, however, ſtill to retain the title of king; but he was to be further indemnified, more upon the account of France than of himſelf. Cardinal de Fleury, the French miniſter, was at firſt ſatisfied with the diſtrict of Bar, which the duke of Lorraine was to give to Staniſlaus, with a reverſion thereof to the crown of France: and Lorraine was not to be ceded till its duke ſhould be in full poſſeſſion of Tuſcany. This was making the ceſſion of Tuſcany depend greatly upon chance, and it was making very little uſe of the great ſucceſſes, and the moſt favourable conjuncture that had ever offered in favour of France: the old cardinal therefore reſolved to make a bold puſh: he demanded Lorraine upon the ſame conditions with the diſtrict of Bar, and obtained it, at the expence only of three millions five hundred thouſand livres (or about ſixteen thouſand pounds ſterling) granted to duke Francis till he ſhould be poſſeſſed of Tuſcany.

Thus was Lorraine for ever annexed to the crown of France, after having been many times attempted without ſucceſs; a king of Poland was tranſplanted to Lorraine; the ſecond ſon of the king of Spain was removed to Naples; but the duke of Lorraine was the chief gainer by this arrangement, ſince he afterwards became grand duke of Tuſcany, and ſon-in-law to the emperor, whoſe eldeſt daughter, Maria-Tereſa, he eſpouſed; an alliance to which he was indebted for the imperial diadem to which he afterwards ſucceeded. By this plan of pacification Leghorn was to be declared a free port; France was to guaranty the pragmatic ſanction; and England, Holland, Portugal, and Vienna, were to be ſollicited to guaranty the preſent treaty, to which the kings of Spain and Sardinia were to be invited to accede; the latter of theſe monarchs was to enjoy Vigevanaſco, Novara, and all its dependencies.

Such was the iſſue of this ſhort but bloody war, which at its firſt breaking out threatened all Europe with the moſt fatal conſequences, but which at laſt was happily terminated by the timely interpoſition of his Britannic majeſty, and the utter inability of the emperor to ſupport a burthen ſo far above his ſtrength *.

In the month of October king George returned from Hanover, and on the fifteenth day of January, 1736, opened the parliament with a ſpeech, in which he acquainted them, that the plan of pacification formed by the French and Imperialiſts was in ſubſtance the ſame with that which had been concerted between him and the States-general, tho' they had thought proper to communicate it as a new project; that he had agreed to this plan, which had been imparted to the kings of Spain and Sardinia, who, it was hoped, would likewiſe be per-

† Political State. Voltaire. Tindal. Hiſt. Europe.

ſuaded

ſuaded to accede to it. He told them, that he had already given orders for a reduction of his forces, both by ſea and land; but ſaid, he flattered himſelf they would think it reaſonable to continue ſome extraordinary expences till the peace of Europe ſhould be more fully eſtabliſhed.

When his majeſty was retired, a motion was made in the upper houſe for an addreſs of thanks to the ſpeech, importing, that the houſe beheld with pleaſure, in their preſent ſituation, the happy effects of the extraordinary ſupplies granted of late years by parliament, together with their congratulations on the plan of pacification. But the earl of Strafford oppoſed this addreſs, as he ſaid, in his opinion, the peace was a very bad one for Europe, ſeeing it would leave France in poſſeſſion of Lorraine, by which means ſhe could at any time find an eaſy acceſſion into the very heart of Europe. After ſome altercation, however, the addreſs was voted, drawn up, preſented, and moſt graciouſly received. The example of the lords was followed by the commons, who met with the like favourable reception.

The lower houſe having determined ſome controverted elections, proceeded to take into conſideration the ſupplies for the year; and ſir Charles Wager moving that fifteen thouſand men ſhould be employed for the ſervice of the enſuing year, the propoſal was approved without a diviſion.

The drinking of geneva, and other diſtilled ſpirituous liquors, had for ſome years paſt encreaſed to a ſurpriſing degree, eſpecially among the people of inferior rank, inſomuch, that not only thouſands had already periſhed through this abominable practice, and great numbers been rendered wholly unfit for labour or ſervice; but their morals had likewiſe been ſo debauched, that a general diſſoluteneſs prevailed amongſt them. Theſe pernicious liquors, of which gin was that principally drank, were not only ſold by diſtillers, but retailed in the ſmalleſt quantities by every petty chandler-ſhop or coal-cellar in the metropolis; by which means journeymen, apprentices, and ſervants, were drawn in to intoxicate themſelves with this bewitching drug. In a word, there was the greateſt reaſon to apprehend that the public welfare and ſafety, as well as the trade of the nation, would be greatly affected by this practice, which was ſo dangerous to the health, ſtrength, peace, and morals, and even threatened the extinction of the Engliſh ſpecies among the common people. Induced by theſe melancholy conſiderations, the juſtices of the peace for the county of Middleſex preſented a petition to the houſe of commons, ſetting forth the above evils, and praying that the houſe would take the matter into their ſerious conſideration, and apply ſuch remedy as to them in their wiſdom ſhould ſeem moſt proper.

This affair being carefully examined by the houſe, a motion was made for reſolving, that a duty of two ſhillings per gallon ſhould be impoſed upon all ſpirituous liquors; and that fifty ſhillings ſhould be paid to his majeſty for a licence, to be taken out yearly by every perſon who ſhould vend, barter, or utter, any ſuch ſpirituous liquors.

The gentlemen in the oppoſition adduced many weighty objections to the high duties propoſed to be laid by this motion. Mr. Pulteney in particular obſerved, that they amounted to a prohibition; and as this extended to rum, he was apprehenſive it might prove of fatal conſequence to the Britiſh ſugar iſlands, which were already in a declining condition: that many thouſands depended for their livelihood upon the Britiſh diſtillery; and that it was abſurd to argue againſt the uſe of a thing from the abuſe of it.

In anſwer to this, the promoters of the motion urged, that nothing but the extreme danger of the nation, from the exceſſive uſe of ſpirituous liquors, could have induced them to deſire ſuch a bill to be brought in: they were fully ſenſible, they ſaid, of the difficulties to which great numbers of his majeſty's ſubjects would be reduced by the duties propoſed to be laid on ſuch liquors; but the intereſt of individuals ought to give way to the general intereſt; and where the preſervation of the community was viſibly and ſo eſſentially concerned, the hardſhips of ſome few particular perſons muſt be overlooked: that with reſpect to rum and brandy, it was very certain thoſe liquors had often been drank to a very great exceſs, notwithſtanding the high duties laid upon them, and were as pernicious both to the health and morals of the people as any home-made ſpirit: that if any ſorts of ſpirits ſhould be exempted from the duties now propoſed, the retailer would ſell the moſt pernicious ſtuff under that denomination; and the diſtiller would compound them in ſuch a manner, that it would be impoſſible to detect the impoſition. After theſe and ſome other ſpeeches on each ſide of the queſtion, the reſolutions were approved by the majority, and a bill was brought in, for impoſing the above-mentioned duty. While this bill was depending, great numbers of petitions were received from the traders of the ſugar-colonies and the merchants of Briſtol and Liverpool, repreſenting the hardſhips to which they would be expoſed, by a law which amounted to a prohibition of rum and ſpirits diſtilled from molaſſes. In conſequence of theſe remonſtrances, a mitigating clauſe was inſerted in favour of the compoſition known by the name of punch; and diſtillers were permitted to exerciſe any other employment. When ſir Joſeph Jekyll, according to order, preſented the bill to the houſe, ſir Robert Walpole acquainted them, by his majeſty's command, that as the alterations propoſed to be made by that bill in the duties charged upon all ſpirituous liquors might in a great degree affect ſome part of the civil liſt revenues, his majeſty, for the ſake of remedying ſo great an evil as was intended by that bill to be prevented, did conſent to accept any other revenue of equal value, to be ſettled and appropriated in lieu of his intereſt in the ſaid duties.

The uſual eſſays, with the uſual ſucceſs, were made this ſeſſion for a penſion-bill, and other conſtitutional acts for ſecuring the independency of parliaments. The king was impowered to borrow ſix hundred thouſand pounds, chargeable on the Sinking Fund, for the ſervice of the enſuing year; and the ſum of ſeventy thouſand pounds was voted for making good the deficiencies that might happen in the civil liſt by the gin act.

Mr. Walter Plumer, a very ſenſible member of the oppoſition, in a ſpeech which did him much credit, moved for the repeal of ſome clauſes in the teſt act, which he repreſented as a ſpecies of perſecution, in which the proteſtant diſſenters were

confounded with the Roman catholics and profeſſed enemies to the eſtabliſhment. Lord Polwarth and Mr. Heathcote ſpoke ſtrenuouſly in favour of this motion; but ſir Robert Walpole as ſtrongly oppoſed it, as being dangerous to the eſtabliſhed church. In this opinion he was joined by Mr. Shippen; and the queſtion being put, was carried in the negative. A petition being preferred by the body of people called quakers, deſiring to be relieved from the ſevere proſecutions they were liable to in the exchequer, eccleſiaſtical, and other courts, for the non-payment of tithes, church-rates, and other eccleſiaſtical dues, which, from a principle of conſcience, they could not pay; a bill was prepared for their relief, which, after ſeveral debates and alterations, at length paſſed the houſe, and was ſent up to the lords, where it was thrown out on a diviſion.

While theſe matters were deliberating in the great aſſembly of the nation, the public attention was engaged by an event which has proved of the utmoſt happineſs and advantage to Great Britain; I mean the marriage of his late royal highneſs Frederick prince of Wales to the princeſs Auguſta of Saxe-Gotha, from which union is ſprung our preſent illuſtrious and beloved ſovereign George III. The ceremonials preparative to theſe nuptials being paſſed, the lord Delawar was ſent in the beginning of March to fetch the princeſs over, who arrived at Greenwich on the twenty-fifth of April, and two days after the marriage was celebrated *. This match proved highly pleaſing to the nation in general; accordingly, the two houſes of parliament, the city of London, and almoſt every county town and borough throughout England, expreſſed their ſatisfaction in addreſſes to their majeſties and the princely pair. It was on this occaſion that Mr. Pitt, then a young member in the houſe of commons, gave the firſt proofs of that eloquence, and thoſe ſuperior abilities, by the help of which he has ſince made ſo conſpicuous a figure in the Britiſh annals: he ſeized the opportunity of the motion for an addreſs to their majeſties on the nuptials of the prince of Wales, to pronounce a moſt elegant panegyric on their royal highneſſes, in which he was ſeconded by ſir George Lyttleton, who likewiſe diſplayed himſelf as an orator to great advantage.

The ſpirit of bequeathing lands, &c. to pious and charitable uſes, had lately been carried to a dangerous height, even to the excluſion or diſinheriting of the lawful heirs and poor relations. Gifts, or alienations of lands, tenements, &c. in mortmain, or into dead hands, are prohibited and reſtrained by Magna Charta, and by divers other wholeſome laws, as prejudicial to the common utility. Nevertheleſs, this public miſchief had of late ſo greatly increaſed, that it was thought neceſſary to put a check to it by ſome farther regulations. For this purpoſe a bill was brought into the houſe of commons by ſir Joſeph Jekyll, maſter of the Rolls, to reſtrain the diſpoſition of lands in mortmain, whereby they became unalienable. As this bill, which afterwards paſſed into an act, may in ſome manner concern ſeveral of our readers, we ſhall here ſubjoin a ſhort abſtract thereof, for the information of thoſe who may not have the collection of ſtatutes at hand to refer to.

It is then hereby enacted, "That no manors, lands, tenements, rents, advowſons, or other hereditaments corporeal or incorporeal whatſoever, nor any ſum or ſums of money, or any other perſonal eſtate whatſoever, to be laid out or diſpoſed of in the purchaſe of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, ſhall be given, granted, or aſſigned, or any way whatſoever conveyed or ſettled to or upon any perſon or perſons, body-politic or corporate, or otherwiſe, for any eſtate or intereſt whatſoever, or in truſt, or for the benefit of any charitable uſes whatſoever, unleſs ſuch gift, conveyance, appointment, or ſettlement of any ſuch lands, tenements, &c. (other than ſtocks in the public funds) be made by deed, ſigned, ſealed, and delivered, in the preſence of two or more creditable witneſſes, twelve calendar months at leaſt before the death of ſuch donor or teſtator, and to be inrolled in Chancery ſix calendar months next after the execution thereof."

The two univerſities were greatly alarmed when they heard that a bill of this nature was depending in the houſe: they preſented petitions againſt it, as did alſo the colleges of Eton, Wincheſter, and Weſtminſter, and divers hoſpitals that ſubſiſted by charitable donations. An exempting clauſe was accordingly inſerted in favour of the two univerſities and the colleges above mentioned; but the petitions of the hoſpitals, and other charitable ſocieties, were rejected.

The ſubjects of debate in the upper houſe were exactly the ſame with thoſe in the lower. On the twentieth day of May, 1736, the king cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he told both houſes, "That a farther convention, concerning the execution of the preliminaries, had been made and communicated to him by the emperor and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; and that negociations were carrying on by the ſeveral powers engaged in the late war, in order to ſettle a general pacification. He expreſſed great concern at ſeeing ſuch ſeeds of diſſenſion ſown among his people: he declared it was his deſire, and ſhould ever be his care, to preſerve the preſent conſtitution in church and ſtate, as by law eſtabliſhed: he recommended a ſpirit of harmony and concord among all the proteſtants of the nation, as the chief ſupport of that happy eſtabliſhment; and acquainted them with his intention to viſit his German dominions." Agreeable to this declaration, the parliament was no ſooner prorogued than the king ſet out for Hanover.

Among the acts paſſed this ſeſſion was one for naturalizing her royal highneſs the princeſs of Wales, and another "for building a bridge croſs the river Thames from the New Palace-yard; or the Wool-ſtaple, in the city of Weſtminſter, to the oppoſite ſhore in the county of Surry." This noble ſtructure, hitherto the moſt beautiful and uniform of its kind in all Europe, its vaſt magnitude conſidered, by the parliament's bounty in granting ſeveral lotteries, and at different times

* Tindal ſays that this expedition was owing to the deficiency of the laws of precedency in England, which had not ſettled the rank of the princeſs before ſhe became princeſs of Wales. Contin. Rap. vol. viii. p. 300.

ſeveral ſums of money for it, was at length compleated, much to the honour of the nation, the conveniency of inland commerce, and the accommodation of all ranks of people. The ſeveral ſtatutes made concerning it did alſo provide for the removing of many old and decayed houſes, and the erecting of thoſe noble and ſpacious new ſtreets named Bridge-ſtreet, George-ſtreet, and Parliament-ſtreet, beſide the adorning of both the Palace-yards, greatly to the ornament of the ancient city of Weſtminſter, which, inſtead of its former dirty and narrow ſtreets, now lifts up its head with grandeur and majeſty on every ſide.

For two years paſt the general courts of the South-ſea company had fruitleſs debates concerning an equivalent propoſed by Don Geraldino, the agent from the Spaniſh court, to that company, in lieu of their annual ſhip, which ſeemed rather calculated to amuſe the company than to give them any due ſatisfaction; wherefore that company's court, held on the eleventh of Auguſt this year, 1736, took that matter again into conſideration, as alſo the company's farming their introduction of negroes into particular parts of the Weſt Indies, and the ſeveral demands made by Geraldino before the Spaniſh court would grant its cedula or permiſſion for their ſending out their annual ſhip; when it was finally reſolved, that the ſeveral matters above ſhould be referred to the court of directors, to do therein as they ſhould think to be moſt for the intereſt of the company.

So exceedingly remiſs was the adminiſtration in the due execution of the laws, and in their attention to the proper regulations of civil government, that Licentiouſneſs roved bare-faced and uncontrouled throughout the kingdom, and the public peace was daily diſturbed by the moſt audacious riots and tumults. In the month of July there was a deſperate riſing of the weavers in Spital-fields, on account of ſeveral artiſts in that branch of commerce who had come over from Ireland; and by living more frugally, and being leſs addicted to the abominable practice of drinking ſpirituous liquors, to the deſtruction of their healths and ſubſtance, were enabled to underwork the Engliſh conſiderably. This tumult could not be ſuppreſſed without the interpoſition of the civil power, aſſiſted by parties of the horſe and foot guards and trained bands, and the effuſion of ſome blood. This riotous diſpoſition of the populace filled the government with great apprehenſion of the conſequences of the gin act taking place on the twenty-ninth of September: on that day therefore a double guard mounted at Kenſington; the guards at St. James's and Whitehall were reinforced; a guard was placed at the Rolls (ſir Joſeph Jekyll, then maſter of the Rolls, having been the principal promoter of the bill); a detachment of life-guards and horſe-grenadiers paraded in Covent Garden; and every other imaginable method was taken to ſuppreſs any tumult that might happen on the occaſion: but, contrary to expectation, every thing remained very quiet and tranquil.

A moſt daring inſult, however, was committed whilſt the courts of juſtice were ſitting in Weſtminſter-hall. The gin act, mortmain act, Weſtminſter bridge act, and the act for borrowing ſix hundred thouſand pounds from the ſinking fund, incloſed in a brown paper parcel, were blown up with gun-powder in the great hall, and partly burnt; for which fact one Nixon, a non-juring clergyman, was apprehended, and being fully convicted thereof, was ſentenced to pay two hundred marks, to be impriſoned for five years, and to give ſecurity for his good behaviour for five years afterwards, and to be brought up to the ſeveral courts then ſitting, with a label on his breaſt denoting his crime.

But the moſt extraordinary affair this year, and which drew very ſerious conſequences after it, was that of captain Porteous, commander of the city guard of Edinburgh, which was as follows: One Wilſon, a ſmuggler, a fellow of a bold and reſolute ſpirit, had been tried and condemned by the lords of ſeſſion in Scotland, for robbing one of the officers of the revenue, and having afterwards been guilty of one of the moſt daring actions that ever was attempted, that of reſcuing out of the hands of juſtice his brother-convict, in the time of divine ſervice, and in the midſt of his guards. The magiſtrates of Edinburgh redoubled their uſual precautions for executing the ſentence againſt this deſperate criminal. When the executioner was cutting him down from the gallows, he was pelted (as is cuſtomary in that country) with ſtones and dirt, by the boys and rabble. Some of the ſtones happening to ſtrike Porteous, who attended the execution with the city-guards, he being a hot-headed brutal man, ordered his ſoldiers to fire among the populace, which they did; and ſeveral perſons were thereby killed, and others wounded; and all this without the orders of the magiſtrates then attending. Hereupon Porteous was committed to priſon, tried for murder, convicted upon full evidence, and received ſentence to be hanged, which was to be put in execution on the eighth of September; but upon his petition to the queen, then regent, and as the ſmugglers were at this time remarkably numerous, and ſeemed to ſet both civil and military power at defiance, her majeſty thought proper to indulge him with a reſpite for ſix weeks; which reſpite arrived at Edinburgh on the ſecond of September. This occaſioned a moſt tragical cataſtrophe: the common people of Edinburgh reſented this lenity ſhewn to a criminal who was the object of their deteſtation, which they looked upon as an encouragement to oppreſſion; and being ſtimulated by the relations and friends of thoſe who had been murdered, they formed a reſolution to execute themſelves the ſentence which the law had denounced againſt the murder, and that on the very day the judges had fixed for that purpoſe. Accordingly, on the ſeventh of September, a well-conducted party of men entered the city of Edinburgh about ten at night, and by ſurprize ſeized all the fire-arms, &c. belonging to the city-guard, locked up the city gates, beat an alarm, burnt the door of the priſon where Porteous was confined, after endeavouring in vain to force it open, dragged him from his apartments, and hanged him upon a dyer's pole near the Graſs-market. From the boldneſs, ſecrecy, and ſucceſs of this extraordinary enterprize, it was univerſally believed that perſons of more than vulgar rank were concerned in it, eſpecially as, after the execution was over, they left the arms and drums on the ſpot, and quietly departed, having offered not the leaſt violence to any other perſon.

In the beginning of this year the Britiſh nation ſuſtained an unſpeakable loſs in the death of lord-

chancellor Talbot, who had for ſeveral years executed that high office with admired ability and irreproachable integrity. He died univerſally lamented, in the month of February, at the age of fifty-two, and was ſucceeded by lord Hardwick.

On the ſixteenth of the ſame month there was the higheſt ſpring-tide in the river Thames that had been known in the memory of man; the judges, counſellors, and other perſons, were carried out of Weſtminſter-hall in boats, which plied both there and in the Palace-yards. All the cellars in Weſtminſter were filled with water; the privy-garden and parade in St. James's park were overflowed, as was in ſeveral places Tower-wharf; and the cellars and offices both above and below bridge, upon the banks of the river, were full of water.

I ſhall cloſe this account of domeſtic events (which indeed are very few, and little intereſting) with obſerving, that his majeſty, in compliance with the common practice of courts abroad, erected this year a new military poſt of honour, under the title of Field-marſhal of the armies of Great Britain. The two firſt officers who were inveſted with that high office were, the duke of Argyll and the earl of Orkney, as being the two eldeſt generals upon the eſtabliſhment.

Let us now take a view of foreign events during the courſe of this year.

On the firſt day of February was celebrated the marriage between Francis of Lorraine and Maria-Thereſa, the eldeſt daughter of the emperor Charles VI. now empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia; and, to compleat the public tranquillity, the interpoſition of the Britiſh fleet under ſir John Norris, in favour of the crown of Portugal, brought the king of Spain into terms with his Portugueze majeſty.

Prince Eugene, who had acted as the imperial plenipotentiary in ſettling the preliminaries of peace between the emperor and France, did not live to ſee the fruits of his negociation come to perfect maturity, he dying at Vienna in the month of April, at the age of ſeventy-three, leaving behind him the character of an invincible hero, an accompliſhed general, and a conſummate politician.

About this period a very extraordinary perſonage ſtarted up in Europe, and for ſome time created great ſpeculation and diſcourſe. The republic of Genoa held the ſovereignty of the iſland and kingdom of Corſica, but had exerciſed their authority with ſo much tyranny, that the inhabitants had thrown off their yoke, and taking up arms, had defeated ſeveral parties of troops their quondam maſters had ſent to reduce them. In this conjuncture Theodore Baron Stein, a man of a bold and enterpriſing genius, aſſiſted by ſome perſons in England, landed in the iſland of Corſica in an Engliſh ſhip, where he was received with open arms by the inſurgents, who were prepoſſeſſed in favour of his appearance, which was very commanding and reſpectable; and in a little time he prevailed ſo far with the Corſicans, that having engaged all the credit he had or could procure for arms and ammunition, which were landed in Corſica, the inhabitants proceeded to elect him their ſovereign; and he was regularly crowned king of Corſica in an open plain, by the name of Theodore the Firſt, king of Corſica; and ſome ſmall pieces of money with that inſcription were actually coined: but all theſe promiſing appearances were ſoon after blaſted. He had been extremely laviſh of his ſuccours both of men and money. Month after month elapſed, and no ſuch ſuccours appeared. His new ſubjects began to ſuſpect him of having impoſed upon their too ready belief. Some of the principal of them took the liberty to expoſtulate with him upon this head. Incenſed at their preſumption, Theodore ordered them to be tried and executed by the ſentence of a court-martial of his own appointing. This proved the ſentence of his own degradation: he ſoon found the affection of his new ſubjects began to cool towards him. The Corſicans are noted for never forgetting or forgiving an injury. Theodore, troubled for the conſequences of their reſentment, prudently choſe to leave the iſland; but this was not to be done without the ſafeguard of ſome plauſible pretext: he therefore feigned an invitation from ſome foreign powers with whom he was to hold a conference, and promiſing to return with large ſupplies of arms and money, which, he ſaid, his preſence was neceſſary to procure, he abandoned his kingdom, and never ſet foot in it again; but, after a variety of romantic adventures, ended his days a priſoner for debt in the King's-Bench priſon in England.

On the firſt of February, 1737, the Britiſh parliament aſſembled, when the ſeſſion was opened by commiſſion, his majeſty being indiſpoſed, in conſequence of the fatigue he had ſuffered in a tempeſtuous paſſage from Holland. The lord-chancellor, as one of the peers authoriſed by this committee, made a ſpeech in his majeſty's name to both houſes. He acquainted them, "That with regard to foreign affairs, the reſpective acts of ceſſion being exchanged, and orders given for the evacuation and poſſeſſion of the ſeveral countries and places by the powers concerned, according to the allotment and diſpoſition of the preliminary articles, the great work of re-eſtabliſhing the general tranquillity was far advanced; but his majeſty was of opinion, that great attention ought to be paid to the final concluſion of the new ſettlement, which was to diſpoſe of ſuch conſiderable parts of Europe: that though there was the moſt promiſing appearance of a general laſting tranquillity; yet common prudence called upon the Britiſh nation to avoid an indolent ſecurity, and too great a diſregard to future events: that, in a word, ſhe ought to be provided againſt all attempts that might be made againſt her peace by any of her enemies: that his majeſty had, as ſoon as the circumſtances of affairs would permit, made ſuch a reduction of the public expences as was conſiſtent with the quiet and ſafety of his kingdoms, the ſecurity of commerce, and the honour and intereſt of the nation: that he could not, without ſurprize and concern, obſerve the many deſigns and contrivances carried on, in various ſhapes, and in different parts of the nation, tumultuouſly to reſiſt and obſtruct the execution of the laws, and to violate the peace of the kingdom: that theſe diſturbers of the public repoſe, conſcious that the intereſts of his majeſty and his people were the ſame, and ſenſible of the harmony that ſubſiſted between him and his parliaments, had levelled their ſedition againſt both, and, in their late outrages, had either directly oppoſed, or at leaſt endeavoured to render ineffectual, ſome acts of the whole legiſlature: that the conſideration of the height to which

theſe audacious practices might riſe, if not timely ſuppreſſed, afforded a melancholy proſpect, and required particular attention, leſt they ſhould affect private perſons in the quiet enjoyment of their property, as well as the general peace and good order of the whole community."

This ſpeech was anſwered by very loyal addreſſes from both houſes, expreſſing their abhorrence of the outrages complained of, and their reſolution to ſupport his majeſty in all his endeavours to re-eſtabliſh the general tranquillity. After this, the commons having heard council on the controverted elections, proceeded to take the ſupply into conſideration. They voted ten thouſand men for the ſea ſervice; they continued ſeventeen thouſand and upwards for the land-ſervice. The money was raiſed by the land and malt taxes, and one million was granted out of the ſinking fund.

The ſubject which occaſioned debates of the moſt conſequence in the lower houſe was a motion made by Mr. Pulteney for an addreſs to his majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to ſettle one hundred thouſand pounds per annum upon his royal highneſs the prince of Wales. Such a proviſion, he ſaid, was conformable to the practice of antient times; it had been enjoyed by his preſent majeſty in the life-time of his father, and was a ſettlement both reaſonable and neceſſary to aſcertain the independency of the apparent heir to the crown. This motion was ſeconded by ſir John Barnard, and ſupported by a variety of inſtances from the Engliſh hiſtory, to ſhew the expediency and rectitude of ſuch a meaſure.

The motion was certainly a very popular one: his royal highneſs and his amiable conſort had endeared themſelves to the whole nation by their many virtues. The members of the oppoſition were ſenſible of this, and endeavoured to ſtrengthen their own intereſt by uniting it with that of the princely power. At the ſame time, they hoped that the miniſter, by oppoſing this meaſure (which they well knew he would) would compleat the meaſure of his unpopularity. His royal highneſs, on the other hand, could not but entertain a grateful ſenſe of the generous ſervices intended him, and thought himſelf obliged in honour to ſtand by his friends who had ſo warmly eſpouſed his intereſt. The miniſter was apprehenſive of the conſequences that might enſue from thus ſeparating the dependence of the ſon upon the father, and giving to the party adverſe to his adminiſtration ſo reſpectable and popular a head: he therefore uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevent his royal highneſs from conſenting to the motion being made, but to no purpoſe.

However, when it came before the houſe, ſir Robert oppoſed it with great firmneſs, though with a becoming decency to the illuſtrious object. He repreſented it as an encroachment on the prerogative of the crown, as an officious intermeddling in the affairs of the royal family, and as an inſidious attempt to ſet the king and prince at variance; and indeed it ſhould ſeem, that his majeſty had already received intimation of, and had highly reſented, this ſtep of the prince and his friends; for ſir Robert in the midſt of his harangue told the houſe, by his majeſty's command, that on the preceding day the king had ſent a meſſage to the prince by ſeveral noblemen of the firſt quality, to the following purport: "That upon his royal highneſs's marriage he had immediately taken into his royal conſideration the ſettling a proper jointure upon the princeſs of Wales; but that his majeſty's ſudden going abroad, and his late indiſpoſition ſince his return, had hitherto prevented the execution of thoſe his gracious intentions: that from this ſhort delay, however, his majeſty did not conceive that any inconvenience could ariſe, eſpecially as no application had been made to him upon that ſubject by his royal highneſs: that his majeſty had now given orders for ſettling a proper jointure upon the princeſs of Wales, ſuitable to her high rank and dignity, which he would in proper time order to be laid before the parliament, in order to be rendered more certain and effectual: that although his royal highneſs had not thought fit to deſire his majeſty that his annual allowance of fifty thouſand pounds, which was now paid him monthly, rather than quarterly, according to his royal highneſs's own requeſt, might be rendered leſs precarious; the king, to prevent the bad conſequences which, he apprehended, might follow from the undutiful courſes which, his majeſty was informed, the prince had been adviſed to purſue, would grant to his royal highneſs, for his majeſty's life, the ſaid fifty thouſand pounds per annum, to be iſſued out of the civil revenues, over and above the prince's revenues ariſing from the duchy of Cornwall, which his majeſty thought a very competent allowance, conſidering his own numerous iſſue, and the great expence which did and muſt neceſſarily attend an honourable proviſion for the whole royal family." To this meſſage the prince returned a verbal anſwer, deſiring their lordſhips to lay him with all humility at his majeſty's feet; to aſſure him that he did, and ever ſhould, retain the utmoſt duty for his royal perſon: that he was very thankful for any inſtance of his majeſty's goodneſs to him or to the princeſs, and particularly for his majeſty's gracious intention of ſettling a jointure upon her royal highneſs; but that as to the meſſage, the affair was now out of his hands, and therefore he could give no anſwer to it: that his royal highneſs afterwards uſed many dutiful expreſſions towards his majeſty, adding, "Indeed, my lords, it is in other hands; I am ſorry for it;" or words to that effect.

Sir Robert then proceeded to demonſtrate, that the annual ſum of fifty thouſand pounds was as much as the king could afford to allow for the prince's maintenance; and he expatiated upon the bad conſequences that might enſue from rendering the heir-apparent independent of the reigning ſovereign: he particularly inſiſted, that the parliament had no right to interfere in the creation or maintenance of a prince of Wales: he allowed, indeed, that the parliament had addreſſed or petitioned the king upon the death of Edward the Black Prince, that his ſon, afterwards Richard II. might be created prince of Wales; but that meaſure, he ſaid, was in all probability directed by the king himſelf.

Theſe objections did not paſs unanſwered. Mr. Pulteney obſerved, that in regard to the latter inſtance, there was great reaſon to believe that Edward III. would not have been ſo forward to create his grandſon Richard prince of Wales, had he not been in a manner compelled to it by his parliament, ſince it was notorious that Edward, in the decline of life, had fallen into a ſort of love-dotage,

and was entirely governed by his miſtreſs Alice Pierce, and his ſecond ſon the duke of Lancaſter, with whoſe reſpective views ſuch a preferment evidently claſhed. The ſupporters of the motion alſo obſerved, that the ſum of fifty thouſand pounds was not equal to the prince's unavoidable annual expence, excluſive of thoſe acts of charity and munificence ever expected from perſons in ſuch exalted ſtations; not to mention that the ſeveral deductions for land-taxes and fees reduced that fifty thouſand to forty thouſand, or a very little more. As to the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, they demonſtrated, that they did not exceed ten thouſand pounds per annum, in all making about fifty-two thouſand pounds a year; whereas, by his majeſty's own regulation, the expence of the prince's houſhold amounted to ſixty-three thouſand pounds yearly. They aſſerted that the produce of the civil liſt exceeded nine hundred thouſand pounds, which was more by one hundred thouſand pounds a year than his late majeſty had enjoyed: they ſhewed, that in the firſt year of the late king, his whole houſhold expence, and that of the civil government, was very little more than four hundred and fifty thouſand pounds a year. The parliament, they ſaid, had added one hundred and forty thouſand pounds annually for acts of charity and bounty, together with the article of ſecret ſervice-money, and allowed one hundred thouſand pounds for the maintenance of the prince of Wales.

His majeſty's meſſage, as reported by ſir Robert Walpole, made various impreſſions on the houſe. Some conſidered it as a wicked attempt of the miniſter to divide the royal family, while others were induced to think that his royal highneſs had ſuffered himſelf to be too eaſily led away by the inſinuations of ſome ſelf-intereſted perſons in the oppoſition. The debate was vehement and long; the beſt ſpeakers on both ſides exerted all their abilities in ſupporting their reſpective opinions; but the queſtion being at laſt put, the motion was rejected, by a majority of thirty voices (two hundred and thirty-four againſt two hundred and four.)

The houſe having reſolved itſelf into a committee to conſider of the national debt, a ſtate thereof was delivered in on the eighteenth of March, when it was found to amount to forty-ſeven millions eight hundred and fifty-five thouſand nine hundred and forty eight pounds three ſhillings and three pence halfpenny. Several of the members thinking that the intereſt paid for this debt was too high, ſir John Barnard moved, "That his majeſty ſhould be enabled to raiſe money either by ſale of annuities, or by borrowing at an intereſt not exceeding three per cent. to be applied towards redeeming old South-ſea annuities; and that ſuch of the annuitants as ſhould be inclined to ſubſcribe their reſpective annuities, ſhould be preferred to all others."

Evidently calculated as this motion was for public utility, as later experience has happily proved, the miniſtry and their friends raiſed a powerful oppoſition to it; but the excellent patriot who propoſed it enforced his plan with ſuch ſtrong and unanſwerable arguments, that they were obliged for the preſent to yield to the motion; and accordingly, on the thirteenth of March, ſir Charles Turner reported from the committee, "That it was their opinion, that all the public funds redeemable by law, which carried an intereſt of four per cent. ſhould be reduced according to the reſpective proviſos or clauſes of redemption contained in the acts of parliament for that purpoſe, or, with conſent of the proprietors, ſhould be converted into an intereſt or annuity not exceeding three per cent. nor redeemable till after fourteen years; and that his majeſty ſhould be enabled to borrow from individuals, or public bodies, any ſum of money, at an intereſt not exceeding three per cent. to be applied towards reducing the national debt." Several reſolutions were founded on this report, and a bill was immediately prepared, and read a firſt and ſecond time; but a motion being made for having it committed, this was over-borne by miniſterial influence, and the bill miſcarried.

The next remarkable conteſt in the lower houſe was occaſioned by a bill ſent down from the lords for puniſhing the magiſtrates of the city of Edinburgh, on account of the murder of captain John Porteous, of which we have already given a narrative.

When his majeſty's ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion was under conſideration in the houſe of peers, that part of it which related to riots and tumults was formally taken notice of by lord Carteret, who obſerved, that notwithſtanding the power with which the civil magiſtrate was inveſted, the military force had been employed in ſuppreſſing the late diſturbances; none of which, he ſaid, had proceeded from any diſaffection to the government, but from very different cauſes. He repreſented the murder which had been committed by the populace at Edinburgh, as of the moſt atrocious nature; and ſaid, that the conſpiracy by which it had been effected was the more alarming, as it had not been attended with any of thoſe diſorders ſo common to a riſing of a headſtrong and riotous populace, which afforded the greateſt reaſon to believe that it had been framed and conducted by perſons of rank and conſequence. Upon the whole, his lordſhip was of opinion, that the houſe ought to make the moſt diligent inquiſition into this affair, in order to diſcover the delinquents, and bring them to condign puniſhment; and even to puniſh the city of Edinburgh, if it ſhould appear that the inhabitants and magiſtrates had not exerted their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs the inſurrection. His lordſhip then moved, "That the provoſt and bailies of Edinburgh, in the year 1736; that the perſon commanding the city-guard at the time of the riot in which captain Porteous was murdered; that the commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in Scotland at the time of the ſaid riot; ſhould all of them be ordered to attend the houſe on a day appointed; and that an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, deſiring that the different accounts and papers relating to the murder of captain Porteous might be ſubmitted to their inſpection."

Theſe documents being accordingly produced and examined, and all the witneſſes arrived, including three Scottiſh judges *; and the houſe having procured all the intelligence that could poſſibly

* A debate aroſe about the manner in which theſe laſt ſhould be interrogated, whether at the bar, at the table, or on the

poſſibly be obtained, a bill was brought in to diſable Alexander Wilſon, eſq. lord provoſt of Edinburgh, from enjoying any office or place of magiſtracy in Edinburgh, or elſewhere in Great Britain; for impriſoning the ſaid Alexander Wilſon; for aboliſhing the city-guard; and for taking away the gates of the Nether-bow port, ſo as to open a communication between the city and the ſuburbs in which the king's troops were quartered.

This bill was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the duke of Argyll, and the other Scottiſh lords, as a proceeding harſh, unprecedented, and unjuſtifiable: nevertheleſs it was paſſed, and ſent down to the commons, where it produced a long and violent debate; and the oppoſition made to it in the committee of that houſe was ſo vigorous, that the whole of it was ſaved only by the caſting vote of colonel Bladon, the chairman. At length it was reduced to a ſimple act, "diſabling Alexander Wilſon, the lord-provoſt, from enjoying any office or place of magiſtracy in the city of Edinburgh, or elſewhere in Great Britain; and for impoſing a fine of two thouſand pounds upon the city for the benefit of Porteous's widow." Thus altered, the bill was returned to the lords, by whom it was approved, and ſoon after received the royal aſſent. Another bill was alſo brought in and paſſed, appointing rewards for the diſcovery of any of the parties concerned in the murder of Porteous, and puniſhing thoſe who ſhould knowingly conceal them. Notwithſtanding all which, and though many thouſands were concerned in that affair, and ſeveral actually tried for the ſame, yet nothing tranſpired that could ſerve to elucidate the grand object of enquiry, the murder of Porteous.

To the account of the proceedings of this ſeſſion it may not be improper to ſubjoin a view of the play-houſe bill, which was now paſſed into a law. It ſeems the miniſter and his friends had been highly provoked at the unreſerved manner in which they had been ſatiriſed upon the ſtage; and ſir Robert Walpole having gotten into his hands a manuſcript comedy, which was fraught with the bittereſt ſarcaſms upon the adminiſtration, he produced it to his friends, who immediately joined with him in a deſign to ſuppreſs, for the future, all perſonified ſatire on men in power. For this purpoſe a bill was brought in for limiting the number of play-houſes, and for ſubjecting all dramatic performances exhibited on the ſtage to the inſpection of the lord-chamberlain of his majeſty's houſhold, without a licence from whom they ſhould not be ſuffered to be acted.

This meaſure, however, was violently oppoſed by all the anti-courtiers, who repreſented it as a direct violation of the liberty of the preſs, and the ſubjecting true genius to ſhackles, which in all human probability it would never be able to ſhake off. Their arguments were of little avail; for, notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts, the bill paſſed by a conſiderable majority.

While this bill was depending in the houſe of lords, a ſpeech was made againſt it by the earl of Cheſterfield, in which all the powers of eloquence were diſplayed to the utmoſt advantage, both in compoſition and delivery. This ſpeech gives a true idea of the nature of a reſtraint of the kind propoſed, and will prove an entertaining relief to the reader from the dull repetition of parliamentary tranſactions, with which this period of our hiſtory is unavoidably loaded.

After ſpeaking of the precipitancy with which the bill had paſſed the houſe of commons, and of its being puſhed into an almoſt empty houſe of lords at the end of a ſeſſion, his lordſhip proceeds: "I have gathered from common talk, while this bill was moving in the lower houſe, that a play was offered to the theatre in order to be exhibited, which, if my account be right, was truly of a moſt ſcandalous and flagitious nature. What was the effect? Why, the manager to whom it was offered not only refuſed to act it, but carried it to a certain perſon in the adminiſtration, as a ſure method to have it ſuppreſſed. Could this be the occaſion of the bill? Surely no. The caution of the players could never occaſion a law to reſtrain them: it is an argument in their favour, and a material one, in my opinion, againſt the bill. It is to me a proof that the laws are not only ſufficient to deter them from acting what they know would offend, but alſo to puniſh them in caſe they ſhould do it.

"My lords, I muſt own I have obſerved of late a remarkable licentiouſneſs on the ſtage. There were two plays acted laſt winter (his lordſhip meant Paſquin, and king Charles I.) that one would have thought ſhould have given the greateſt offence; and yet they were ſuffered without any cenſure whatever. In one of theſe plays the author thought fit to repreſent religion, phyſic, and the law, as inconſiſtent with common ſenſe. The other was founded on a ſtory very unfit for theatrical entertainment at this time of day; a ſtory ſo recent in the minds of Engliſhmen, and of ſo ſolemn a nature, that it ought to be touched upon only in the pulpit. The ſtage may want regulation; the ſtage may have it; and yet be kept within bounds, without a new law for that purpoſe. I cannot think but great men are generally more ſollicitous to guard their own characters from public contempt than to maintain the principles of public virtue, decency, and order.

"One of the greateſt goods we can enjoy is liberty; the beſt things have their allay. Liberty has its allay: licentiouſneſs is the allay of liberty; it is the natural excreſcence, the ebullition of vigorous liberty. When I touch the one, it is with a fearful, with a trembling hand, leſt I ſhould unwarily do a violence to the other. Is a play a libel upon any one? The law is ſufficient to puniſh the offender, and the injured perſon in this caſe has a very ſingular advantage; he can be under no difficulty to prove who is the publiſher of it. The player himſelf is the publiſher, and there can be no want of evidence to convict him.

"When we complain of the licentiouſneſs of the ſtage, I fear we have more reaſon to complain of bad meaſures in our polity, and a general decay of

woolpacks. Some Scottiſh lords maintained, that they had a right to ſit next to the judges of England; but after a long debate this motion was rejected, and the judges of Scotland appeared at the bar in their robes. Journal of the Houſe of Lords.

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An Accurate Map of Hungary and Transilvania: Drawn from the best Authorities.

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virtue and good morals amongſt us. Ridicule and ſatire have their uſe; in ſuch a circumſtance they have a direct tendency to correct the guilty, while the innocent have nothing to fear from them. Juſt conduct exempts every perſon from the conſequences of ſatire; for ſatire unjuſtly caſt, reverts upon the cenſurer, and ridicule ill applied, makes the perſon who uſes it ridiculous.

"My lords, if it were neceſſary a bill of this kind ſhould paſs, I am of opinion, the method propoſed in this, to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs complained of, will not anſwer the purpoſe; for if it does not extend to the reſtraint of printing (which I hope it never will), it cannot produce the deſired effect. When my lord chamberlain has marked a play with his refuſal, may it not be printed? will it not be printed with double the advantage, when it ſhall be inſinuated that it was refuſed for having ſome ſtrokes of wit or ſatire in it, that were not ſuffered to come on the ſtage; and will not the printer ſet the refuſal in his title, as a mark of va lue? Is it not natural to be fond of any thing that is forbidden? and will it not be more likely to have its effect among the people by this means, when the printed play may coſt but a ſhilling, and the ſeeing it acted will coſt three or four? Does not the ſatire remain in print to be read and conſidered, when the offence in acting is over and forgot? I do not doubt but there are people, who would ſit down and write a play on purpoſe to have it refuſed, and that will be the only merit belonging to it; for I muſt obſerve to your lordſhips, that although it is very difficult to write one that is fit to be acted, yet it is eaſy enough to write one that is fit to be refuſed.

"When this is the caſe, will it not be ſaid, Shall we ſuffer a play to be printed after it has been forbid to be acted? ſhall we prevent the adminiſtration from being abuſed in Drury-lane, and allow it to be abuſed all over the nation? What can be ſaid in anſwer to this? I own, I think one reſtraint as reaſonable as the other. When this point is once gained, another ſtep will undoubtedly follow; it will be ſaid, Shall we prohibit the printing of a libel in the form of a play, and permit a libel not in the form of a play to be publiſhed? This reſtraint, which appears to me as reaſonable as the two former, puts an end to the liberty of the preſs, which we all ſeem to think of ſuch vaſt importance; and therefore I cannot but be againſt the firſt ſtep, which muſt lead us to the laſt.

"Beſides, my lords, we ought in all points to be tender of property. Wit is the property of thoſe who are poſſeſſed of it, and very often the only property they have. Thank God, my lords, this is not our caſe; we are otherwiſe provided for. I muſt own, I am not for laying any reſtraint upon wit; but by this bill wit is to be delivered out to the public by retail; it is to be exciſed, my lords, and there is to be a remarkable diſtinction in this exciſe from all others, that the lord-chamberlain is to have all the ſeveral offices veſted ſingly in himſelf; he is to be the gauger, ſurveyor, judge, and jury, without allowing any recourſe to thoſe important officers, the commiſſioners of appeal!"

After ſaying more concerning the hardſhips of this act to authors, and paying an elegant compliment to the then lord chamberlain, in whoſe impartiality and judgment his lordſhip declares he has the greateſt confidence, he concludes thus: "My lords, from laws of this nature I ſuſpect very ill conſequences, nor can I frame to myſelf any one good argument, or reaſon, for this bill. It is an arrow that does but glance upon the ſtage; but it will give its fatal wound to the liberty of the preſs. No country ever loſt its liberty at once: it is by degrees that work is to be done; by ſuch degrees as creep inſenſibly upon you, till it is too late to ſtop the miſchief; like different ſhades of the ſame colour, in which it is impoſſible to remark the ſeveral gradations *."

Every one remembers how right his lordſhip's opinion was, as to the printing of plays that were refuſed by the licenſer, and even as to the writing of plays on purpoſe to have them refuſed, that they might be printed only. Whether the noble orator was equally right in what he predicted concerning the preſs, or whether his apprehenſions for that part of liberty carried him a little too far, may perhaps admit of a doubt: thus much, however, is certain, that too much caution and vigilance cannot be uſed in a point that ſo nearly concerns the very being of our conſtitution, and which, it may reaſonably be apprehended, every bad miniſter would take the firſt opportunity to carry againſt us.

On the twenty-firſt of June, 1737, his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he complained greatly of the licentiouſneſs of the times, which, under the colour and diſguiſe of liberty, ſhewed a defiance of all authority, a contempt of magiſtracy, and even a reſiſtance of the laws, to the prejudice of the prerogative of the crown and the true liberties of the people; and then, after recommending the vigorous exertion of the laws, as the only means to remedy this abuſe, his majeſty expreſſes himſelf in theſe words: "I have made the laws of the land the conſtant rule of my actions; and I do with reaſon expect in return, all that ſubmiſſion to my government and authority, which the ſame laws have made the duty, and ſhall always be the intereſt, of my ſubjects."

The attempt made by the leaders of the oppoſition, with the tacit conſent at leaſt of the prince of Wales, to obtain an addition to his royal highneſs's income, had diſguſted the king, and occaſioned a viſible coolneſs between them; but an affair, of a very intereſting and delicate nature, happened ſoon after the cloſe of that ſeſſion, which increaſed the former miſunderſtanding to an open breach between his majeſty and the prince, and in its conſequences proved more than a mere family difference.

The princeſs of Wales had advanced to the very laſt month of her pregnancy, without being thought to be ſo near her time as ſhe really was: being with their majeſties, and the reſt of the royal family, at Hampton Court, without any midwife attending her, ſhe was, on the thirty-firſt of July, ſeized with the pains of child-birth, which increaſed ſo violently, that the prince, who was with her, was obliged to hurry her to London, where ſhe was that night delivered of a daughter, the princeſs Auguſta, now hereditary princeſs of Brunſwick.

His majeſty, on being acquainted with this unlooked for event, ſent a meſſage, by the earl of Eſſex, to the prince, congratulating him upon the

* Parliamentary Debates.

birth

birth of the princeſs; but at the ſame time expreſſing his diſpleaſure at his royal highneſs's conduct in carrying away the princeſs from Hampton Court under the immediate pains of child birth, without acquainting his majeſty or the queen with the circumſtances the princeſs was in, or giving them the leaſt notice of his departure; a conduct which his majeſty looked upon as a deliberate indignity offered to himſelf and the queen, and which he reſented to the higheſt degree. The prince deprecated his majeſty's anger in ſeveral ſubmiſſive letters, in which he laboured to excuſe the ſtep he had taken, by alleging, that it had happened thro' the uncertainty of the phyſician and midwife, as to the time of the delivery of the princeſs; his highneſs alſo implored his royal mother's mediation in his behalf. The princeſs joined her interceſſions to thoſe of her conſort, but his majeſty was too deeply incenſed to be moved by their humility or ſupplication; and on the tenth of September following, the duke of Grafton was ſent by his majeſty to the prince, with a very ſevere meſſage, in the cloſe of which he gave the prince to underſtand, that it was his royal pleaſure, that his highneſs ſhould quit St. James's, with all his family, when it could be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princeſs; and that his majeſty ſhould, for the preſent, leave to the princeſs the care of his grand-daughter, until a proper time called upon him to conſider of her education.

In obedience to this meſſage the prince retired to Kew, and made other efforts to be re-admitted into his majeſty's favour, which, however, he could not regain. Nevertheleſs he ſent lord Baltimore, one of his houſhold, to the lord Grantham, the queen's chamberlain, intreating to know whether ſhe would receive a letter from him, in mitigation of his conduct. Her majeſty refuſed her conſent. The princeſs then wrote an humble and ſubmiſſive letter to the king, who returned an anſwer full of affection and civility to her highneſs, though it plainly appeared by ſome expreſſions therein, that his diſpleaſure at the prince was rather increaſed than abated.

In the mean time the guards were taken off from their attendance on the prince and his conſort; and all perſons who paid their court to the prince and princeſs were not ſuffered to come into his majeſty's preſence, or any of his palaces. The letters which paſſed between the royal family on this occaſion, were publiſhed by authority, and made various impreſſions on the minds of the people. All the prince's ſervants ſoon after joined the oppoſition to the miniſtry.

Upon the whole, I think it muſt appear to every candid and impartial perſon but too probable, that both the king and the prince were impoſed upon, by thoſe who found their account in creating a difference between them. If the prince's conduct, however, was in ſome reſpects reprehenſible, the puniſhment ſeems to have been more than ſevere, and even to approach towards cruelty; for he was denied admiſſion into the preſence of the queen his mother in her laſt moments, to implore her forgiveneſs, and receive her dying benediction.

In October, this year, a deputation of the merchants of London waited on his majeſty at Hampton Court, with a petition, in behalf of themſelves and others trading to, and intereſted in, the Britiſh colonies in America, ſetting forth, that the fair and lawful trade to the Britiſh plantations in America, had been greatly interrupted for many years paſt, not only by their ſhips being frequently ſtopped, and arbitrarily ſeized on, in the high ſeas, by Spaniſh ſhips, fitted out to cruize under the plauſible pretext of guarding their own coaſts; but that the commanders thereof, with their crews, had been inhumanly treated, and their ſhips carried into ſome of the Spaniſh ports, and there condemned, with their cargoes, in manifeſt violation of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns, &c. and praying that his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to procure them ſpeedy and ample ſatisfaction for the loſſes they have ſuſtained, &c. To this petition his majeſty returned a moſt gracious anſwer, and his ſecretary of ſtate ſent freſh orders to Mr. Keene, to repeat his inſtances at the court of Madrid for their relief. In the mean while a committee of the privy-council ſat at Whitehall, to receive proofs of the loſſes which the merchants had ſuffered by the Spaniards.

And here it will not be improper to obſerve, that whereas by the treaty of 1670, ſubſiſting between us and Spain, our ſhips are not to reſort nor trade to the coaſts of New Spain and its adjoining provinces (unleſs driven thither by diſtreſs of weather) their ſailing near to thoſe ſhores rendered them liable to be ſuſpected of carrying on a contraband trade with thoſe provinces of Spaniſh America, the trade to which is abſolutely and moſt ſtrictly confined to Spaniards ſolely; and there is ſcarce any doubt to be made that our ſloops and coaſting veſſels from Jamaica, and other Britiſh colonies, did ſometimes run the hazard for the ſake of gain, and therefore ought to ſubmit to the conſequences. So, on the other hand, it is notorious, that the Spaniſh guarda-coſtas did frequently exceed their powers or commiſſions, by ſearching, plundering, and often ſeizing on our Britiſh ſhips ſailing on the American ſeas, even though not ſo near their ſhores as to give juſt ground of ſuſpicion of any clandeſtine trade, and though not laden with the produce of the Spaniſh American provinces; but only perhaps having, by mere chance, a few Spaniſh pieces of eight found in the ſhip, or perhaps a ſmall parcel of logwood; the firſt being the only coin in our iſland of Jamaica, and the laſt the produce of that iſland.

In ſhort, theſe mutual complaints did, in a few years after, bring on the war between Great Britain and Spain; and although the peace of Aix la Chapelle (in 1748) ſeemed to terminate that affair, yet did it barely *ſeem* to do it; and a new and more diſtinct or explicit treaty appears ſtill to be wanting for that point, and alſo for the logwood trade of our Britiſh ſubjects in the bay of Campeachy.

About this time alſo the French gave us no ſmall umbrage by their eagerly puſhing into an univerſal commerce, as the ſurer, though ſlower, way of compaſſing their old favourite ſcheme of univerſal dominion. And although, by our late amazing ſucceſs againſt the French colonies in America, matters are ſince greatly changed, yet the ſteps taken by that crafty nation are well worth tracing, as mementos for futurity.

In Africa they had monopolized the gum trade near the river Senegal: they had alſo encroached on the Engliſh ſettlement at the river Gambia, and had greatly extended their ſlave trade on that coaſt, for the encouragement of their Weſt India ſugar iſlands,

iſlands, where they had at this time gained ſo much ground on ours as to be the great exporters of ſugar, and alſo of indico, cotton, and ginger, to many parts of Europe. They had alſo erected a conſiderable ſettlement on the coaſt of Guinea, near Surinam in South America, encroaching both on the Dutch and Spaniards there.

On the north continent of America they aſſiduouſly purſued the plan of Lewis XIV. for forming a chain of forts and ſettlements from the mouth of the great river Miſſiſippi, up to their province of Canada, with a view thereby to cut off our continent ſettlements from any commerce with the vaſt Indian countries weſtward, and in time to get poſſeſſion of them all. For that end they had ſtrongly fortified the iſland of Cape Breton, near the entrance of the river St. Lawrence, which ſerved as well to command that entrance as to protect a great cod-fiſhery which they have of late amazingly increaſed in the neighbouring ſeas.

From Quebec, their capital of Canada, they had opened and fortified a communication with the lakes lying behind, and properly as much belonging to our province of New York as any other part of that province can be ſaid to be; and had alſo taken poſſeſſion of the fertile lands round thoſe lakes, much of which they had already cleared, and in part cultivated. Weſtward they were ſaid to have already extended their communication as far as the Spaniſh province of New Mexico, with a view, no doubt, to the rich ſilver mines there. Eaſtward from the Miſſiſippi they had, by this time, ſettled ſo far up as to have forts within twenty days march of Charles-town, our capital of South Carolina. Of all which vaſt improvements and encroachments on the territories of other nations, and more eſpecially of our own, authentic accounts were laid before our government and our board of trade, yet no effectual regard was ſhewn thereto. In the Eaſt Indies alſo France had, by this time, encreaſed her trade almoſt beyond belief, without receiving any interruption from us or other ſtates concerned, who might in the beginning eaſily have defeated this and moſt of the above encroachments, had vigorous meaſures been taken in due time.

Theſe particulars I have judged neceſſary to lay together before my readers at one ſummary view, for ſerving the better to illuſtrate and explain what may hereafter fall in my way, in reſpect to the all-graſping deſigns of the French nation.

While I am upon commercial affairs, I muſt not omit to take notice, that in the courſe of this year Mr. Oglethorpe returned from Georgia, with an account of the promiſing ſtate of that infant colony, where the Indians had ſubmitted to his majeſty's authority. The Spaniſh governor of Florida, and the council of war reſiding at St. Auguſtine and Darien, had ſigned a treaty with the colony; and beſides the town of Savannah, which was then in a flouriſhing ſtate, three other towns, Frederica, Auguſta, and Darien, were founded; and a new town, called Ebenezer, had been built by the Saltſburghers, who had been obliged to leave their country by the perſecution of the German government on religious and civil accounts.

The doge and ſenate of Venice having thought proper to pay even royal honours to the pretender's ſon, who made a viſit to their city in the ſummer of this year, our court ſo highly reſented their proceedings, that the reſident from that republic here had notice given him to leave London in three days, and the kingdom in a week, for the inſult offered by his maſter to his majeſty's crown and dignity.

On November 20, at ſeven o'clock in the evening, died, to the inexpreſſible grief of his majeſty, the royal family, and the whole nation, Wilhelmina-Carolina-Dorothea, of the houſe of Brandenbourg Anſpach, queen-conſort of Great Britain, aged fifty-four years, eight months, and twenty days. Her majeſty had been for ſome days diſordered, and was treated by her phyſicians as for the gout in her ſtomach; but the diſtemper proved to be a concealed rupture. No princeſs ever lived more in the love and eſteem of all who knew her than ſhe did. His majeſty was for ſome time inconſolable for his loſs; and it muſt be confeſſed that no ſorrow was ever more juſtifiable. She was a pattern of conjugal fidelity and affection; and by the virtues of her heart, her uncommon penetration, her lively yet ſolid wit, and her extenſive generoſity, ſhe had rendered herſelf equally the delight of her royal conſort, her own family, and the whole nation. In her the poor loſt a noble benefactreſs, the learned a powerful and munificent patroneſs. In a word, all degrees of people were affected with her death, as every one conſidered as perſonal the loſs the public ſuſtained by her death. She had by cloſe ſtudy ſo improved her natural ſagacity and talents, that ſhe became an umpire in one of the moſt abſtruſe points of metaphyſics that ever was agitated, the doctrine of free will and fatality, as diſputed between Mr. Leibnitz and Dr. Clark.

Although the foreign events of this year were very little intereſting to Great Britain, yet I ſhall, for the information of my readers, give a ſummary account of them.

During this ſummer a rupture happened between the Turks and the Ruſſians, which laſt reduced the city of Aſoph on the Black Sea, and overran the greateſt part of Crim-Tartary. The czarina declared war againſt the Ottoman Porte, becauſe the Tartars of the Crimea had made incurſions upon her frontiers; and when ſhe complained of thoſe diſorders to the vizir, ſhe had received no ſatisfaction. Beſides, a large body of Tartars had, by order of that miniſter, marched through the Ruſſian provinces in deſpite of the empreſs, and committed horrid havock in their route. The emperor was obliged to engage as a party in this war, by a treaty offenſive and defenſive which he had many years before concluded with the Ruſſian crown. Before he declared himſelf, however, he joined the maritime powers in offering his mediation to the ſultan, who was very well diſpoſed to peace; but the czarina inſiſted upon retaining Aſoph, which her forces had reduced; and this preliminary article being rejected, as diſhonourable to the Ottoman empire, no accommodation could be effected, and the troops of the belligerant powers were therefore diſtributed into winter-quarters. The duke of Lorraine had now ſucceeded to the duchy of Tuſcany, on the death of the laſt of the Medicis family; and the French were by this event relieved from the burthen of a great annuity, which they had obliged themſelves to pay him till he ſhould ſucceed to Tuſcany. The king

of Spain's troops evacuated that duchy, and the provinces in Italy now yielded to the houſe of Auſtria.

In this ſituation were the affairs of Europe, when his Britannic majeſty opened the parliament on the twenty-fourth day of January, 1738. His ſpeech was remarkably ſhort, and concluded with recommending the diſpatch of public buſineſs with prudence and unanimity. Each houſe preſented a warm addreſs of condolance upon the queen's death, with which the king ſeemed to be deeply affected.

Mutual complaints and remonſtrances ſtill continued between our merchants and the court of Spain, with whom the nation now ſeemed exaſperated beyond all farther ſufferance. His majeſty, as we have already obſerved, had referred the examination of the complaints of our merchants to a committee of the privy-council, who endeavoured to make good their allegations. Their cauſe was ſpecious and popular; the public warmly eſpouſed their quarrel; they were ſtrongly ſupported by the anti-courtiers in both houſes, who were bent upon a war with Spain. A petition, ſimilar to that which had been preſented to his majeſty, was now laid before the houſe of commons, and reinforced by others of the like nature from moſt of the trading towns in the kingdom; all which had ſuch an influence upon the houſe, that a motion was made to addreſs his majeſty for copies of all the repreſentations ſent by the Engliſh miniſtry to that of Spain, from the firſt day of November laſt, and of ſuch anſwers as had been returned to thoſe remonſtrances. This brought on a long debate, in which the cruelties of the Spaniards, and the tameneſs of the Engliſh miniſtry, were diſplayed in the ſtrongeſt colouring. Every ſpeaker of note on each ſide exerted himſelf on this occaſion; but the miniſter, who had a ſettled averſion to engaging the nation in a war, adhered firmly to his pacific plan, inſiſting that every method ought to be tried to bring Spain to terms, if poſſible, before we proceeded to forcible meaſures. He approved of the former part of the motion, but thought it would be dangerous to comply with the latter; and he made a long ſpeech in defence of his opinion: in fine, the motion was rejected by a conſiderable majority, as was alſo a bill brought in by Mr. Pulteney, for the more effectual ſecuring and encouraging the trade of his majeſty's ſubjects to America. The intention of this act was, to give the property of all prizes taken from the Spaniards after the declaration of war, to the officers and ſailors preſent in the action; to allow to the ſailors the ſum of five pounds, by way of head-money, for every Spaniard taken at ſea; and to veſt in the captors, by his majeſty's patent, the property of all the places conquered from the Spaniards.

This bill paſſed through the firſt reading without oppoſition; but when it was moved to recommit it for a ſecond reading, ſir Robert Walpole, who ſeems thoroughly to have ſtudied the queſtion, oppoſed it in a ſpeech, to the following effect:

He ſaid, that with regard to the firſt article, as the bill then ſtood, if hoſtilities were immediately to commence againſt Spain, and a ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips of war was to take the whole Plate fleet of the Spaniards, with all their regiſter ſhips, every ſhilling of the money muſt become the property of the Engliſh ſeamen, though it was notorious that not one fifth part of that treaſure belonged to the Spaniards, but was the property of the French, the Dutch, and other trading nations of Europe; and as it was not to be ſuppoſed that the ſailors would willingly part with what was once declared to be their due, the government would find itſelf under the very diſagreeable neceſſity, either to violate the preſent act, in order to make them refund the effects of the neutral nations, or the parliament muſt load the people with new taxes, in order to make good that money; or, in caſe of failure of theſe expedients, Great Britain muſt be inevitably involved in a war with all the different nations whoſe property ſhe had thus invaded: that with reſpect to the granting head-money for every Spaniard taken at ſea, he thought it a very wiſe and proper meaſure, and therefore he would agree to it as ſoon as war ſhould be declared: that as to the third article, he thought it of a moſt dangerous nature; and that if it paſſed into an act, it muſt effectually prevent all poſſibility of concluding any ſafe or honourable peace, becauſe in all negociations ſome places on both ſides were uſually given up, in order to facilitate the treaty; a method which could not be purſued if his majeſty, by letters-patent, ſhould beſtow the property on others. He inſiſted, that ſuch an act would be attended with the abſolute ruin of the Britiſh commerce all over Europe: he deſired the houſe to conſider what muſt be the caſe of the Britiſh merchants then reſiding in Spain, their perſons, their ſhips, and their properties, all which the Spaniards would undoubtedly ſequeſter. What, he aſked, muſt the Dutch think of ſuch a bill? or what power in Europe could be our hearty friend, ſhould ſuch a bill be enacted into a law? He then acknowleged the juſtneſs of the general complaint; promiſed that the moſt effectual means ſhould be employed for redreſs during the ſummer; and on its being inſinuated that thoſe promiſes would prove as little effectual as his former efforts of the ſame kind, he aſked, how he ſhould be able to ſhew his face again in that houſe, if he did not procure full reparation for the honour of the nation, as well as the loſs of our merchants? As to the inſinuations, he ſaid, which had been thrown out by thoſe who oppoſed his meaſures, merely from a ſpirit of oppoſition, that he was afraid of a war, becauſe peace was his only ſafety, he did not underſtand upon what they could be grounded: for his part, he declared he never could ſee any cauſe, either from reaſon or from his own experience, to imagine that a miniſter was not as ſafe in time of war as in time of peace: nay, were one to judge by reaſon alone, it was the intereſt of a miniſter, conſcious of any miſmanagement, to engage his country in a war, as the only means to divert the eyes of the public from examining too cloſely into his conduct; nor was he accountable for the bad ſucceſs of a war, as he was for that of an adminiſtration.

Theſe arguments, with thoſe advanced by other members, were deemed ſo ſatisfactory, that the bill was rejected by a conſiderable majority; the country party, however, determined to diſpute every inch of ground. At laſt Mr. Pulteney brought into the houſe a ſet of reſolutions, importing, that it was our undoubted and natural right to ſail with our ſhips on any part of the ſeas of America; and that the freedom of our navigation and commerce

merce had been greatly interrupted by the Spaniards, under pretences altogether groundleſs and unwarrantable. Theſe, after having undergone ſome amendments, were unanimouſly approved, and preſented to his majeſty. There was an endeavour to propoſe ſome other queſtions, which were thought neceſſary, becauſe they would more fully and plainly have aſſerted our rights; but they were overruled: yet this, with the addreſs that followed, was more than ſufficient to convince the miniſter, that the oppoſition, who had the majority of the people on their ſide, were determined to bring on a war between us and Spain.

Mean while the lords were no leſs eager than the commons in enquiring into the ſubject of the Spaniſh depredations, and in their reſolutions upon this important affair went ſtill farther than the other houſe; for they not only aſſerted our undoubted right to navigate in the American ſeas, "but alſo to carry all ſorts of goods, merchandize, or effects, from one part of his majeſty's dominions to any other part thereof; and that no goods being ſo carried, are, by any treaty ſubſiſting between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, to be deemed or taken as contraband or prohibited goods; and that the ſearching ſuch ſhips on the open ſeas, under pretence of their carrying contraband or prohibited goods, is a violation and infraction of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns." And in the addreſs which accompanied theſe reſolutions, their lordſhips gave his majeſty the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſincere aſſurances, that in caſe his friendly and powerful inſtances for procuring reſtitution and reparation to his injured ſubjects, and for eſtabliſhing the future ſecurity of their trade and navigation, ſhould fail of having their due effect on the court of Spain, they would zealouſly and chearfully concur in all ſuch meaſures as ſhould become moſt neceſſary for the ſupport of his majeſty's honour, the preſervation of the Britiſh navigation and commerce, and the common good of theſe kingdoms.

To this addreſs his majeſty was pleaſed moſt graciouſly to reply, that he was ſenſibly touched with the many hardſhips and injuries ſuſtained by his trading ſubjects in America, from the cruelties and unjuſt depredations of the Spaniards; that they might be aſſured of his care to procure ſatisfaction for the injuries they had already ſuffered, to ſecure the freedom of navigation for the future, and to maintain his ſubjects in the full enjoyment of all the rights to which they were entitled by treaty and the law of nations; and that he doubted not but he ſhould have their aſſiſtance in the ſupport of ſuch meaſures as might be neceſſary for this purpoſe.

Thus ended an enquiry, which had, from the firſt meeting of the parliament, engroſſed the attention of the public to the excluſion of every other object. Two millions were granted to his majeſty for the ſervice of the current year, and for enabling him to pay to the company of the Bank of England the ſum of one million, in order to redeem an annuity of forty thouſand pounds, to which they were entitled; and ſome farther regulations were made for preventing the abuſe of ſpirituous liquors.

On the twentieth of May, 1738, his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he obſerved, "that, agreeable to what had appeared to be the concurrent opinion of both houſes of parliament, he had given orders to repeat, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt preſſing manner, his inſtances at the court of Spain for obtaining ſatisfaction for the many injuries and loſſes ſuſtained by his trading ſubjects in America, and for effectually ſecuring their rights for the future; and he hoped, from the juſtice and equity of the Catholic king, to procure and eſtabliſh a free and uninterrupted exerciſe of trade between the ſubjects of the two crowns, agreeable to treaties and the law of nations."

The miniſter now ſaw himſelf obliged to give way to the current; accordingly, when the parliament was riſen, we put almoſt our whole navy into commiſſion; and ſo ſtrongly perſuaded was the public, that we ſhould then really attempt to procure ourſelves juſtice by our arms, that even thoſe who ſtill queſtioned the ſincerity of theſe military preparations, ſcarcely dared avow their ſcruples, eſpecially when they ſaw admiral Haddock, a brave and experienced officer, ſent up the Mediterranean with a fleet of fifteen ſhips of the line. But it ſoon appeared how very averſe the miniſtry was to engage in a war; for towards the latter end of the ſummer our hoſtile meaſures were ſuſpended, and the nation was told, that Spain, terrified with the apprehenſions of a war, had granted us all we could reaſonably deſire, and had ſubmitted to whatever we could have hoped for even at the end of the moſt ſucceſsful war. This, had it been true, was a very fortunate event; as in ſuch a caſe that court muſt neceſſarily have formally diſavowed her pretended dominion in the ſeas of America, and her practice of ſearching our ſhips: but how great was the ſurprize of the public, when, ſome months after our military preparations had been laid aſide, it was confeſſed by the miniſter, that nothing had been yet agreed upon! What likewiſe augmented the general uneaſineſs, was a diſcovery ſaid to be made in that interval, that our fleets, ſent out during the ſummer to the Weſt Indies and to the Mediterranean, carried with them no orders to act offenſively, or to make any repriſal, though they departed from home long before the pretended ſubmiſſion of Spain, and at a time when the miniſter made the ſtrongeſt proteſtations of his reſolute intentions. Probably he imagined he could be able to manage matters ſo as to prevent a war, which he thought would amply compenſate for the ſufferings of the merchants, and that the public would be brought to give the preference to a peace, which promiſed ſo many advantages to trade and commerce. But he was miſtaken: the horrid accounts publiſhed in the news papers, and enforced in the antiminiſterial writings, of the Spaniſh barbarities, had exaſperated all ranks of men beyond any probability of reconcilement with pacific meaſures. The caſe which made the greateſt noiſe, was that of one Jenkins, maſter of an Engliſh ſhip, who had his ear, or part of his ear, cut off by the crew of a guarda-coſta, with circumſtances of the utmoſt inſolence againſt the perſon of his majeſty and his ſubjects. It was now publicly ſaid, that our boaſted preparations were never deſigned againſt our enemies, but only to amuſe the people at home, till Spain was prevailed upon by our intreaties to condeſcend to treat with us upon any terms, in order that ſomething, bearing the appearance of an agreement, might be produced before the meeting of the parliament, which, however inſufficient, might at leaſt ſerve as an annual expedient of delay,

if

if it could not be impoſed upon the nation as ſatisfactory and honourable.

But the inſolence of Spain was ſo much inflated by theſe meaſures, that no agreement could be procured from that court till after the uſual time of convoking the parliament, which was prorogued in expectation of it, and afterwards adjourned, in order to get the articles ratified: however, during the prorogation and adjournment the long-expected convention arrived, and was ſoon after publiſhed to the nation.

Four days after the concluſion of the ſeſſion (viz. on the twenty-fourth of May, ſince the alteration of ſtyle the fourth of June) the princeſs of Wales was delivered of a ſon, who was baptized by the name of George, and is our preſent moſt auguſt ſovereign. His birth was celebrated with uncommon rejoicings; addreſſes of congratulation were preſented to the king by the two univerſities, and almoſt all the cities and corporations in the kingdom. But the prince of Wales ſtill laboured under the diſpleaſure of his majeſty, who ordered the lord chamberlain to ſignify in the Gazette, that no perſon who viſited the prince, ſhould be admitted into his majeſty's preſence.

A ſpirit of riot and miſrule diſcovered itſelf amongſt the lower claſs of people, in different parts of the kingdom, during the courſe of this year, chiefly owing, as was ſuppoſed, to the intemperate uſe of that pernicious compound, gin. The moſt dangerous tumults were in the weſtern counties of England, where a number of journeymen weavers roſe in a riotous manner, and committed the moſt terrible outrages againſt the perſons and properties of ſeveral maſters in that branch of trade, by whom they imagined themſelves ill uſed. The affair at length grew ſo ſerious, that the government was obliged to quarter bodies of troops in ſeveral of the borough and market-towns, to prevent the ſedition ſpreading farther. The metropolis itſelf was alſo far from being free from tumults and diſorders; in particular, a moſt dangerous inſult was committed upon juſtice, by a party of ſailors at Wapping, who cut down from the gibbet, and brought to life, one Buchanan, who had been condemned to be hanged for murder; and notwithſtanding the atrociouſneſs of the crime, and the danger of the example, ſo much were the offenders favoured by the public, that not one of them could ever be diſcovered.

About the middle of October the prince and princeſs of Wales went to Bath, and ſtaid there near ſix weeks, in which time they paid a viſit to the city of Briſtol, where they were entertained with great magnificence and ſigns of the moſt cordial affection. In this year a charter paſſed the great-ſeal for eſtabliſhing an hoſpital for the maintenance and education of expoſed and deſerted young children, commonly called the Foundling Hoſpital; an inſtitution which had been brought to bear by the indefatigable care and pains of one captain Coram, who had ſpent great part of his life in North America, and who ruined his private fortune by his application for its ſucceſs, which he afterwards brought to bear at a time when, by the courſe of nature, he could have but a very few years to enjoy the accompliſhment of his noble deſign. About the ſame time a moſt noble general hoſpital was founded at Bath, as was another at Edinburgh, upon voluntary ſubſcriptions; and another was projected at York. It is the province of hiſtory to record acts of this nature, which do honour to humanity.

The firſt ſeſſion of parliament of the year 1739 was opened on February 1, when his majeſty acquainted both houſes in a ſpeech, that, ſupported by the concurrent advice of both houſes of parliament, he had loſt no time in making preparations to do himſelf and his people juſtice, if the conduct of the court of Spain had laid him under that neceſſity: that he had at the ſame time, in the ſtrongeſt terms, repeated his inſtances for obtaining ſuch reparation for the many injuries and loſſes already ſuſtained, and ſuch effectual ſecurity for the future, as might prevent the conſequences of an open rupture: that he had now the ſatisfaction to acquaint them, that the meaſures he had purſued had been ſo ſucceſsful, that a convention was concluded and ratified between him and the king of Spain, by which, upon a ſtrict examination of the demands on both ſides, that prince had obliged himſelf to make reparation to the Britiſh ſubjects, by the payment of a certain ſtipulated ſum: that plenipotentiaries were likewiſe named and appointed for regulating, within a limited time, all thoſe grievances and abuſes which had hitherto interrupted the Britiſh commerce and navigation in the American ſeas; and for ſettling all matters in diſpute in ſuch a manner as might, for the future, prevent and remove all new cauſes and pretences of complaint, by a ſtrict obſervance of our mutual treaties, and a juſt regard to the rights and privileges belonging to each nation: and, finally, that he would order the convention to be laid before them.

The chief point with the miniſtry now was to make the convention (of which a copy had by ſome means been procured and publiſhed) paſs the two houſes of parliament, by procuring an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for the communicating it to them, which at the ſame time would be eſteemed an approbation of the meaſures. The motion met with great oppoſition, but was at laſt carried in the affirmative in both houſes, in the commons by a majority of twenty-eight.

By this convention it was agreed, in ſubſtance as follows:

"I. That immediately after the ſigning thereof, two plenipotentiaries on each ſide ſhould meet at Madrid, within ſix weeks after the day of exchanging the ratifications, there to confer and finally regulate the reſpective pretenſions of the two crowns.

"II. Until the limits of Florida and Carolina can be adjuſted, things ſhall remain there in their preſent ſituation.

"III. His Catholic majeſty ſhall cauſe to be paid to his Britannic majeſty the ſum of ninety-five thouſand pounds ſterling, as a ballance admitted to be due to the crown and ſubjects of Great Britain, after deduction made of the demand of the crown and ſubjects of Spain, to the end that the abovementioned ſum, together with the account of what has been acknowleged on the part of Great Britain to be due to Spain, on her demands, may be employed by his Britannic majeſty for the ſatisfaction and payment of the demand of his ſubjects upon the crown of Spain. But this reciprocal diſcharge ſhall not relate nor extend to the differences ſubſiſting between the crown of Spain and the South Sea company,

company, nor to any particular nor private contract between either of the two crowns or their miniſters with the ſubjects of the other, or between the ſubjects of the one crown with thoſe of the other.

"IV. If it ſhould happen that, in conſequence of orders diſpatched by the court of Spain, any part of the value of certain (named) ſhips taken from the Engliſh, and included in the ninety-five thouſand pounds, be already paid, the ſame ſhall be deducted therefrom."

There were, beſides, two ſeparate articles, the firſt, importing, that the above-mentioned ſum of ninety-five thouſand pounds was to be paid at London, within four months after the exchange of the ratification.

By the ſecond ſeparate article it was ſtipulated, that the third article of the above convention ſhall not extend to ſhips taken ſince the tenth of December, 1737; in which caſes juſtice ſhall be done, according to the treaties, as if the convention had not been made. It being however underſtood that this relates only to the indemnification and ſatisfaction to be made for the effects ſeized, or prizes taken; but that the deciſion of the caſes which may happen, in order to remove all pretext for diſpute, is to be referred to the plenipotentiaries, to be determined according to the treaties.

This is the ſubſtance of a convention which made ſo much noiſe in Europe, and had almoſt ruined the internal tranquillity of England. What gave the greateſt diſguſt of all here was, the king of Spain's following declaration and proteſt, which he inſiſted on as a preliminary condition of his ratifying the above convention, viz. "That he reſerves to himſelf, in its full force, the right of being able to ſuſpend the Aſſiento for negroes, and of diſpatching the neceſſary orders for the execution thereof, in caſe the South-ſea company doth not ſubject itſelf to pay, within a ſhort term, the ſum of ſixty-eight thouſand pounds ſterling, which it has confeſſed to be owing on the duty for negroes, according to the regulation of fifty-two pence per dollar, and on the profits of the ſhip Royal Caroline. And farther declares, That under the validity and force of this proteſt the ſigning of the ſaid convention may be proceeded on, and in no other manner."

The injuſtice of this previous demand on the company was ſo apparent, that ſoon after the ſaid company's general court, on the firſt of March, reſolved not to pay the ſame without the king of Spain's coming to a juſt account with them for all the ſeizures and captures of their ſhips and merchandize, which he had engaged to refund to them.

The country party ſeeing every thing thus carried before the miniſter; and that writing, ſpeaking, and voting was no longer effectual, they determined to try ſome other means to quicken the ſenſe of the nation. This produced the SECESSION (as it was called) by which a conſiderable number of members retired into the country, and gave no more attendance during the whole ſeſſion; and about forty lords entered their proteſts upon the addreſs to his majeſty receiving the approbation of their houſe. The ſeceſſion ſeems to have been ſuggeſted by ſir William Wyndham, who made no ſecret during the debate, that ſhould the convention be approved, they were determined never again to come into the houſe. The queſtion therefore was no ſooner decided than ſir William Wyndham ſtood up, and expreſſed himſelf in the following terms:

"This addreſs (to congratulate his majeſty on the ſucceſs of his royal endeavours in concluding a convention with the king of Spain) is intended to convince mankind, that the treaty under our conſideration is a reaſonable and honourable treaty: but if a majority of thirty members in ſuch a full houſe, ſhould fail of that ſucceſs; if the people ſhould not implicitly reſign their reaſon to a vote of this houſe, What will be the conſequence? Will not the parliament loſe its authority? Will it not be thought, that, even in parliament, we are governed by a faction? And what the conſequence of this may be, I leave to thoſe gentlemen to conſider, who have given now their vote for this addreſs. For my own part, I will trouble you no more; but, with theſe my laſt words, I ſincerely pray to Almighty God, who has ſo often wonderfully protected theſe kingdoms, that he will graciouſly continue his protection over them, by preſerving us from that impending danger which threatens the nation from without, and likewiſe from that impending danger which threatens our conſtitution from within."

Sir William then left the houſe, and with him upwards of ſixty members, who choſe to withdraw after they had given their teſtimony againſt this meaſure of the miniſter, leſt even their attendance and fruitleſs oppoſition might ſeem to juſtify and give a ſanction to what they could not approve. The friends of the miniſter were ſo exaſperated againſt ſir William, on account of this ſpeech, that they were actually going to move to ſend him to the Tower; but ſir Robert, who poſſeſſed an admirable fortitude and coolneſs in all critical events, reſtrained them; but afterwards he himſelf, in a long and eloquent ſpeech, painted the oppoſition in terms more ſevere than he had ever before been known to make uſe of: he likened their conduct to that of the Jacobites, who abſented themſelves from parliament at the time when the biſhop of Rocheſter was tried and condemned.

Mean while the convention was no leſs ſtrenuouſly oppoſed in the upper houſe. Lord Carteret, who took the lead in the arguments againſt it, obſerved, that poſſibly one of the contracting parties had preſented a proteſt or declaration, importing, that he acceded to ſuch or ſuch a meaſure, only upon condition, that the terms of that proteſt or declaration ſhould be made good, "therefore (continued he) until my mind can be free from the moſt diſtant ſuſpicion that ſuch a proteſt may excite in the preſent caſe, I cannot form a juſt opinion of the tranſaction itſelf, nor communicate to your lordſhips any light that may be neceſſary for that purpoſe."

His lordſhip, in this part of his ſpeech, alluded to a proteſt that had been actually made by the marquis de la Quadra, the king of Spain's miniſter, previous to his maſter's ratifying the convention, in terms already mentioned. This proteſt had been delivered to Mr. Keene, the Britiſh embaſſador, at Madrid, who had promiſed, that if the South Sea company really owed the ſum inſiſted upon in this declaration (a circumſtance of which he declared himſelf at that time entirely ignorant), he would engage it ſhould be paid with the utmoſt punctuality. This conduct of Mr. Keene was greatly

greatly cenſured by all the members in the oppoſition, who inſiſted, that he ought not to have ſo far forgot his character as to have accepted the proteſt: nay, they did not ſpare to ſay, that the whole tranſaction had been carried on by our miniſter at home, who was ready to give up the honour and advantage of his ſovereign and the nation, rather than enter into a war with Spain. Theſe ſuggeſtions were replied to, and the character of the miniſter at home, and our plenipotentiary abroad, ſtrongly vindicated by the lord Hervey, and other peers of the court party. After ſome debate a motion was made, "That a day ſhould be appointed for examining the directors of the South Sea company touching the ſum of ſixty-eight thouſand pounds, mentioned in the declaration given to the Britiſh miniſter, and claimed by his Catholic majeſty, as a debt due to him by the ſaid company, and that the directors of that company be ordered to attend at the bar of the houſe for that purpoſe."

This motion was oppoſed by lord Hervey and the earl of Ilay, who ſaid, that the South Sea company was a trading body, and as ſuch, had undoubtedly ſecrets in trade, which it would be very unjuſt, as well as impolitic, to oblige them to reveal at the bar of the houſe; beſides, they thought, that in any event, a proteſt ſigned but by one miniſter, and that too relating to a mercantile tranſaction, ought not to be conſidered as affecting the validity of a public treaty, nor ought it to come under the cognizance of that houſe, but the whole matter ought to be (as they doubted not it eaſily would be) ſettled by the South Sea company and the Spaniſh miniſter at London, without the intervention of any other power; and that therefore the motion ought not to be approved if it could be avoided.

The duke of Argyll, on the other hand, ſtrongly defended the motion: he declared himſelf to be of a very different opinion from the noble lord who had ſpoken on the other ſide of the queſtion; and that, ſo far from conſidering this as the affair of only one ſet of men in the kingdom, he looked upon it as an affair that nearly concerned the honour of the crown, ſince the Spaniſh miniſter by his declaration allowed no ſtrength, no validity to the convention, any farther than the terms of his demands were complied with. As to Mr. Keene's conduct, however other people might affect to defend it, he would venture to aſſert that it could by no means be juſtified. His grace then proceeded to tell the houſe, upon the beſt information, that the declaration was made in due form, before the convention was either ſigned or ratified; ſo that if the South-ſea company ſhould refuſe to pay the ſixty-eight thouſand pounds, he was certain that the Spaniſh court would inſiſt upon a nullity of all that had been done. They would tell us, that this declaration was of the ſame force with any article of the convention: that they had given us fair warning of it before the treaty was ſigned: and that, if we had not been pleaſed with the terms, we were under no obligation to ſign the convention, ſince it was not their fault if we were not ſufficiently appriſed of the conſequences. His grace owned, indeed, that the king of Spain had a right to demand from the South-ſea company the performance of engagements entered into by them: he ſaid, he could not conceive that his Catholic majeſty had any right to tell them, that if they would not pay whatever arbitrary demand he was pleaſed to make, he would revoke the contract. Upon the whole, his grace declared, he was for complying with the motion, that the houſe might have the opportunity of ſtrengthening his majeſty's hands, the better to enable him to obtain juſtice for the company, as well as the reſt of his ſubjects. Notwithſtanding theſe, and many other ſenſible and cogent arguments in favour of the motion, it was thrown out on a diviſion, by a majority of forty-nine againſt forty-two.

A meſſage having been delivered to the upper houſe from his majeſty, importing, that he had ſettled thirty-nine thouſand pounds per annum on the younger children of his family, and deſiring their lordſhips would bring in a bill to enable him to make that proviſion good; after ſome debate the houſe complied with his majeſty's requeſt, and a bill was ordered to be prepared for the purpoſe.

On the tenth of May the duke of Newcaſtle produced a ſubſidy-treaty, by which his majeſty obliged himſelf to pay to the king of Denmark ſeventy thouſand pounds per annum, on condition of that prince's furniſhing his Britannic majeſty a body of ſix thouſand men when demanded. At the ſame time his grace delivered a meſſage from the king, deſiring the houſe would enable him to fulfil this engagement; and alſo to raiſe what money and troops the exigency of affairs might require during the approaching receſs of the parliament.

This demand was violently oppoſed by the anti-miniſterial lords, at the head of whom was lord Carteret, and as vigorouſly ſupported by the other ſide. In the end, it was approved by the majority, and an addreſs was preſented, aſſuring his majeſty that the houſe would ſupport him in fulfilling his engagements, as well as in making ſuch further augmentation of his forces by ſea and land as he ſhould think neceſſary for the honour, intereſt, and ſafety of his kingdoms.

The ſame meſſage being communicated to the commons, they voted ſeventy-five thouſand five hundred and eighty-three pounds for the ſubſidy to Denmark, and five hundred thouſand pounds for augmenting the forces on any emergency. As Great Britain ſtood engaged by the convention to pay to the crown of Spain the ſum of ſixty thouſand pounds, in conſideration of the ſhips taken and deſtroyed by ſir George Byng, in the year 1718; which ſum was to be applied to the relief of the Britiſh merchants who had ſuffered by the Spaniſh depredations, the commons inſerted in the bill a clauſe, providing for this ſum to be paid by parliament.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion a very ſalutary law paſſed for the encouragement of the woollen manufacture, and two bills in behalf of the ſugar colonies; one permitting them, for a limited time, to export their produce directly to foreign parts, under proper reſtrictions; the other, making more effectual proviſions for ſecuring the duties laid upon the importation of foreign ſugars, rum, and molaſſes, into Great Britain, and his majeſty's plantations in America.

The public buſineſs being entirely finiſhed, the king came to the houſe of peers on the fourteenth day of June, and put an end to the ſeſſion with a

ſhort

ſhort ſpeech, in which he recommended unanimity amongſt ourſelves, as the only ſure means of diſappointing the expectations of our enemies.

And now the rumour of a war with Spain began to revive, notwithſtanding the parliamentary ſanction the convention had received: for the king of Spain did not only ſuffer the four months to elapſe, within which time he was to pay the before-mentioned ninety-five thouſand pounds, on pretext of the South Sea company's failure of paying his demand of the ſixty-eight thouſand pounds; but inſtead of fulfilling the terms of the convention, he ordered ſeizures to be made of the ſhips and goods of his majeſty's ſubjects wherever they could be found, in his dominions or otherwiſe: and alſo ordered all the Britiſh ſubjects in his dominions to depart in a ſhorter time than allowed by treaties. This proceeding put an end to the conferences which we had ſtill carried on with that crown; and Mr. Keene preſented a thundering declaration to the court of Madrid, which was followed by an order of council at home (dated July 10, this year, 1739) for granting letters of marque and repriſal to our merchants. The preamble to this order breathes a true ſpirit of reſentment, and had the honour to be ſigned by the two archbiſhops, and ſome other privy counſellors, in the abſence of the miniſter, who had retired into the country. In the mean while, the land forces were augmented; many ſhips were put into commiſſion; and there was a very hot preſs for ſeamen to mann them; for which purpoſe an embargo was laid on all merchant-ſhips; and ſeveral other ſteps were taken that ſeemed to give countenance to the earneſt hopes and expectations of the nation.

The orders for repriſals had been very prudently diſpatched, above a month before their publication in London, to commodore Brown, who then commanded a ſquadron at Jamaica, in order to give him an opportunity of making the beſt uſe of them before the Spaniards could have notice of their deſigns, and conſequently be prepared againſt them. A reſolution was alſo formed of endeavouring to preclude the Spaniards from the reſources of their wealth in the Weſt Indies and the South Seas.

With this view two ſquadrons were immediately ordered to be got ready with all expedition; the one to be put under the command of George Anſon, eſq. who was then captain of his majeſty's ſhip the Centurion; and the other, under that of captain Cornwall. The ſquadron under Mr. Anſon was to take a regiment of foot on board, with three independent companies, to be commanded by colonel Bland, to ſet ſail with all poſſible expedition, and not to call at any place till they reached Java Head in the Eaſt Indies, and there ſtay no longer than to take in water, and afterwards proceed to Manila in Luconia, one of the Philippine iſlands belonging to the Spaniards. Captain Cornwall's ſquadron was to be of equal ſtrength with the former, and to paſs round Cape Horne, directly into the South Seas; and after cruizing along that coaſt, and attempting the Spaniſh ſettlements there, if practicable, was in its return to rendezvous at Manila; and after its junction with captain Anſon, the ſquadrons were to act in concert for the execution of ſome conſiderable projects, for which they were to receive farther orders. This ſcheme was in general ſo well liked by the nation, that about the beginning of September orders were ſent by a ſmall veſſel to captain Anſon, to return with his ſhips directly to Portſmouth.

The great view of the nation being now to diſtreſs the Spaniards, in order to promote it the more effectually, another ſquadron was ordered to be fitted out for the Weſt Indies, and the command of it given to Edward Vernon, eſq. then juſt made vice-admiral of the blue, who, on account of the eminent ſervices he had formerly done his country in that part of the world, was looked on by all as the moſt proper perſon to be entruſted with ſo important an enterprize. Though the conduct, fidelity, and diligence of this brave ſea commander, added to a thorough knowlege of the American ſeas, had been already ſufficiently ſhewn, to the entire ſatisfaction of the nation, yet his ſervices had been hitherto diſregarded, at leaſt unrewarded, by the government. But though his rank among the flag officers had been ſo long overlooked and neglected; and though he had withdrawn from any public employment, and on ſeveral accounts had been diſguſted at the conduct of the miniſtry; yet upon application made to him to undertake the command of a ſquadron for the ſervice of his country, he immediately laid aſide all private animoſity, and ſacrificing every other conſideration to the welfare of the public, very chearfully obeyed the ſummons, deſiring only a few days to ſettle his family affairs. The ſquadron being got ready, the admiral was, under his majeſty's ſign-manual, appointed commander in chief of all his ſhips in the Weſt Indies. Soon after, arriving at Portſmouth, he took under his command nine ſhips of the line, beſides leſſer veſſels, and ſoon after ſailed on his expedition.

In the beginning of September don Geraldino, the king of Spain's envoy-extraordinary, and Terry, his agent at London for the Aſſiento contract, both left this kingdom, and returned home; and Mr. Keene, the Britiſh miniſter, left Madrid about the ſame time. On the nineteenth of October his majeſty ſigned a declaration of war againſt Spain, which was proclaimed on the twenty-third in the uſual manner, and at the accuſtomed places, amidſt innumerable crowds of people, who teſtified their ſatisfaction thereat. In his declaration, his majeſty charges the king of Spain with breaking the convention lately concluded, by not paying the ſtipulated ſum, admitted to be due to the ſubjects of Great Britain, in the time appointed; and alleges, that his declaring war againſt the ſaid king is for the maintaining the honour of his crown and kingdom, and for the obtaining redreſs for the much-injured merchants and traders who, from all parts of the kingdom, made earneſt petition for relief. It was indeed high time for our government to take this ſtep (though done with more than ſeeming reluctance) for the violence and inſolence of the Spaniards in America were become abſolutely intolerable, principally owing to our own ſhamefully puſillanimous temporizing at any rate, rather than reſolutely doing ourſelves juſtice by force of arms.

In ſome little time after the declaration of war, an account came from admiral Haddock of his having taken two rich Caracca ſhips; but this good news was in ſome meaſure allayed by the eſcape of the Aſſogue ſhips, the intercepting of which

was the chief object of our government. These ships, instead of coming from La Vera Cruz, by the Madeira or Canary Islands, as usual, sailed by the Bahamas, north about, and then westward, till within sight of Ireland, and so by the Land's-End of England, made Ushant (the point of France) whence creeping along shore, they at last crossed the Bay of Biscay. A squadron of the English fleet was then cruizing off Cadiz and Cape St. Vincent, and another off Cape Finisterre; but the Spanish admiral, by some means or other, seems to have had notice of all their stations, and took care not to come within eighty or one hundred leagues of them.

We heard of nothing for some time but places sacked, ships taken, and all advantages gained on our side. The Spaniards were in the utmost consternation, and seemed neither to have power nor inclination to oppose our progress.

Mean while, the conduct of the French court and the States-general gave occasion to various surmises. It was strongly apprehended that the former, notwithstanding their professions to the contrary, would declare in favour of the Spaniards, while the latter appeared disposed to observe a strict neutrality. Mr. Horace Walpole, the minister's brother, had been sent to the Hague, in order, if possible, to persuade the States-general to espouse our cause; but all he could obtain from their High Mightinesses was a vague promise, that they would still continue to cultivate the friendship of the English; and would not fail, in case of necessity, to furnish us with the succours stipulated by treaty.

The events of war still proved very unfavourable to the emperor: he had bestowed the command of his army upon veldt-marshal count Wallis, who assembled his forces in the neighbourhood of Belgrade, and advanced towards Crotska, where he was attacked by the Turks with such impetuosity and perseverance, that he was obliged to give ground, after a long and obstinate engagement, in which he lost above six thousand men. The Turks were afterwards routed at Jaboutra: nevertheless, their grand army invested Belgrade on the side of Servia, and carried on the operations of the siege with extraordinary vigour. The emperor dreading the loss of the place, seeing his finances exhausted, and his army considerably diminished, consented to a negotiation for peace, which was finally concluded in the month of November. By this treaty the house of Austria ceded to the grand seignior, Belgrade, Sabatz, Servia, Austrian Walachia, the isle and fortress of Orseva, with the fort of St. Elizabeth; and the contracting powers agreed that the Danube and the Saave should serve as boundaries to the two empires.

The Russian general, count Munich, had obtained a victory over the Ottoman forces at Cholzun in Moldavia, and made himself master of that place; but the czarina finding herself abandoned by the emperor, and unable to cope with the whole power of the Turkish empire, took the first opportunity of putting an end to the war, upon honourable terms. After a short negociation the conferences ended in a treaty, by which the czarina was left in possession of Asoph, on condition that its fortifications should be demolished; and the ancient limits were re-established between the two empires.

The vast trade which England enjoyed at the beginning of this war proved of the greatest detriment to herself, and advantage to her enemies, as it presented them with the more frequent opportunities of making captures at sea. The French lent them both ships and seamen, who sailed under Spanish colours; and their success in privateering at first was so great, that the commercial part of the nation exclaimed vehemently, and not without some shew of reason, at the negligence of the admiralty in providing proper convoys for our merchant ships. The city of London, as the greatest sufferer on this occasion, was inflamed to a degree of distraction against the minister, whom they accused of turning against his country a war, into which, it was well known, he had been forced against his will, and which he was wont contemptuously to stile "the merchants war." Thanks were ordered to the city members for their having opposed the convention; and at the same time a paper of instructions to them was drawn up, replete with the most stinging reflections on the minister and his measures, and requiring the members to make the passing a place and pension-bill the previous step to the passing of any money-bill whatever. The example of London was followed by other great cities and corporations all over England. This proceeding was represented, by the friends of the ministry, as utterly unconstitutional, and tending to deprive the representatives of that very liberty which their constituents seemed so earnestly to contend for. But here I would beg leave to ask, what other way those constituents could possibly find of making known their real sentiments to their representatives, whose duty it most undoubtedly is to deliver to the great assembly of the nation the sense of that part of it which they have the honour to represent? The Londoners gave still more remarkable instances of their resentment against those who voted for the convention, by setting aside sir George Champion, member for Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire, the next alderman in rotation to the chair, from being lord-mayor this year, which office he was never after suffered to possess, because he gave his vote to that measure. For several years this innovation caused great feuds in the city at the annual election of a mayor.

This year was distinguished by the rise of a new religious sect, called Methodists, the disciples of one Whitefield, a clergyman of a warm and enthusiastic turn, and of two brothers named Wesley, who have since found so many votaries amongst the common people, as greatly to alarm the friends of rational religion and true piety.

The British parliament meeting on the fifteenth day of November, his majesty in his speech informed both houses, that he had augmented his forces both by sea and land; but expressed his apprehension that the court of Spain had been encouraged to that conduct which had made it necessary for him to have recourse to arms, by the heats and animosities which had been raised here at home. Affectionate addresses were presented by both houses, after a faint opposition made by the ministry.

In the course of the debate on this subject in the lower house, sir John Barnard took occasion to complain of the little care that had been taken, since the commencement of hostilities, to protect the traders of Great Britain, who, he affirmed, had been

been much greater ſufferers by captures than the Spaniards. In anſwer to this inſinuation ſir Charles Wager, then at the head of the admiralty-board, obſerved, that as to the Engliſh having been greater ſufferers by captures than the Spaniards, he believed it was true, and there was a ſufficient, perhaps an invincible, reaſon for it; namely, that the former had a great deal more to loſe than the latter: that the ſea was covered with Engliſh ſhips, and the extent of their trade gave the Spaniards an opportunity of making frequent captures: that the Spaniards had but very little foreign commerce in Europe, and the little they had was carried on in neutral bottoms, ſo that the flags of other nations protected their property; but that, in his opinion, the war in all other reſpects had been duly proſecuted. He then proceeded to ſhew, that the government had no fewer than thirty-four ſhips of war employed in its ſervice in the Weſt Indies; a greater number than had ever been employed in thoſe parts in any former period.

The ſeceding members had now reſumed their ſeats in the lower houſe; and Mr. Pulteney, in an eloquent ſpeech, thought proper to vindicate their conduct in the extraordinary ſtep they had taken. He was anſwered by ſir Robert Walpole, who was pretty ſevere upon the late ſeceſſion, which he treated with a good deal of contempt and indignation. He aſſerted, that it was chiefly owing to their abſence that ſo many uſeful and popular bills were paſſed towards the end of the laſt ſeſſion; and if they were returned only to oppoſe and perplex, he ſhould not be at all ſorry to ſee them ſecede again.

The minority, however, continued inflexible in their oppoſition to the miniſtry; and on the twenty-firſt of November ſir W. Wyndham, at the end of a long ſpeech, in which he inveighed with great acrimony againſt the conduct of the adminiſtration, moved, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, as a dutiful return to his gracious deſire of the advice of his parliament at this critical and important juncture; and as a farther teſtimony of their firm reſolution vigorouſly to ſupport his majeſty in the proſecution of the war againſt Spain, humbly to beſeech his majeſty never to agree to any treaty or negociation for a peace with that crown, unleſs the acknowlegement of the natural and undoubted right which the Engliſh had to navigate in the American ſeas, to and from any part of his majeſty's dominions, without being ſeized, ſearched, viſited, or ſtopped, under any pretence whatſoever, ſhall have been firſt obtained as a preliminary article."

This motion was too reaſonable and popular for the miniſter to venture to oppoſe. It accordingly paſſed without a contradictory voice, met with the concurrence of the lords, and on the twenty-third of November was preſented by both houſes to his majeſty, who in his anſwer was pleaſed to tell them, that their unanimous and vigorous ſupport, by enabling him to carry on the war, would be the beſt means for procuring a ſafe and honourable peace; and that they might depend upon his uſing his utmoſt endeavours to obtain effectual ſecurity for the juſt rights of navigation and commerce belonging to his ſubjects.

Mr. Pulteney ſoon after revived a bill which he had formerly prepared for the encouragement of ſeamen, which, after a long diſpute and eager oppoſition on the part of the miniſtry, paſſed both houſes, and obtained the royal aſſent. It is hereby enacted, that during the preſent war merchant ſhips may be navigated by any number of foreign ſeamen not exceeding three-fourths of the ſhip's company: and for the better encouragement of foreign ſeamen to ſerve on board Britiſh ſhips during this war, ſuch foreign ſeamen ſerving (as well on board our merchant-men as ſhips of war) for two years, ſhall afterward be deemed, in all reſpects, natural-born ſubjects, but without capability of enjoying any poſts or offices of truſt, &c. under the government. This act alſo empowers the crown in any future war, by proclamation, *during ſuch war and no longer*, to permit the like number of foreign ſeamen to ſerve in merchant ſhips, privateers, and men of war. This prudent law was followed by another very wiſe one, in ſundry reſpects reſembling it, viz. An act for naturalizing foreign proteſtants in the Britiſh American plantations. The more immediate object of this ſtatute was in favour of ſome thouſands of proteſtants perſecuted and oppreſſed in Germany and elſewhere; all of whom were, before and about this time, ſettled in the different provinces of the Britiſh continent colonies of America, chiefly on the back parts thereof weſtward. As a further encouragement to ſeamen to enter into his majeſty's ſervice, a proclamation was ſoon after publiſhed, importing, "That his majeſty would grant to his ſubjects ſeparate or united charters or commiſſions, for the more effectual enabling them to attack or deſtroy the ſhips, goods, factories, and ſettlements of the Spaniards, and to ſecure to them and their heirs the full and undoubted right, property, and title, to what they ſhould take or cauſe to be taken from the enemy."

The minority having, in their obſervations upon the management of the war, complained, amongſt other things, of admiral Vernon having been ſent out of Great Britain without a ſupply of land forces, the government, to remedy this inconvenience, had given orders for raiſing ſix regiments of marines, to conſiſt in the whole of four thouſand eight hundred and ninety men, at the expence of one hundred and eighteen thouſand two hundred and fourteen pounds to the public. When this eſtimate was laid before the houſe of commons, Mr. Sandys, or lord Polwarth (I am not clear which) moved for an addreſs to the king, deſiring that this body of forces ſhould be compoſed of draughts from the old regiments: that as few officers ſhould be appointed as the nature of the ſervice would admit: and that the houſe would recommend this method to his majeſty, in tender compaſſion to his people, already burthened with many heavy and grievous taxes. Although this motion was calculated to anſwer the moſt juſt and ſalutary purpoſes, yet, as it tended to deprive the miniſtry of an opportunity of greatly extending its influence by new creations, they ſet all their force to oppoſe it; and it was finally rejected, by a majority of one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven againſt ninety-five.

The minority were not diſcouraged by this repulſe, but renewed their attacks againſt the miniſter, in the form of ſeveral motions, for enquiring into the conduct of thoſe who concluded the convention, &c. &c. But they were all over-ruled.

The penſion-bill was again revived, and ſo powerfully ſupported by the eloquence of Mr. Pulteney,

ſir W. Wyndham, and Mr. Lyttleton, that it made its way through the lower to the upper houſe; but there it was again loſt, upon a diviſion, after a long and violent debate.

On February 12, after all the eſtimates for the ſervice of the current year had been ordered in, ſir Robert Walpole (as chancellor of the Exchequer) preſented to the houſe a meſſage from his majeſty, importing, that having under his royal conſideration certain meaſures which would be attended with ſome extraordinary expences, not comprehended in the eſtimates laid before the houſe, his majeſty hoped they would enable him to carry on the ſame in the moſt effectual manner. This meſſage was referred, without one contradictory voice, to the committee of ſupply, who, upon the fourteenth of the ſame month, reſolved to grant his majeſty two hundred thouſand pounds to account for carrying on the war, and about nine thouſand five hundred pounds for ſervices that year, not provided for by parliament; which was agreed to by the houſe. A million was likewiſe granted out of the ſinking fund, and about two hundred thouſand pounds for the ordinary of the navy.

The government having found very great difficulty in manning their ſhips of war; and the practice of preſſing for that purpoſe having been long a ſubject of complaint in England; ſir Charles Wager preſented a bill to the houſe for regiſtering all ſeamen, watermen, fiſhermen, lightermen, keelmen, bargemen, and ſea-faring men, capable of ſerving at ſea throughout his majeſty's dominions. The minority exclaimed againſt this practice as of French origin, and tending to reduce a Britiſh ſailor to the moſt abject degree of ſlavery. In fine, by mere force of declamation of the anti-miniſterial party, this meaſure was rendered ſo odious, that it was judged moſt prudent to drop it for the preſent. Here I cannot help obſerving, that the gentlemen in the oppoſition ſeemed to act more from a principle of animoſity to the miniſter, than from a true attention to the good of their country; for ſure we ſtand in great need of ſome ſuch method of having always in readineſs a competent number of ſeamen to man the royal navy, without having recourſe to the barbarous and unconſtitutional practice of preſſing. The bill offered by ſir Charles had in it perhaps ſome reſtrictions not ſtrictly conſiſtent with the freedom of Engliſhmen; but ſurely ſuch amendments might have been made therein as would have rendered it a conſtitutional and wholeſome law.

The king having by meſſage communicated to the houſe his intention of diſpoſing of his daughter the princeſs Mary in marriage to prince Frederic of Heſſe-Caſſel, and expreſſed his hope that the commons would enable him to give a ſuitable portion with his daughter, they unanimouſly agreed to grant forty thouſand pounds for that purpoſe, and preſented an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for having communicated to the houſe this intended marriage.

The two firſt months of the year 1740 were diſtinguiſhed by a moſt intenſe froſt, which began on Chriſtmas day 1739, and continued almoſt eight weeks. The Thames was entirely frozen up, and multitudes of people walked over that river upon the ice. Carriages of all kinds paſſed to and fro as on firm ground. Booths were erected, and a public fair kept upon it. The poor were very great ſufferers by this calamity, as the price of coals and other neceſſaries of life was very high, particularly towards the cloſe of the froſt. Let it however be recorded, to the honour of Engliſh humanity, that the charity and munificence of the great and opulent kept pace with the diſtreſſes of their wretched fellow-creatures. The benevolence of his majeſty and the royal family ſet the example to the nobility, who were readily followed in ſo laudable a work, by all ſuch who had the power of relieving the wants of thoſe in leſs happy circumſtances, Societies for the more equal diſtribution of private charities were every-where formed, and ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages in the kingdom made it their pride to become not only ſtewards, but even collectors for the poor.

Little more remains to add to the hiſtory of parliament this ſeſſion, ſave the mention of ſome excellent laws of which it was productive. A bill for prohibiting commerce with Spain created ſome difference between the two houſes, which occaſioned ſeveral conferences; but the lords at laſt dropped their amendment, and it paſſed. The ſtate of paper-money in the Britiſh colonies in America was taken into conſideration, and found to be very deplorable, and prejudicial to trade; and ſeveral unanimous reſolutions for addreſſing his majeſty on that head were paſſed by the commons, particularly, that his majeſty ſhould require and command the reſpective governors of his colonies and plantations in America not to give aſſent to, or paſs any act whereby bills of credit may be iſſued in lieu of money, without a clauſe to be inſerted in ſuch act, declaring that the ſame ſhall not take effect until the ſaid act ſhould be approved by his majeſty. An excellent law was continued relating to the premiums upon the importation of all kinds of materials for ſhip-rigging, and for encouraging the Greenland fiſhery, by granting a farther bounty to all ſhips employed in the whale-fiſhery during the war, and for protecting their crews from being impreſſed.

On the twenty-ninth of April his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion by a ſpeech, in which he thanked the commons for the ſupplies they had ſo liberally granted, recommended unanimity and concord to both houſes, and expreſſed his hopes that the preparations which he was making for carrying on the war, in the moſt vigorous and effectual manner, would be bleſſed with ſucceſs, equal to the juſtice of his cauſe. The parliament was then prorogued to the third of June, and by various prorogations afterwards to the eighteenth of November following. In the beginning of May his majeſty ſet out for Hanover, after having appointed a regency. In a few days after his departure the marriage of the princeſs Mary with the prince of Heſſe was ſolemnized by proxy, the duke of Cumberland ſtanding for that prince; and in June her highneſs ſailed for the continent. Some little time before the ſeſſion of parliament broke up, the duke of Argyll reſigned all his poſts under the government. So much for the common domeſtic occurrences of this period. I now come to conſider events more intereſting to the public, and ſuch as for a time filled the nation with great ſatisfaction, and ſeemed to charm the voice of oppoſition into ſilence.

On the thirteenth of March, while the Britiſh parliament was yet ſitting, captain Rentone arrived from

from vice-admiral Vernon, with the important advice that he had made himſelf maſter of the town and forts of Porto Bello, with ſix ſhips only.

Porto Bello ſtands on the north ſide of the Iſthmus of Darien, which, running from eaſt to weſt betwixt the North and South Seas, joins the two continents of North and South America. It is eighteen leagues from Panama, which lies on the north ſide of the Iſthmus, has a convenient bay about a mile deep, with good anchorage and ſhelter for ſhips, and near half a mile broad at the mouth of the river. At the entrance of the north ſide of the bay, cloſe by a ſteep rock, ſtood a ſtrong caſtle, called the Iron Caſtle, mounting ſeventy-eight great guns, with a battery beneath, parallel with the water, of twenty-two guns. The caſtle and fort were defended by a garriſon of three hundred men. On the oppoſite ſide of the bay, but about a mile farther up, on an eminence, ſtood La Gloria, another caſtle, conſiſting of two regular baſtions toward the ſea, mounting ninety guns, with a curtain between of twenty-two guns, beſides a line of eight guns pointing to the mouth of the harbour; the whole defended by four hundred men. A little above this caſtle, near the other end of the town, on a point running into the bay, ſtood Fort St. Jeronymo, a ſort of quadrangular redoubt, ſtrongly built, well mounted with cannon, and properly manned. Under the cannon of Gloria Caſtle and Fort St. Jeronymo, all the enemy's ſhips in the harbour rode at anchor; and this defence, with the guns of the Iron Caſtle, rendered the entrance of the harbour extremely difficult. At the bottom of the harbour lies the town of Porto Bello, built along the ſhore in the form of a creſcent. It is the market through which all the wealth of Peru, and the manufactures of Europe, circulate annually. It was taken by the Buccaneers in 1688; but afterwards, being reforti-fied more ſtrongly, it had for ſome time been reckoned impregnable; ſo that it was formally given out, that a ſquadron of ſhips, and at leaſt eight thouſand men, could not take it, when the Britiſh ſhips lay rotting, and our ſailors dying away, at the Baſtimentos, under the unfortunate Hoſier. Admiral Vernon, however, had, ſome time before this expedition, given out that he would engage to take it with "only ſix ſhips of war." He proved the truth of his aſſertion, in the manner I ſhall now relate.

Admiral Vernon arrived at Port Royal at Jamaica on the twelfth of October, 1739, where he firſt took care to notify his arrival to Mr. Trelawney, the governor of that iſland; and at the ſame time deſired his aſſiſtance and concurrence in the enterprize for which he had been ordered into thoſe parts, aſſuring him of his own zeal to execute the ſame, and his endeavours to maintain the moſt cordial harmony with his excellency. The admiral was, ſoon after his arrival, joined by commodore Brown, with the Hampton Court only; and having obtained a full ſtate of the Spaniſh ſhipping in thoſe ſeas, and the places at which they were ſtationed, he from thence concluded that they had concerted to meet at Carthagena, in order to go and open the fair at Porto Bello, the money having been ſome time before carried from Panama: he therefore reſolved to ſail immediately, and get, if poſſible, to Porto Bello before them, that he might loſe no time. Upon communicating his inſtructions, and the proper ſignals, to his captains, and having taken in the neceſſary ſtores, on the third of November he ordered commodore Brown to hoiſt his diſtinguiſhing pendant on board the Hampton Court, and get ready to ſail with the other captains, on the fifth, early in the morning. The admiral's whole ſquadron was to be employed on this ſervice, conſiſting of ſix ſhips only, viz. the Burford, his own ſhip (with captain Watſon under him) of ſeventy guns, and five hundred men; the Hampton Court, the commodore's ſhip (who had captain Dent under him) of ſeventy guns, and four hundred and ninety-five men; the Worceſter, captain Perry Mayne, of ſixty guns and four hundred men; the Stafford, captain Trevor, of ſixty guns, and four hundred men; the Princeſs Louiſa, captain Waterhouſe, of ſixty guns, and four hundred men; the Norwich, captain Herbert, of fifty guns, and three hundred men; the whole number of ſailors on board this ſquadron being two thouſand four hundred and ninety-five men, beſides two hundred land forces, commanded by captain Newton.

On the fifth the admiral ſailed from Port Royal, and ſteered for Porto Bello; but by reaſon of contrary winds, it was the evening of the twentieth before he could get ſight of that harbour; and then, there being but little wind ſtirring, leſt his ſquadron ſhould be driven to the eaſtward of the harbour, he made the ſignal for coming to an anchor, about ſix leagues off the ſhore. On the twenty-firſt in the morning, he plied in line of battle to windward; but the wind ſtill continuing eaſterly, he was forced to confine his attack to the Iron Fort, cloſe to which captain Rentone piloted the ſquadron.

Commodore Brown, in the Hampton Court, who led the attack with undaunted reſolution, having fired upwards of four hundred ſhot in about twenty-five minutes at the Iron Fort, and being well ſeconded by captain Herbert in the Norwich, and captain Mayne in the Worceſter, the admiral perceived that the Spaniards had quitted ſeveral parts of the fort; whereupon he made a ſignal for the boats, in which were about forty ſailors, with a company of marines and their officers, to land with all imaginable expedition, whilſt he was coming up to the fort to batter it. The admiral luffing up as near the fort as he conveniently could, was ſaluted with a whole volley, every ſhot of which almoſt took place, though but three men were killed, and five wounded. Our ſailors, whoſe courage always increaſes with danger, returned their ſalute ſo effectually, that though the enemy diſcharged a few more ſhot, they did us afterwards no conſiderable damage; for the fire of the Burford's ſmall arms ſcoured the lower batteries of the Spaniards, driving them from thence, where they could do moſt execution: and by this means alſo our men were ſecured in landing. As ſoon as they had ſet foot on ſhore, our ſeamen began ſcaling the walls, which they chiefly performed by one man ſetting himſelf cloſe under an embrazure, whilſt another climbed upon his ſhoulders; and thus they entered under the mouths of the great guns, which ſtruck ſuch a general panic into the Spaniards, that the officers and men at the lower batteries quitted them, and fled further up into the fort, after they had firſt hung out a white flag for capitulating; which the admiral anſwered with another

another from his ſhip; but ſuch was the eagerneſs of the men on board his ſhip and the Stafford, that it was ſome time before they could be made to deſiſt from firing.

In the mean while, the ſeamen who had climbed up the walls of the lower battery having firſt ſtruck the colours, afterwards drew up the ſoldiers; upon which the Spaniards, who had retreated into the caſtle, ſurrendered at diſcretion. Of theſe only five officers and thirty-five men remained out of three hundred, the reſt having been killed, wounded, or made their eſcape.

The ſhips which had gone in before the admiral fell ſo far to leeward, that they were not within ſight of Gloria Caſtle; but the admiral's own ſhip lying open to it, the Spaniards kept firing one of their largeſt guns at him till night, but did little or no execution.

Next morning, being the twenty-ſecond, the admiral went on board the Hampton Court, commodore Brown, in order to call a council of war, and give the neceſſary directions for warping the ſhips up in the night, to attack Gloria Caſtle, as it would have been impracticable to have attempted it in the day time. But in this he was prevented, by the enemy's hoiſting a white flag, and ſending a boat with a flag of truce to the admiral, and the conditions ſigned on which they deſired to capitulate; which were, "That the governor would deliver up all the fortifications, provided the garriſon might be allowed to march out with the honours of war; have an indemnity for themſelves, the town, and the inhabitants; and be permitted to keep all the ſhips in the harbour. This laſt article could not by any means be admitted, the admiral being reſolved to have thoſe ſhips which had done the Engliſh merchants all the damages they complained of on theſe coaſts. Accordingly, he drew up the articles on which he was willing to treat, and ſent them back to the governor, allowing him only a few hours to take his reſolution: but within the time limited the conditions offered were accepted; in conſequence of which the admiral ſent captain Newton, who commanded the detachment of ſoldiers from Jamaica, with about one hundred and twenty men, to take poſſeſſion of Gloria Caſtle and Jeronymo Fort, being the two fortreſſes which defended the harbour, the one above, the other below the town.

In the harbour were two Spaniſh men of war of twenty guns each, together with a ſnow; the crews of which, upon ſeeing the regular and bold attack made on the Iron Fort, and deſpairing of being able to defend themſelves, fell to plundering the town in the night of the twenty-firſt, and committed ſhocking outrages on the inhabitants. Our admiral being now maſter of the place, proceeded to blow up the fortifications, ſpiked up above eighty iron cannon, and brought off, on board his own fleet, a great number of braſs ordnance, and a great quantity of ammunition, leaving the harbour quite open and defenceleſs. Thus was this place totally deſtroyed; and tho' the admiral, for want of land forces, was not able to puſh his conqueſts further up the country, yet the national advantage ariſing from what he had already done was very conſiderable, particularly with regard to the traders of Jamaica, who had now a fair opportunity of opening an extenſive commerce with the Spaniards, who were fond of clandeſtinely conveying their money from Panama over the Iſthmus.

Soon after the reduction of this place, the admiral was joined by captain Knowles, in the Diamond; by the Windſor, captain Berkely; by the Angleſea, captain Reddiſh; and by captain Stapleton, in the Sheerneſs; which ſhips he had detached from Jamaica on different cruizes.

Mr. Vernon, during his ſtay at Porto Bello, ſent a letter to the preſident of Panama, demanding a releaſement of the factors and ſervants belonging to the South Sea company, whom the Spaniards had confined in that place; together with the reſtitution of their own perſonal effects, as well as thoſe of the aforeſaid company. In conſequence of this meſſage, the preſident ſent an officer, with Dr. Humphreys and Dr. Wright, factors; and alſo with the ſervants of the company, who were delivered to the admiral on board his own ſhip.

On the thirteenth of December the admiral ſailed with his ſquadron from Porto Bello, on his return to Jamaica. In the paſſage the ſquadron met with hard gales, by which it was diſperſed, and ſeveral of the ſhips received damage in their maſts and rigging. Nevertheleſs, they at laſt all joined the admiral in Port Royal, where we ſhall leave him meditating future conqueſts, and return to England.

No ſooner was the ſucceſs of the Britiſh admiral made known to the people at home, than a profuſion of rejoicings overſpread the united kingdoms and Ireland. Bonfires blazed in every ſtreet, and the houſes were illuminated: the ſhouts of "Vernon for ever!" were heard from every tongue: both houſes of parliament, the city of London, and all the conſiderable corporations in the kingdom, addreſſed his majeſty upon the occaſion. The houſe of commons ſent the admiral their thanks; the city voted him its freedom. In ſhort, a Roman conſul, after reducing a province, never received greater marks of public applauſe from his country than admiral Vernon did upon his demolition of Porto Bello.

Admiral Haddock was all this ſummer cruizing in the Mediterranean, and had for ſome time actually blocked up the mouth of that part of Cadiz where the Spaniſh fleet was then laying. The Spaniards, in order to releaſe their ſhips, made a feint with another ſquadron under admiral Pintado, to recover the iſland of Minorca. Admiral Haddock fell into the ſnare: he quitted his ſtation to haſten to the relief of that iſland, when the Cadiz fleet embraced that opportunity to get out with nine men of war and two frigates, which eſcaped to Ferrol, and joined another ſquadron in that port. But the want of ſupplies of treaſure from New Spain detained this united fleet in harbour till the French thought proper to pull off the maſk, by ſending a ſtrong ſquadron from Breſt and Toulon, under the command of the marquis d'Antin, to Martinico, one of their Weſt India ſettlements, with ſecret orders not only to act offenſively againſt the Britiſh ſubjects, either jointly with the Spaniards or ſeparately, but even to concert meaſures with them for attacking Jamaica; and at the ſame time declaring, that France could no longer behold, with an eye of indifference, the enterprizes which the Engliſh nation had formed in America,

nor

nor ſuffer them to make any new eſtabliſhments there.

The Britiſh miniſtry, who had little ſuſpected any ſuch behaviour from France, were thunderſtruck at this proceeding, while the voice of the public called loudly for proſecuting the war with the utmoſt vigour, in order to convince that court that we were not to be intimidated by their inſolent threats. It was therefore neceſſary to make a ſhew of ſome ſecret expedition, to amuſe the nation, and ſmother their riſing diſcontents. With this view, a powerful fleet was aſſembled at Portſmouth, when, on the twenty-fourth of June, ſir John Norris, admiral of the red, hoiſted his flag on board the Victory, a firſt-rate, of one hundred and ten guns, having under him Philip Cavendiſh, eſq. admiral, and ſir Chaloner Ogle, rear-admiral of the blue. Some thoughts were at this time entertained of one day making his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland lord high-admiral of Great Britain; for his highneſs ſuddenly quitting the camp, which had been formed at Hounſlow in expectation of an invaſion, arrived unexpectedly in a ſhallop at the Iſle of Wight, where he reviewed a body of marines encamped there, and then went, by the ſame ſhallop, on board the Victory man of war, to ſerve as a volunteer in the intended expedition.

The deſtination of this fine fleet, conſiſting of twenty-one ſail of the line, and three fire-ſhips, was variouſly conjectured. The moſt received opinion was an attempt to be made on the Spaniſh ſquadrons in Ferrol: but whatever were the real motives, the project at laſt came to nothing; for, after the fleet had been detained about a week at St. Helen's by contrary winds, it ſailed from thence on the fourteenth of July with the convoy and the merchant ſhips for Portugal and the Streights; but meeting with hard gales at ſouth-weſt, in which the Lion man of war, of ſixty guns, ran foul of the Victory, and carried away her bowſprit, and the Lion loſing her fore-maſt, the fleet returned to St. Helen's, and on the twenty-ſecond ſailed again, but was detained at Torbay for near a month; and at laſt, on the thirtieth of September (the ſeaſon of action for ſuch large ſhips being over) returned to Spithead, where his royal highneſs diſembarked. Thus inglorioufly ended a very expenſive armament, which had engroſſed the whole attention of the public, and drawn upon it the eyes of all Europe, without effecting any one purpoſe.

In the ſame month of September a ſmall ſquadron was fitted out under the command of commodore Anſon, which gave riſe to that gentleman's memorable voyage round the globe. His orders were to ſail to the South Seas, in order to attack the enemy's colonies, and co-operate occaſionally with admiral Vernon acroſs the Iſthmus of Darien. The ſcheme was well laid; and though it failed in its principal purpoſe, was afterwards productive of great glory to the commodore, and of much advantage to the nation. This ſquadron conſiſted of the following five ſhips of war; the Centurion (the commodore's own ſhip) of ſixty guns, and four hundred men; the Gloſter and Severn, of fifty guns and three hundred men each; the Pearl, of forty guns, and two hundred and fifty men; and the Wager, of twenty-eight guns, and one hundred and ſixty men; beſides the Trial ſloop, of eight guns and one hundred men, and two victualling ſhips.

Anſon's ſhips did not arrive at Madeira before the twenty-fifth of October, where they watered and took in refreſhments of ſeveral kinds. On the fourth of November the commodore iſſued orders to the captains, appointing their rendezvous, in caſe of ſeparation, at the iſland of St. Catharine's, on the coaſt of Brazil in South America; and the ſame day the ſquadron weighing anchor from Madeira, ſteered their courſe for St. Catherine's, where they arrived on the twenty-firſt of December, having in the paſſage loſt a great number of their men by the intemperature of the warm climates, while many others were confined to their hammocks in violent fevers, paſt all hopes of recovery, and ſome in a very languid condition, affected with fluxes, and other diſorders conſequent on a recovery from theſe fevers.

The commodore made all poſſible diſpatch for Cape Horn, but was detained by unavoidable accidents till the eighteenth of January, when the ſquadron, after burying many of their men, and ſickneſs ſtill increaſing, left the iſland, and ſailed to Port St. Julian, on the coaſt of Patagonia, of which an account ſhall be given in the ſequel.

Mean while the Ferrol ſquadron, conſiſting of twelve ſhips of the line, from ſixty to eighty guns, and three frigates, under the command of Don Roderigo de Torres, having found means to eſcape the look-out kept for them by admiral Haddock, ſailed on the twentieth of July for America, with two thouſand land forces on board. Theſe unexpected events threw the government of England into ſome conſternation. It was, however, reſolved, to ſend ſuch a fleet to attend them as ſhould be ſufficient to encounter all events; but before we give an account of the preparations made in conſequence of theſe reſolutions, it will be neceſſary to return to the gallant admiral Vernon, whom we left at Jamaica, equipping his ſquadron with the utmoſt expedition for another enterprize.

After having made all the neceſſary preparations the nature of the ſervice required, the admiral ſailed from Port Royal in the latter end of February this year, in the Stafford, accompanied by the Princeſs Louiſa, Windſor, Norwich, Falmouth, and Greenwich men of war, and a proportionable number of fire-ſhips, bombs, and tenders, with a deſign to bombard Carthagena, and afterwards to annoy the Spaniards in Fort Chagre, lying a little to the ſouth-weſt of Porto Bello. After ſurmounting ſome difficulties, he anchored in the bay of Playa Grande, before Carthagena, and immediately began a briſk bombardment againſt the town, which did abundance of damage to ſome of the principal edifices. But not having ſtrength enough to make himſelf maſter of the place, he thought proper to return to Porto Bello to refit, from whence he detached cruizers from time to time to lye off Fort Chagre, and ſoon after put to ſea to attack it in perſon, which he did on the twenty-third of March, and obliged the garriſon to ſurrender. On this occaſion the admiral gave equal proofs of his courage and humanity, by the terms of capitulation he granted the enemy.

Advice of this ſucceſs arrived in England in the month of July; but at the ſame time the admiral in his letters bitterly complained againſt the de-

lays that had happened in not ſending him further reinforcements of ſhips, men, ſtores, and proviſions; and threw out likewiſe many ſevere reflections, as if the miniſter intended to ſacrifice him to his private connections with France; an inſinuation which, however, appears to have been rather owing to an over-heated imagination, or to miſinformation, than to any real foundation. In truth, the contents of theſe letters were probably repeated in private epiſtles to his own friends, ſo that they became ſoon public, and the miniſtry found it behoved them to proſecute the war with greater vigour than they had hitherto done; and therefore, to avoid any further outcries againſt them, they determined to ſend the admiral a reinforcement of ſhips, and a ſufficient number of troops, to enable him to look any enemy in the face.

Accordingly, Harriſon's and Wentworth's regiments of foot, with ſix more of marines, beſides draughts from other regiments, were ordered to embark for the Weſt Indies, under the command of lord Cathcart, a nobleman of approved honour, and great experience in the military art. A noble fleet was aſſembled at Portſmouth, under the command of ſir Chaloner Ogle, conſiſting of twenty-one ſail of the line, beſides frigates and fire-ſhips, with about twelve thouſand ſailors on board, and the above-mentioned regiments, and other detachments of foot, of which lord Cathcart was appointed commander in chief. They were likewiſe furniſhed with hoſpital-ſhips, ſtore-ſhips, all ſorts of warlike implements, and every conveniency: in a word, never had the nation more reaſon to hope for ſucceſs from any undertaking. This fleet, however, did not ſet ſail till the latter end of October this year; and by theſe, and ſuch-like unaccountable delays, by which our ſhips were detained in the harbour to ſo late a ſeaſon of the year, they were incapable of getting through the Channel till the Spaniards had ſtrengthened their ſettlements in the Weſt Indies, and put themſelves in a condition of making a vigorous reſiſtance whereever they ſhould be attacked in that quarter of the world.

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The third event was the death of the czarina Anne-Iwanowna, who by her will appointed prince Ivan (or John) ſon of duke Anthony-Ulric, of Brunſwic-Lunenburg-Bevern, and the princeſs Anne of Mecklenbourg, her ſucceſſors. She by the ſame will appointed the duke of Courland regent of the empire, and even guardian of the young czar, though his own parents were alive. The regent, however, was ſoon turned out, and the czar's mother ſucceeded him in that truſt till her ſon was finally depoſed, and the princeſs Elizabeth placed on the throne of the Ruſſias.

His majeſty being returned from his German dominions, aſſembled the parliament on the 18th of November, and opened the ſeſſion by a ſpeech, in which he obſerved, among other things, "That the court of Spain having already felt ſome effects of the reſentment of the Engliſh, began to be ſenſible that they ſhould be no longer able, by their own ſtrength, to defend themſelves againſt the efforts of the Britiſh nation: that if any other powers, agreeably to ſome late extraordinary proceedings, ſhould interpoſe, and attempt to preſcribe or limit the operations of the war againſt his declared enemies, the honour and intereſt of his crown and kingdoms muſt call upon his parliament to loſe no time in putting the nation in ſuch a condition as might enable him to repel any inſults, and fruſtrate any deſigns formed againſt him, in violation of the faith of treaties; and he hoped any ſuch unprecedented ſteps, under what colour or pretence ſoever they might be taken, would inſpire his allies with a true ſenſe of the common danger, and would unite them in the ſupport and defence of the common cauſe: that the great and unhappy event of the death of the late emperor opened a new ſcene in the ſtate of affairs of Europe, in which all the principal powers might be immediately or remotely concerned: that it was impoſſible to determine, with any degree of certainty, what courſe the policy, intereſt, or ambition of the ſeveral courts might lead them to purſue in this critical conjuncture; it ſhould be his care ſtrictly to obſerve and watch their motions; to adhere to the engagements which he had formerly contracted for maintaining the balance of power, and the liberties of Europe; and, in concert with ſuch powers as were under the ſame obligations, to act ſuch a part as might beſt contribute to avert the danger that threatened the tranquillity of Europe."

When the peers returned to their houſe, the duke of Argyll made a motion for an addreſs "to congratulate his majeſty on his ſafe return to his regal dominions; to aſſure his majeſty that this houſe will ſtand by him with their lives and fortunes in proſecution of the juſt and neceſſary war in which he was engaged: and as a farther proof of their duty and affection to his majeſty's perſon, family, and government, to declare to him that they would exert themſelves in their high capacity

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of hereditary great council of the crown, to which all other councils were ſubordinate and accountable, in ſuch a manner as might tend to promote the true intereſt of his majeſty and his kingdoms in this critical conjuncture."

His grace ſupported this motion by a ſpeech replete with all the nervous eloquence for which he was juſtly diſtinguiſhed. He arraigned in very ſevere terms the conduct of the miniſtry, in relation to the naval operations of this year, particularly the fruitleſs parade of the Spithead fleet under ſir John Norris. He ſpared not to accuſe the miniſtry, obliquely, of having given orders that no attempts ſhould be made upon the Spaniſh coaſts in Europe; and alleged, that the Weſt India fleet would not have ſailed yet, had it not been for his majeſty's return from abroad. Even the royal ſpeech (which he treated as the work of the miniſter's pen) did not eſcape his cenſure, for not naming the power that might preſume to attempt limiting the operations of the war; and he concluded with declaring, that the motion now before the houſe had been drawn up entirely by himſelf, without the knowlege or privity of any other perſon.

In oppoſition to this propoſal the earl of Holderneſs moved for a more explicit addreſs, viz. to acknowlege his majeſty's great wiſdom, and his regard to the true intereſts of his kingdom, in reſolving to carry on this juſt and neceſſary war in the moſt vigorous and effectual manner, and in not ſuffering himſelf to be diverted from thoſe prudent and ſalutary meaſures; to aſſure his majeſty, that if any power ſhould attempt to preſcribe or limit the operations of the war, ſuch a ſtep would not fail to inſpire his parliament with a juſt indignation, and determine them to concur in all proper means for vindicating and defending his honour and dignity againſt any who ſhould preſume to offer him ſuch an inſult; to declare to his majeſty, that this houſe will ſtand by and ſupport him in fulfilling the engagements he had contracted for maintaining the balance and liberties of Europe, on the event of the late emperor's death, as well as in the proſecution of the preſent war; and, finally, to expreſs their unſhaken and unalterable fidelity and affection to his majeſty's perſon and government, and their ardent wiſhes that all his enterprizes, for maintaining the honour of his crown, and the rights of his people, might be bleſſed with ſucceſs.

I have exhibited theſe two motions at full length, becauſe they contain the ſentiments of the two great parties which then prevailed in parliament. The reader, from what has gone before, can eaſily figure to himſelf the facts and arguments adduced in the debates which followed upon theſe two motions, and which were managed on the court ſide by the lord-chancellor Hardwick, the lord Cholmondeley, and the lord Harvey; on that of the oppoſition, by the duke of Argyll, the lord Carteret, the earl of Cheſterfield, and the lord Talbot (ſon to the deceaſed nobleman of that name); I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that on the queſtion being put, the court motion was carried by a majority of twenty-eight voices.

The debates in the lower houſe upon the queſtion of their addreſs turned upon their declaring, that they would make a due examination into the application of the ſupplies given the laſt ſeſſion of parliament. But as this inſinuated ſome diffidence of the miniſtry, it was over-voted, and an addreſs preſented, recapitulatory of the ſeveral paragraphs in the king's ſpeech, with expreſſions of approbation, and of general concurrence with the meaſures of the miniſtry.

The like fate attended a motion made on the firſt of December in the upper houſe for an addreſs to his majeſty, humbly deſiring he would give directions to the proper officers to lay before the houſe copies of the ſeveral orders and inſtructions ſent to admiral Vernon, from the time of his ſailing from England in 1739, to the twenty-fourth day of June in the current year.

The anti-courtiers, not diſcouraged by this defeat, propoſed another addreſs to his majeſty, humbly entreating he would be pleaſed to give orders to lay before the houſe copies of all the letters written by vice-admiral Vernon to the commiſſioners of the admiralty, or to his majeſty's ſecretaries of ſtate, from the time of his leaving England to the twenty-fourth of June laſt inclusive; as alſo all the letters written by the ſaid commiſſioners or the ſecretaries of ſtate to the ſaid admiral within the time above-mentioned. The miniſter, by a ſtrange inattention to his own intereſts, ſuffered this motion to paſs with ſome few amendments. The addreſs was accordingly preſented, and the papers laid before the houſe; the conſequence of which proved very fatal to his authority; for the admiral in ſome of his letters complained bitterly of the ſtores which had been ſent him; and in one particular paſſage he affirmed that they were not good enough even for a Spithead expedition.

This and other information, derived from the peruſal of theſe papers, furniſhed the oppoſition with matter for another motion for an addreſs to his majeſty, to lay before the houſe the repreſentations which admiral Vernon had made to the miniſtry or admiralty, touching the want of more ſhips or more men, &c. This motion was, however, rejected by a majority of ſeventy-one againſt forty-four; as was alſo another motion made by the duke of Argyll (in conſequence of the houſe taking into its conſideration the ſtate of the army) for a reſolution, "That the augmenting the army by raiſing regiments, as it is the moſt unneceſſary and moſt expenſive method of augmentation, is alſo the moſt dangerous to the liberties of the nation." This propoſal, I ſay, was alſo over-ruled, but not without a nervous ſpirited proteſt being entered againſt it by the country lords.

The reader will eaſily perceive that the upper houſe was the great ſcene of political altercation during this ſeſſion. The duke of Argyll, the lord Carteret, the lord Bathurſt, the earl of Cheſterfield, and lord Talbot, ſeemed to be animated with uncommon fervor; and ſeveral of their ſpeeches would not have diſgraced the moſt celebrated orators of the Roman ſenate, when that republic was in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate. In theſe debates the young earls of Halifax and Sandwich acquired a conſiderable ſhare of reputation, for the ſtrength of argument and elocution they diſplayed againſt the meaſures of the miniſtry. The controverſy was very unequally maintained on the ſide of the government; and their peremptory overruling every motion that was made againſt them, ſerved only farther to increaſe the unpopularity of

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of hereditary great council of the crown, to which all other councils were ſubordinate and accountable, in ſuch a manner as might tend to promote the true intereſt of his majeſty and his kingdoms in this critical conjuncture."

His grace ſupported this motion by a ſpeech replete with all the nervous eloquence for which he was juſtly diſtinguiſhed. He arraigned in very ſevere terms the conduct of the miniſtry, in relation to the naval operations of this year, particularly the fruitleſs parade of the Spithead fleet under ſir John Norris. He ſpared not to accuſe the miniſtry, obliquely, of having given orders that no attempts ſhould be made upon the Spaniſh coaſts in Europe; and alleged, that the Weſt India fleet would not have ſailed yet, had it not been for his majeſty's return from abroad. Even the royal ſpeech (which he treated as the work of the miniſter's pen) did not eſcape his cenſure, for not naming the power that might preſume to attempt limiting the operations of the war; and he concluded with declaring, that the motion now before the houſe had been drawn up entirely by himſelf, without the knowlege or privity of any other perſon.

In oppoſition to this propoſal the earl of Holderneſs moved for a more explicit addreſs, viz. to acknowlege his majeſty's great wiſdom, and his regard to the true intereſts of his kingdom, in reſolving to carry on this juſt and neceſſary war in the moſt vigorous and effectual manner, and in not ſuffering himſelf to be diverted from thoſe prudent and ſalutary meaſures; to aſſure his majeſty, that if any power ſhould attempt to preſcribe or limit the operations of the war, ſuch a ſtep would not fail to inſpire his parliament with a juſt indignation, and determine them to concur in all proper means for vindicating and defending his honour and dignity againſt any who ſhould preſume to offer him ſuch an inſult; to declare to his majeſty, that this houſe will ſtand by and ſupport him in fulfilling the engagements he had contracted for maintaining the balance and liberties of Europe, on the event of the late emperor's death, as well as in the proſecution of the preſent war; and, finally, to expreſs their unſhaken and unalterable fidelity and affection to his majeſty's perſon and government, and their ardent wiſhes that all his enterprizes, for maintaining the honour of his crown, and the rights of his people, might be bleſſed with ſucceſs.

I have exhibited theſe two motions at full length, becauſe they contain the ſentiments of the two great parties which then prevailed in parliament. The reader, from what has gone before, can eaſily figure to himſelf the facts and arguments adduced in the debates which followed upon theſe two motions, and which were managed on the court ſide by the lord-chancellor Hardwick, the lord Cholmondeley, and the lord Harvey; on that of the oppoſition, by the duke of Argyll, the lord Carteret, the earl of Cheſterfield, and the lord Talbot (ſon to the deceaſed nobleman of that name); I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that on the queſtion being put, the court motion was carried by a majority of twenty-eight voices.

The debates in the lower houſe upon the queſtion of their addreſs turned upon their declaring, that they would make a due examination into the application of the ſupplies given the laſt ſeſſion of parliament. But as this inſinuated ſome diffidence of the miniſtry, it was over-voted, and an addreſs preſented, recapitulatory of the ſeveral paragraphs in the king's ſpeech, with expreſſions of approbation, and of general concurrence with the meaſures of the miniſtry.

The like fate attended a mo ion made on the firſt of December in the upper houſe for an addreſs to his majeſty, humbly deſiring he would give directions to the proper officers to lay before the houſe copies of the ſeveral orders and inſtructions ſent to admiral Vernon, from the time of his ſailing from England in 1739, to the twenty-fourth day of June in the current year.

The anti-courtiers, not diſcouraged by this defeat, propoſed another addreſs to his majeſty, humbly entreating he would be pleaſed to give orders to lay before the houſe copies of all the letters written by vice-admiral Vernon to the commiſſioners of the admiralty, or to his majeſty's ſecretaries of ſtate, from the time of his leaving England to the twenty-fourth of June laſt inclusive; as alſo all the letters written by the ſaid commiſſioners or the ſecretaries of ſtate to the ſaid admiral within the time above-mentioned. The miniſter, by a ſtrange inattention to his own intereſts, ſuffered this motion to paſs with ſome few amendments. The addreſs was accordingly preſented, and the papers laid before the houſe; the conſequence of which proved very fatal to his authority; for the admiral in ſome of his letters complained bitterly of the ſtores which had been ſent him; and in one particular paſſage he affirmed that they were not good enough even for a Spithead expedition.

This and other information, derived from the peruſal of theſe papers, furniſhed the oppoſition with matter for another motion for an addreſs to his majeſty, to lay before the houſe the repreſentations which admiral Vernon had made to the miniſtry or admiralty, touching the want of more ſhips or more men, &c. This motion was, however, rejected by a majority of ſeventy-one againſt forty-four; as was alſo another motion made by the duke of Argyll (in conſequence of the houſe taking into its conſideration the ſtate of the army) for a reſolution, "That the augmenting the army by raiſing regiments, as it is the moſt unneceſſary and moſt expenſive method of augmentation, is alſo the moſt dangerous to the liberties of the nation." This propoſal, I ſay, was alſo over-ruled, but not without a nervous ſpirited proteſt being entered againſt it by the country lords.

The reader will eaſily perceive that the upper houſe was the great ſcene of political altercation during this ſeſſion. The duke of Argyll, the lord Carteret, the lord Bathurſt, the earl of Cheſterfield, and lord Talbot, ſeemed to be animated with uncommon fervor; and ſeveral of their ſpeeches would not have diſgraced the moſt celebrated orators of the Roman ſenate, when that republic was in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate. In theſe debates the young earls of Halifax and Sandwich acquired a conſiderable ſhare of reputation, for the ſtrength of argument and elocution they diſplayed againſt the meaſures of the miniſtry. The controverſy was very unequally maintained on the ſide of the government; and their peremptory overruling every motion that was made againſt them, ſerved only farther to increaſe the unpopularity of

the miniſter, which now roſe to ſuch an height, that his name was ſcarce ever mentioned with common decency but by his own friends.

The minority thought this the moſt favourable juncture they could obtain to put in execution a deſign which they had long framed, of a perſonal attack on the miniſter; and after ſome conſultation between the leading members of both houſes of the country party, it was determined to begin this attack in the lower houſe. Accordingly, on the eleventh of February, Mr. Sandys went up to ſir Robert Walpole, and informed him, that in two days time he ſhould bring a charge againſt him in public. Sir Robert was no ſtranger to the intended motion, nor to the day on which it was propoſed to be made: he therefore, with an appearance of great compoſure, thanked Mr. Sandys politely for this previous notice: he ſaid, he deſired no favour but fair play; adding, "As I am not conſcious of any crime, I do not doubt of being able to make a proper defence."

On Friday the thirteenth of February, the day appointed for the accuſation of the miniſter, Mr. Sandys, in a ſtudied ſpeech, entered into a long deduction of the miniſter's conduct, which he carried back as far as the year 1720, from whence he was ſuppoſed to date his preſent power. He inſiſted, that it was well known both within doors and without, that one ſingle perſon in the adminiſtration was the chief, if not the ſole, adviſer and promoter of all the wrong meaſures which had been for many years purſued at home and abroad: "Therefore, added he, the diſcontents, the reproaches, and even the curſes of the people, are all directed againſt that ſingle perſon: they complain of preſent meaſures; they have ſuffered by paſt meaſures: they expect no redreſs; they expect no alteration nor amendment, whilſt he has a ſhare in directing or adviſing our future adminiſtration. Theſe, ſir (addreſſing himſelf to the ſpeaker) are the ſentiments of the people, in regard to that miniſter: thoſe ſentiments we are in honour and duty bound to repreſent to his majeſty; and the proper method of doing this, as eſtabliſhed by our conſtitution, is to addreſs his majeſty to remove him from his councils: I therefore move that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to remove the right honourable ſir Robert Walpole, knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, firſt commiſſioner of the Treaſury, comptroller and under-treaſurer of the Exchequer, and one of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council, from his majeſty's preſence and councils for ever."

This motion was ſeconded by the lord-viſcount Limerick, ſuſtained by Mr. Pulteney, ſir John Hynde Cotton, ſir John Barnard, Mr. W. Pitt, Mr. Gibſon, and other diſtinguiſhed ſpeakers in the oppoſition, who with great energy and accuracy pointed out and expoſed all the material errors and malpractices of the adminiſtration. They charged the miniſter with having endeavoured to ſupport his own intereſt by the moſt pernicious and barefaced acts of corruption; with having betrayed the intereſt and power of Great Britain in the late convention. It was likewiſe alleged, that he had deviated from the plan of policy which he himſelf, in his impeachment of the earl of Oxford, had laboured to eſtabliſh: and in confirmation of their opinion, the treaty of Hanover was urged; a treaty, it was ſaid, which was plainly calculated to aggrandize the houſe of Bourbon, and depreſs that of Auſtria. They farther affirmed, that all the great expences which the nation had incurred, by augmenting the army, and paying ſubſidies to foreigners, were owing to that treaty; and that his majeſty had been led into this dangerous miſtake by the ignorance or perfidy of the miniſter, who had made him believe that the emperor had, in conjunction with Spain, formed a deſign to place the pretender upon the throne of Great Britain; a charge for which, from the ſubſequent events, there never appeared to have been the leaſt foundation.

All theſe arguments were anſwered by Mr. Pelham, who undertook to defend or excuſe all the meaſures which the others had condemned. In doing this he obſerved, that the treaty of Utrecht was very imperfect; that the quadruple alliance was therefore formed, in order to ſupply the deficiencies of that treaty, by ſtrengthening the emperor in Italy, and transferring to him the kingdom of Sicily from the duke of Savoy, and at the ſame time giving an irretrievable blow to the marine of Spain, by the ſea engagement of ſir George Byng in 1718: that the king of Spain was forced by Great Britain to accede to the quadruple alliance, which brought on the congreſs of Cambray: during the dependence of which, the emperor and the king of Spain concluded the treaty of Vienna, a treaty that was extremely prejudicial to the intereſts of Great Britain, and to which the treaty of Hanover was no more than a counterbalance: that as to the charge of an intention to ſet the pretender on the throne of England, it was a thing of which his majeſty was fully convinced; and as it was a matter known perſonally to himſelf, and had never been diſproved, he had a right to make uſe of it in his ſpeech to the parliament. In a word, this gentleman in his harangue omitted nothing that could be expected from a warm friend and unſhaken adherent.

Sir Robert Walpole obſerved an attentive ſilence during the courſe of the debate: at length, finding the whole artillery of oppoſition and defence nearly exhauſted, he aroſe to ſpeak in his own defence, which he did in a moſt maſterly manner, delivering himſelf with the utmoſt coolneſs, deliberation, and decency, which was the more extolled, as it is certain his opponents had indulged themſelves in the moſt groſs and virulent perſonal invectives againſt his perſon and conduct. He began by recapitulating all the particulars of the general charge that had been brought againſt him, and endeavoured to elude their force. He ſought not to conceal, on the contrary he frankly owned, that he was to be conſidered as the ſole miniſter, and in ſuch character anſwerable for any ſtep taken by the government that was either diſgraceful or diſadvantageous to the nation. With reſpect to the article of bribery and corruption, he ſaid, if one inſtance had been adduced, if it had been ſhewn that he ever offered a reward to any member of either houſe, or ever threatened to deprive any member of his office or employment, in order to influence ſuch perſon in his vote as a member, there might have been ſome ground for this charge; but when it was ſo generally laid, he did not know what he could ſay to it, unleſs to deny it as gene-

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rally and as positively as it had been asserted. Such a declaration, however, made in the hearing of so many persons who owed their seats in that assembly purely to the force of his interest, who many of them subsisted only by the provisions he had obtained for them, in consideration of their constant attendance in parliament, and readiness on every occasion to throw their negative or assent into the ministerial balance; must surely have impressed every hearer, must impress every reader to whom it is related, with a very indifferent opinion of the modesty or veracity of this great man in a public capacity. The conclusion of his speech, however, shews such an intimate knowlege of mankind, and the first part of it is so highly picturesque of some events and changes, within the memory of every one who peruses these sheets, that I cannot resist the temptation of transcribing it verbatim:

"Gentlemen (said he) have talked a great deal of patriotism: a venerable word, sir, when rightly understood. But I am sorry to say, that it has of late been so much hackneyed about, that it is in danger of falling into disgrace: the very idea of true patriotism is lost, and the term has been prostituted to the very worst purposes. A patriot, sir! why patriots spring up like mushrooms; I could raise fifty of them within the four-and-twenty-hours. I have raised many of them, sir, in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot. I have never been afraid of making patriots, sir; but I disdain and despise all they can do.—No man, I believe, who ever had the honour of serving the crown, ever had such an attack made upon him as the present motion; a motion which gentlemen have been so long meditating, so long threatening, and which they had so much desire to support: but, sir, has it been supported? has it been attempted to be supported with even the shadow of evidence?——Yes, sir, I have long heard of this motion, and let gentlemen contradict me if they can, when I say, I could have prevented it; by what means, I leave the house to judge. But I chose, sir, they should do their utmost; and I rejoice in this debate, let the issue of it be what it will, more than I ever did in any one thing that has happened to me in the course of my life."

The debate continued till three o'clock in the morning, when above sixty of the country party being retired (who thereupon acquired the nickname of *sneakers* from their colleagues) the question was put, and received a negative from a majority of two hundred and ninety against one hundred and six.

The same motion was made in the upper house by lord Carteret, who ushered it in by a speech embellished with all the ornaments of rhetoric, and warmed with the noble spirit of British liberty and independence. The dukes of Argyll and Bedford, the earls of Westmoreland, Berkshire, Carlisle, Abingdon, and Halifax, the lords Bathurst and Haversham, supported the motion, while the minister was as warmly defended by the lord-chancellor, the dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire, the bishop of Salisbury, the earl of Ilay, brother to the duke of Argyll, the lord Hervey, and the earl of Oxford.

This last nobleman was one of the Tory party, and had always distinguished himself by his opposition to the minister. Nevertheless, upon this occasion, he spoke against the motion, not (as he declared) from any conviction which he had of the minister's innocence, but because he thought the principle upon which the motion was built, especially no legal evidence having been brought to support it, was cruel, unjust, and unconstitutional; and he was old enough, he added, to remember the hard measure which a minister of his own family, chiefly through the influence of the present minister, had received from general and unsupported charges. The whole house was charmed with this generous declaration. At length, the subject being entirely exhausted, the question was put, and the motion rejected by a majority of forty-nine.

The triumph of the minister, however, was dearly bought; it shook his character beyond a possibility of reparation, and his authority from this instant gave daily proofs of a decline. Immediately after carrying the question, the duke of Marlborough moved for a resolution, "That any attempt to inflict any kind of punishment on any person, without allowing him an opportunity to make his defence, or without any proof being brought of any crime or misdemeanor committed by him, is contrary to natural justice, the fundamental laws of the realm, and the ancient established usage of parliament, and is an high infringement of the liberties of the subject." This motion was seconded by the duke of Devonshire and the lord Lovel, and opposed by lord Gower, as an intended censure on the proceedings of the day; but notwithstanding his utmost efforts, and those of the rest of the friends of the minority, it was carried in the affirmative: thirty peers, however, entered a vigorous protest.

In the beginning of April the king went to the house of peers; and after passing certain acts that were prepared for the royal assent, he, in a speech to both houses, observed, "That the war which had lately broke out, and been carried on in part of the Austrian dominions, and the various and extensive claims which were publicly made on the late emperor's succession, were new events that required the utmost care and attention; the rather, as they might involve all Europe in a bloody war, and, in consequence, expose the dominions of such princes as should take part in support of the pragmatic sanction, to imminent and immediate danger: that the queen of Hungary had already made a requisition of the twelve thousand men expressly stipulated by treaty; and, in order to fulfil his engagements, he had demanded of the king of Denmark and of the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Hesse Cassel, their respective bodies of troops, consisting of six thousand men each, that so they might be in readiness to march forthwith to the assistance of her Hungarian majesty: that he was concerting such farther measures as might obviate and disappoint all the dangerous designs and attempts that might be formed or carried on in favour of any unjust pretensions to the prejudice of the house of Austria, in this complicated and uncertain state of things: that during the time when, by reason of the approaching conclusion of the present parliament, it might be impossible for him to have their advice and assistance, many incidents might arise which might render it necessary for him to incur still greater expences for maintaining the pragmatic sanction: and that therefore, in a con-

juncture ſo critical, he had thought it proper to lay theſe important conſiderations before them, and to deſire the concurrence of his parliament, in enabling him to contribute, in the moſt effectual manner, to the ſupport of the queen of Hungary, the preventing, by all reaſonable means, the ſubverſion of the houſe of Auſtria, and the maintaining, upon a firm foundation, the liberties and balance of Europe."

The two houſes joined in an affectionate addreſs, promiſing effectually to ſupport his majeſty againſt all inſults and attacks that might be made upon any of his territories, tho' not belonging to the crown of Great Britain; and that they would enable him to contribute in the moſt effectual manner to the ſupport of the queen of Hungary. The commons accordingly granted three hundred thouſand pounds for this purpoſe; a million was deducted from the ſinking fund towards the expence of the year; and the land-tax continued at four ſhillings in the pound, to which it had been raiſed the preceding year. The preparations for this war had already coſt five millions. On the twenty-fifth day of April the king cloſed the ſeſſion, the laſt of this parliament, with warm expreſſions of tenderneſs and ſatisfaction in its conduct. Henry Bromley, Stephen Fox, and John Howe, three commoners of great property, who had ſignalized themſelves in defence of the miniſter, were now ennobled and created barons, of Montfort, Ilcheſter, and Chedworth. A camp was formed near Colcheſter; and the king having ſettled the regency, ſet out in May for his German dominions.

Before I proceed to the military and other tranſactions of the year 1741, I muſt take notice, that about the end of the preceding year (1740) the anti-miniſterial party ſuſtained a great loſs by the death of ſir W. Wyndham, who was juſtly regretted as an orator, a patriot, and a man, the ſtrenuous and unvarying aſſertor of the liberties of his country, and one of the chief ornaments of the Britiſh nation.

In the courſe of the ſame year general Oglethorpe, governor of Georgia, had, with ſome ſuccours obtained from the colony of Carolina, and a ſmall ſquadron of the king's ſhips, made an attempt upon Fort Auguſtine, the capital of Spaniſh Florida, and actually reduced ſome ſmall forts in the neighbourhood of that place; but the Carolinians withdrawing in diſguſt, diſſenſions prevailing among the ſea-officers, the hurricane months approaching, and the enemy having received a reinforcement, he abandoned the enterprize, and returned to Gorgia.

It is now time to attend the motions of the grand fleet that left England under ſir Chaloner Ogle, and the progreſs of the war in 1741. This noble armament was overtaken by a violent ſtorm in the Bay of Biſcay, not long after its departure from the Britiſh coaſts, by which the fleet, conſiſting of about one hundred and ſeventy ſail, were ſcattered and diſperſed. Notwithſtanding this misfortune, ſir Chaloner proſecuted his voyage, and anchored in the neighbourhood of Dominica, with a view of providing himſelf with wood and water in that neutral iſland, where the intended expedition received a fatal check, by the death of the brave lord Cathcart, who was carried off by a dyſentery. By his death the command of the land forces devolved upon general Wentworth.

Sir Chaloner having furniſhed his fleet with the ſupplies they ſtood in need of, ſailed from Dominica, in order to join admiral Vernon at Jamaica. As he was coaſting by the iſland of Hiſpaniola, he deſcried four large ſhips; upon which he immediately diſpatched lord Auguſtus Fitzroy with an equal number of his ſquadron to ſpeak to them. Lord Auguſtus came up with and hailed them; they refuſed to anſwer; (they could not ſhew their colours, it being night): upon which his lordſhip ſpoke to them more plainly, from the mouths of his guns; and a ſmart engagement enſued, which laſted moſt part of the night. Upon the appearance of day, the four ſtrange ſhips hoiſted French colours, and were found to be part of the French ſquadron that had ſailed from Europe under the marquis d'Antin, to ſupport the Spaniſh admiral Torres, in caſe he ſhould be attacked by the Engliſh. As war, however, was not as yet declared between our court and that of France, the two commanders made mutual apologies for the miſtake that had happened, and parted as friends, though not without having a conſiderable number of men killed and wounded on each ſide. In the mean time, ſir Chaloner Ogle continuing his route, arrived on the twenty-ſeventh of December at St. Chriſtopher's, the place of general rendezvous, where he was joined by the reſt of the fleet, and all the tranſports and ſtore-ſhips which had been ſeparated from him. The fleet then proceeded for Jamaica, where it arrived on the ninth of January 1741.

This reanimated admiral Vernon with freſh ſpirits, who now found himſelf at the head of the moſt formidable fleet and army that had ever been ſeen in thoſe ſeas, with full power to act as opportunity ſhould offer. The conjoined ſquadrons conſiſted of twenty-nine ſhips of the line, with almoſt an equal number of frigates, fire-ſhips, and bomb-ketches, well manned, and plentifully ſupplied with all kinds of proviſions and warlike ſtores and neceſſaries. The number of ſeamen amounted to fifteen thouſand; that of the land forces, including four regiments of American troops, and a body of negroes enliſted at Jamaica, fell very little ſhort of twelve thouſand. The joy of the admiral was indeed greatly allayed by the news of lord Cathcart's death, whoſe loſs he heartily condoled as a moſt valuable officer; yet as his ſucceſſor, general Wentworth, appeared ſincerely diſpoſed to ſupply that loſs, Mr. Vernon promiſed himſelf that the ſervice would be reſolutely carried on, and with all poſſible harmony between the land and ſea forces. The event, however, proved the reverſe.

Admiral Vernon having received intelligence, from a Spaniſh lieutenant who had been taken priſoner in a ſmall ſloop, that the Breſt and Toulon ſquadrons, under the command of the marquis d'Antin, were arrived at Port Louis, and that the French preparations in Martinico ſeemed to threaten ſome formidable enterprize againſt Jamaica, his whole attention had for ſome time been taken up in concerting ſuch meaſures as might beſt prevent the deſigns of the enemy, and ſecure that valuable iſland. By later advices he had been informed, that the French fleet had ſailed to Hiſpaniola. All which intelligence he laid before a general council of war, held at Spaniſh-town in Jamaica, on the eleventh of January, when it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the whole fleet ſhould beat

beat up to windward, to obſerve the motions of d'Antin. It happened, however, that on the arrival of our fleet off that iſland, we found that the French admiral had ſailed for Europe to recruit himſelf with men and proviſions, having, during his ſtay in thoſe parts, loſt upwards of three thouſand men, and the reſt that ſurvived were reduced to three ounces of bread a day, and that half worms and dirt.

Vernon, diſappointed in this quarter, called another grand council of war on the ſixteenth of February, in which it was determined to proceed directly for Carthagena; which reſolution was afterwards confirmed by a third general council of war, held the twenty-fourth by the four principal military and naval officers, when it was reſolved vigorouſly to attack Carthagena both by ſea and land. The fleet being ſupplied with wood and water at Hiſpaniola, ſet ſail for the continent of New Spain, and on the fourth of March, in the evening, anchored at Playa Grande, to the windward of the town of Carthagena. As it was well known that the Engliſh meditated an attack upon this place, the Spaniards had omitted nothing to put it in a proper poſture of defence. Admiral de Torres, and Don Blas de Lezo, a ſea-officer of great experience and reputation, had already arrived with the Ferrol ſquadron, and reinforced the garriſon, which now amounted to upwards of four thouſand men. The following particulars relating to this place will enable the reader to form a judgment of the nature of the enterprize againſt it.

CARTHAGENA is the capital of a province of the ſame name, on the Terra Firma, in South America, in ten degrees and a half north latitude, and ſeventy-ſeven weſt longitude; three hundred and ten miles eaſt of Porto Bello, and four hundred ſouth of Port Royal in Jamaica. Though the ſea waſhes the walls of Carthagena, the town is inacceſſible on that ſide, by reaſon of the ſurf, the water ſhoaling near a league off, ſo that it can only be approached by the lake that forms the harbour; which laſt is bounded by a number of rocks: beſides, the ſea is ſeldom ſmooth; ſo that landing is at all times very difficult. The only entrance to the harbour is near a league to the weſtward of the city, between two narrow peninſulas, one called the Tierra Bomba, which is neareſt the city; the other, called the Barradera. This paſſage, called Bocca Chica, or the little mouth, was defended on the Tierra Bomba by the caſtle St. Louis, a regular ſquare fortification with four baſtions, mounted with eighty-two guns and three mortars; but the glacis or counterſcarp had not been finiſhed. To this were added fort St. Philip, mounting ſeven guns; fort St. Iago, with fifteen guns; and a ſmall fort of only four guns, called the Battery de Chamba, which ſerved as redoubts to the caſtle of Bocca Chica. On the other ſide of the mouth of the harbour was a faſcine battery of fifteen guns, called the Barradera; and in a ſmall bay on the back of that, another battery of four guns; and facing the entrance of the harbour, on a ſmall flat iſland, ſtood fort St. Joſeph, of twenty-one guns. From this fort to Bocca Chica caſtle a boom of cables were fixed acroſs, faſtened by three large anchors at each end; and juſt within the boom four men of war were moored in a line, on board of which was the Spaniſh admiral. Theſe ſpread ſo far over the extent of the mouth of the harbour, that no ſhip could paſs a-head or a-ſtern of them.

Beyond this paſſage lies the great lake or harbour of Carthagena, ſeveral leagues in circumference, and land-locked on all ſides. About midway to the town it grows narrower, and within about a league of the town, two points of land jutting out form the leſſer harbour. Near the nethermoſt of theſe was the ſtrong fortreſs of Caſtillo Grande, about eight miles up the town, being a regular ſquare with four baſtions, defended to the land by a wet ditch and proper glacis, and one face towards the ſea, with a raveline and double line of guns: the number of guns in the fort was fifty-nine. Oppoſite to this caſtle was a horſe-ſhoe battery of twelve guns, called Mancinilla. In the middle, between the two forts, is a large ſhoal, with not above two or three feet water. In each of theſe were ſhips ſunk, to prevent the Britiſh fleet from getting by.

Near three miles further up the harbour, on two flat ſandy iſlands or keys, ſtands Carthagena, well fortified to the land, with lakes and moraſſes running round it, and defended with one hundred and ſixty guns, and the ſuburbs, called Himani, with one hundred and forty. South of the city, about a mile from Himani-gate, on an eminence about fifty or ſixty feet high, ſtands the caſtle of St. Lazaro, being a ſquare of about fifty feet, with three demi-batteries, and two guns in each face, one in each flank, and three in each curtain: it overlooks all the town.

The admiral having received from captain Knowles (whom he had ſent to reconnoitre the place) the above intelligence, with every other material point relative to its ſituation and ſtrength, directed ſir Chaloner Ogle to proceed with his whole diviſion of ſhips, conſiſting of four of eighty, five of ſixty, and one of fifty guns, beſides frigates and bomb-veſſels, to demoliſh the forts and batteries, and to ſcour all the country between them, ſo as to ſecure a deſcent for the forces. In the mean time general Wentworth, with ſome of the principal land officers, went on board the Lion, to reconnoitre the town, the neighbouring coaſt, and the ſeveral forts.

On the ninth of February the Engliſh forces were landed on Tierra Bomba iſland, near the mouth of Bocca Chica harbour. There they erected a battery, with which they made a breach in the principal fort; while the ſhips under ſir Chaloner Ogle, aſſiſted by thoſe of commodore Leſtock's diviſion, divided the fire of the enemy, and co-operated with the endeavours of the army. The breach in Bocca Chica caſtle being now deemed practicable, general Wentworth reſolved to aſſault it, which was accordingly done. On the twenty-fourth the forts and batteries were abandoned by the enemy: the Spaniſh ſhips that lay athwart the harbour's mouth were taken or deſtroyed: the paſſage was opened; and admiral Vernon, with the whole fleet, got into the harbour, and then lay before Caſtillo Grande, which the enemy likewiſe abandoned, and which was taken poſſeſſion of by captain Knowles, who acted as the admiral's engineer during the whole of this expedition. The forces and artillery that had been landed on Tierra Bomba were now reimbarked,

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and ſailing up the great lake, were ſet on ſhore again within a mile of the city.

Thus far every thing had gone on more proſperouſly than either the admiral or general had apprehended. They were too much elated, however, with this good fortune; for they now diſpatched captain Laws, commander of the Spence ſloop of war, with letters to the duke of Newcaſtle, ſecretary of ſtate, promiſing no leſs than the abſolute reduction of Carthagena: but they were fatally miſtaken; for fort Lazaro remained yet to be taken before they could attack the main body of the place. Beſides, by this time a miſunderſtanding had ariſen between the admiral and general, which ſoon grew to ſuch a height as to impede every operation for the advantage of the public: they maintained a reſerve towards each other: they had their ſeparate parties; and nothing was heard but mutual recriminations. The admiral upbraided the general for his inactivity, in giving the enemy time for compleating the fortifications they had begun at the foot of the hill on which the fort ſtood. The general, on the other hand, accuſed the admiral of dilatorineſs in landing the tents, ſtores, and artillery of the army, which had obliged the troops to lie three whole nights expoſed to the noxious dews, ſo fatal in that climate, which greatly reduced their numbers.

The truth is, that great overſights were committed on both ſides; and indeed each ſeemed more bent upon mortifying his rival than zealous for the honour and intereſt of the nation. Wentworth, however, reſolving to do ſomething, at leaſt in appearance, prepared on the eighth of March to attack fort St Lazaro; but inſtead of beginning the attack in the night, as he ought to have done, he waited till it was almoſt broad day. The guides who were to conduct the troops were alſo killed in the march; the troops miſtook their way, and advanced to the ſtrongeſt part of the fortification, which they could not have mounted, even though they had not had any enemy to oppoſe them. The bravery of the Engliſh on this occaſion was ſuch as almoſt to exceed belief: twelve hundred men, under general Guiſe, paraded on the ſtrand, where they formed, and began the attack with amazing intrepidity, amidſt an inceſſant ſhower of balls and bullets from the artillery and ſmall arms of the Spaniards. Colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, was mortally wounded: the ſcaling ladders were found too ſhort; the officers were perplexed for want of order and directions. Nevertheleſs, the ſoldiers maintained their ground for ſeveral hours with the moſt heroic reſolution, till at length they were drawn off by the general's orders, with the loſs of about ſix hundred of the flower of the army; that is, above half the number of thoſe who marched to this ill-timed, ill-conducted attack. On this occaſion the admiral inveighed in the ſevereſt terms againſt the general, for not acquainting him with his deſign, that he might have ſent a body of ſeamen to aſſiſt in ſcaling the walls. Wentworth on his ſide inſiſted, that, if the admiral had ſent ſhips near enough to have battered the walls of the caſtle and town, when the forces advanced to the attack of fort St. Lazaro, the place might have been taken.

Vernon, in order to diſculpate himſelf of this charge, and to throw the whole blame of the miſcarriage on the general and other land forces, ſent in the Galicia, one of the Spaniſh ſhips which he had taken at Bocca Chica, fitted up as a floating battery, with ſixteen guns on a ſide, to batter the town. This veſſel, manned by detachments of volunteers from different ſhips, and commanded by captain Hore, was warped into the inner harbour, and moored before day as near the walls of the town as poſſible. In this ſituation ſhe kept up a regular fire, expoſed to the artillery from three baſtions, a half-moon, and a ravelin, from five in the morning till near twelve at noon, without ever flagging; but as the vice-admiral ſaw ſhe could do no material ſervice againſt ſtone walls at that diſtance, he ſent orders to captain Hore to bring her off, to prevent her ſinking at her anchors. From this experiment the admiral drew this inference, that there was not depth of water in the inner harbour ſufficient to admit large ſhips near enough to batter the tower with any proſpect of ſucceſs, as the Galicia had been moored in as ſhoal water as the boats could float her anchors.

After the miſcarriage of this attack, all hopes of poſſeſſing the town were entirely vaniſhed: the troops ſickened ſo ſurprizingly faſt, that, according to the account of the general himſelf, no leſs than three thouſand four hundred and forty-five men periſhed in the ſpace of two days, amongſt whom were many of the principal officers. This dreadful viſitation determined the council of war to come to a reſolution to return to Jamaica with the utmoſt expedition. Accordingly, after having entirely demoliſhed all the fortifications, the fleet ſet ſail in the beginning of May, and arrived in Port-Royal harbour on the nineteenth of the ſame month, after a quick and ſafe paſſage.

Thus ended, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe, the diſgrace of the Britiſh arms, and the no ſmall exultation of the enemy, the greateſt attempt that had ever been made in thoſe parts of the world, whether we conſider the ſtrength of the armament, the expence of the undertaking, or the expectations of the public. Upon the news of the firſt ſucceſſes arriving in England, the people were ſeized with a phrenzy of joy: it was in the midſt of the general elections for the approaching new parliament. Not only London and Weſtminſter, but many other places, vied with each other in having Mr. Vernon for their repreſentative. His birth-day was celebrated with demonſtrations of joy, like thoſe which greet a monarch returning in triumph to his capital, after conquering an enemy that threatened his ſtate with deſtruction. All Europe indeed conſidered itſelf as deeply intereſted in the iſſue of this expedition. Spain gave up her monarchy in America for loſt; the French were filled with the moſt dreadful apprehenſions, and gave their ambaſſador at the Hague orders to repreſent the progreſs of the Engliſh in America as the common cauſe of all Europe, which muſt be ruined, ſhould they ſucceed. But I ſhall now proceed to cloſe this account of the naval war in America during the year 1741, with the equally inglorious and fruitleſs expedition againſt Cuba.

On the return of the Britiſh fleet and forces to Jamaica from the ſiege of Carthagena, the remains of the army continued in a feeble and languid condition. The ſhips which came out with ſir Chaloner Ogle were now generally feeble; all which afforded a melancholy ſcene to the ſurvivors of the late fatal expedition. On this occaſion Mr. Vernon,

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to his great honour, acted as the father of the fleet; and it was chiefly owing to the care he had of the ſeamen's proviſions, and of keeping them temperate, that it was not abſolutely ruined. Seven of the eight eighty-gun ſhips being unſheathed, they would have been totally deſtroyed by remaining any longer on ſervice in theſe climates; upon which the admiral very prudently ſent them home, under commodore Leſtock, with four other ſhips of war and ſeveral frigates, with all the ſick land officers, and all the ſoldiers who had been rendered unfit for ſervice, and the homeward-bound fleet of merchantmen.

Mr. Vernon having taken all the neceſſary ſteps towards refitting the remainder of his fleet, and putting it in a proper condition for returning to ſea, in order, if poſſible, to re-eſtabliſh by ſome more ſucceſsful ſtroke, the degraded reputation of the Britiſh arms, called a general council of war for regulating the future proceedings of the ſea and land forces. To this court he produced letters he had received from the adminiſtration at home, preſſing him to attempt the reduction of St. Jago, the capital of the iſland of Cuba. His majeſty, in his inſtructions to the admiral on his leaving England, had indeed mentioned the Havannah, La Vera Cruz, Mexico, Carthagena, and Panama; but by the miſcarriage before Carthagena, the Engliſh were too much reduced to attempt any other place: beſides, de Torres, the Spaniſh admiral, was then in the harbour of the Havannah, with a ſquadron more than equal to that which remained with Vernon. St. Jago de Cuba therefore was the only object our forces could proceed againſt; and the taking it would ſecure Jamaica and the Britiſh trade in thoſe ſeas, and preſerve a communication with Jamaica for ſupplies, and likewiſe cut off the correſpondence between the Spaniards and Hiſpaniola. All theſe conſiderations determined the council of war to declare for this attempt; and the vice-admiral and general Wentworth accordingly gave the neceſſary orders for proceeding on the expedition with all poſſible diſpatch. The people of Jamaica, who were particularly deſirous of this conqueſt, conſidering the great diminution of the land forces, which were by this time reduced to leſs than three thouſand men, put one thouſand of the beſt diſciplined blacks their iſland afforded on board the fleet, which ſet ſail, to the number of nine ſhips of the line, beſides tranſports and ſtore-ſhips, on the twenty-eighth of June; and on the eighteenth of the following month got into Walthenham Bay, about twelve leagues to windward of St. Jago. Here they had the pleaſure to find themſelves in one of the moſt ſpacious and ſafe harbours in the world, perfectly pure and healthy, and ſecure againſt all hurricanes; the admiral immediately gave it the name of Cumberland Harbour, in honour of his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland.

The iſland of Cuba is the largeſt, and far the moſt temperate and pleaſant of all the Antilles, lying between nineteen and twenty-three degrees of north latitude, and from two hundred and ninety-three to three hundred and four degrees of longitude, being about two hundred and thirty leagues in length, and in the broadeſt part forty leagues wide, in the narroweſt about twelve. It has Florida and the Lucayan iſles on the north, Hiſpaniola on the weſt, Jamaica and the ſouthern continent on the ſouth, and the gulph of Mexico on the eaſt. It is a country abounding not only with the neceſſary conveniencies of life, but even with the more delicate bleſſings of nature. St. Jago de Cuba, lying at the eaſtern part of the country, is the moſt ancient in the iſland, and generally eſteemed the capital, though now the governor reſides at the Havannah, whoſe port is much ſuperior to that of St. Jago in its ſituation for trade, though the former is much more commodious for privateers, as it commands the windward paſſage. This city is but very indifferently fortified, the harbour being ſo well ſecured by nature, as to give the Spaniards no reaſon to apprehend any attack from the ſeaward, which is rendered impracticable by the narrowneſs of the harbour's mouth, and the ſingular difficulty of ſhips getting into it, occaſioned by the obſtruction of the eddy-wind that comes down the two hills, on which ſtand the citadel, called the Moro Caſtle, and the Eſtrella, another fort, and which would infallibly drive them on the weſtern ſhore, expoſed to the batteries of the two caſtles.

Mr. Vernon having collected all the neceſſary intelligence relating to the ſituation and ſtrength of the town, port, and citadel of St. Jago, fixed on Cumberland harbour, as the neareſt and moſt commodious ſituation to diſembark the troops for their proceeding to march and attack the town on the land-ſide, where, as they did not expect to be ſurpriſed, the Spaniards were at preſent entirely defenceleſs. The troops were accordingly landed, and encamped at the diſtance of twenty miles farther up the river. Mr. Vernon appeared to entertain very ſanguine hopes of the ſucceſs of this expedition, not doubting but that he ſhould be able to ſecure ſuch a footing in the iſland of Cuba as to render it impoſſible for all the power of Spain to drive us out while we remained maſters of the ſea; and in the warmeſt manner recommended to the general alacrity and diſpatch in his operations by land. Wentworth, however, who ſeemed to make a point of differing in opinion from the admiral, in relation to every object of ſervice, affected to treat the whole deſign as chimerical and impracticable; and having ſent out parties to reconnoitre the country, he on their report (though they met not with the leaſt oppoſition) in a letter to the admiral, abſolutely declined the ſervice, on account of the length of the road, and the inſurmountable difficulty (as he was pleaſed to repreſent it) of bringing up cannon ſufficient to act againſt the place with effect. As the admiral had no compulſive power over the land forces, he was obliged to give way to the opinion of a council of war of the land officers, who, notwithſtanding the admiral gave them poſitive aſſurances of a ſpeedy reinforcement of ſhips and troops from England, declared for an immediate reimbarkation for Jamaica, which was effected on the twentieth of November: and thus was this ſecond expedition abandoned, even before it met with reſiſtance, infinitely more to the diſgrace of the land forces than their late fatal repulſe before Carthagena, where they had indeed done the enemy ſome miſchief, by deſtroying ſix Spaniſh men of war, the like number of galleons, and all the other ſhipping in the harbour, beſides demoliſhing all the fortifications.

The affairs of Europe next call for our attention, which were now involved in greater confuſion than ever. The king of Pruſſia had demanded of the court of Vienna part of Sileſia, by virtue of old treaties of co-fraternity, which were either abſolute or annulled, and promiſed to aſſiſt the queen of Hungary with all his forces in caſe ſhe would comply with his demand, as alſo to ſettle the imperial crown on her huſband. It was eaſily foreſeen, that if the queen refuſed theſe offers, Germany muſt be thrown into a total confuſion; but that princeſs entertained too high a ſenſe of her dignity to conſent to diſmember her patrimony. She was weak, but intrepid. Perhaps ſhe was the more encouraged to this refuſal by the little account in which Europe then held the king of Pruſſia, and the certain aſſurances ſhe had received of being powerfully ſupported by the Britiſh court. The active and diſcerning Pruſſian, however, readily perceived, that the outward grandeur of the court of Vienna was no more than a name, and the ſtate in which Europe then was, would infallibly procure him allies. Accordingly, on the refuſal of his offers, he marched his army into Sileſia in the month of December of the preceding year, and proſecuted his conqueſts with great rapidity.

In the mean while, Maria Thereſa took poſſeſſion of all the dominions which had been left her by her father, and was crowned at Preſburg on the twenty-fourth of June, 1741, N. S. She had gained the hearts of the whole nation by that popular affability which her anceſtors had diſdained to practiſe; but more particularly by conſenting to take the ancient coronation-oath of Andrew II. king of Hungary, made anno 1222, by which the ſovereign promiſes to maintain inviolably the privileges of his ſubjects, on pain of being himſelf treated as a traitor. Her firſt care was to ſecure to her huſband the grand duke a partnerſhip of her crown, under the title of co-regent, to which the ſtates of Auſtria readily conſented. This princeſs flattered herſelf that theſe beginnings would have ſmoothed his way to the imperial throne; but ſhe had no money, and her troops were greatly diminiſhed, or diſperſed in the different parts of her dominions; while Pruſſia, puſhing his vaſt ſucceſs, made his public entrance into Breſlau, and confirmed all the privileges of the inhabitants. One of his generals ſurpriſed the town and fortreſs of Joblunka, on the confines of Hungary. Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Deſſau, who commanded another army, which formed the blockade of Great Glogau on the Oder, took the town by ſcalade, made the generals Wallis and Reyſtic priſoners, and got poſſeſſion of the military cheſt, fifty pieces of braſs cannon, and a great quantity of ammunition.

The queen of Hungary had appointed count Neuperg, one of the moſt experienced generals in Europe, to aſſume the command of her troops in Sileſia, who after ſome time, and with no ſmall difficulty, got together an army of about twenty-four thouſand men, with which he flew to the relief of the invaded province; and the king of Pruſſia found himſelf under the neceſſity of coming to an engagement at Molwitz, near the river Neiſs. This battle, which was fought on Monday the tenth of April, was very obſtinate and bloody, the two armies being nearly equal in point of ſtrength. The engagement laſted from two in the forenoon till half an hour paſt ſix in the evening. In the beginning the Auſtrians put the Pruſſian cavalry into great diſorder, and at length entirely broke that body: they then fell in flank upon the firſt line of the infantry. The battle was thought to be loſt, and the king of Pruſſia was in danger of being made priſoner; but his ſecond line of infantry, by the noble ſtand they made, retrieved the fortune of the day; and in the end the Auſtrians were obliged to retire, which they did in good order, under the cannon of Neiſs, leaving the field of battle to the Pruſſians. This victory, though by no means deciſive, ſerved greatly to raiſe the character of the Pruſſian troops, and the opinion of the military accompliſhments of the young monarch. This battle was ſoon followed by the ſurrender of Neiſs, which, though extremely well fortified, and fully provided for a vigorous defence, ſubmitted after a few days ſiege.

In the mean time, the Auſtrian miniſtry entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes from the reſolutions of the Britiſh parliament, already related; as likewiſe from the arrival of the king of England in his German dominions. Nevertheleſs, they thought it neceſſary ſtrongly to ſollicit the aid and aſſiſtance of the States-general, who, beſides being bound by the moſt ſolemn engagements to ſupport the pragmatic ſanction, were under the ſtrongeſt obligations to the houſe of Auſtria and to his Britannic majeſty. The king of Pruſſia had, however, foreſeen this application; and to counterbalance its effect had given the Dutch to underſtand, that if they intermeddled in the affair, he ſhould inſtantly revive the old pretenſions of his family on part of the eſtates of the principality of Orange. He likewiſe enforced this intimation by a body of ſix thouſand men, which he placed on the Dutch frontiers. In this ſituation, the States thought it moſt prudent to confine themſelves to the milder methods of intreaty and mediation; in which they were joined by his Britannic majeſty, who ordered the earl of Hyndford, his ambaſſador at the court of Pruſſia, to concur with Ginckle, the Dutch miniſter, in preſenting a remonſtrance to the king of Pruſſia againſt continuing his troops any longer in the duchy of Sileſia. To this memorial the count de Podewitz, by order of his Pruſſian majeſty, returned an anſwer, in which he reduced his demands to the Lower Sileſia, with the town of Breſlau, being left to him either by mortgage or otherwiſe, in lieu of his pretenſions to the ſeveral diſtricts he had claimed as his right in that duchy; for which he would not only engage to aſſiſt the queen of Hungary with his whole force, for the preſervation of the late emperor's ſucceſſion, but alſo to give his vote and intereſt to the grand duke for procuring to him the imperial crown. At the ſame time, he perſiſted in his intention to maintain poſſeſſion of the territories he had ſeized, which, he ſaid, could not be conſidered as a violation of the pragmatic ſanction.

The court of Vienna rejected all theſe propoſals with diſdain, adhering in their firſt reſolution to enter into no accommodation, without the previous abandoning of Sileſia by the Pruſſians, tho' at the ſame time they had the greateſt reaſon to believe that France and Bavaria were ſolliciting the alliance of Pruſſia: and this refuſal on the part of the queen of Hungary was, by moſt politicians at that

that time, thought the more impolitic, as Spain and Bavaria had openly avowed their ill intentions againſt the houſe of Auſtria. This, joined to the timidity and irreſolution of the Dutch, ſhould certainly have prevailed on the court of Vienna to have relaxed a little in its obſtinacy, and have ſecured ſo powerful a confederate from France and Bavaria. To this however it may be replied, in defence of her Hungarian majeſty, that her honour and dignity had been wounded in the tendereſt part by the hoſtile proceedings of Pruſſia; that ſhe and her miniſtry had been rendered ſtill more preſumptuous by the proffered friendſhip of Great Britain; and by hearing that the Engliſh parliament had reſolved not only to pay the Danes and Heſſians, but likewiſe to ſupply them with half a million of money for her defence. Nay, the queen had been actually encouraged by our court and by the Dutch to inſiſt upon it as a preliminary in any agreement to be made between her and the king of Pruſſia, that the troops of the latter ſhould withdraw from Sileſia; and even promiſed her hopes of their aſſiſtance, if he refuſed to comply.

By ſome means or other his Pruſſian majeſty had come to the knowlege of this promiſe, as alſo of a ſcheme that had been formed by the Auſtrian miniſtry for a general confederacy againſt him, and a partition of his dominions; in which the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, was allotted a conſiderable ſhare: and as he had received no intimation of ſuch a deſign from England, he immediately concluded that it had been approved by his Britannic majeſty, and from that inſtant vowed an implacable enmity towards the houſe of Auſtria and the Britiſh nation: in conſequence of which, he entered into cloſe connections with the court of Verſailles, the event of which will appear in the ſequel.

France now beheld, with an eye of pleaſure, the period that preſented a favourable opportunity of humbling the houſe of Auſtria, and advancing a poor and powerleſs prince of her own nomination to the imperial throne. This prince was no other than Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, who had, while yet in his infancy, been made priſoner by the Auſtrians after the battle of Hochſtet, and ſtripped even of his title of Bavaria. France found her account in ſetting up this prince: ſhe thought it would be no difficult matter to procure for him, at one and the ſame time, the empire, and a part of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion; by which means the Lorraine branch of Auſtria would be deprived of that ſuperiority which the old one affected to have over the other princes of Europe, and the old rivalſhip ſubſiſting between the dependents of Bourbon and Auſtria would be aboliſhed.

Flattering as theſe proſpects ſeemed, the French miniſtry heſitated for ſome time; nay, they even continued to give the queen of Hungary the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the good intentions of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. Cardinal de Fleury, the prime miniſter of France, was then in his eighty-fifth year, and was fearful of ſtaking his reputation, his old age, and his country, on the hazard of a new war. He alſo thought himſelf reſtrained by the pragmatic ſanction, to which he had acceded, and authentically guarantied. Though Fleury was not diſtinguiſhed either by the genius of Richelieu or the abilities of Mazarine, yet, while ſuffered to purſue his own plans, he was a more uſeful member than either to his country. On this occaſion, however, he was forced to give way; for no ſooner was it known at the court of Verſailles that the houſe of Brandenbourg had divided itſelf from that of Auſtria, than the whole French nation cried aloud for war. His moſt Chriſtian majeſty himſelf was brought over to the party of thoſe who oppoſed the pacific ſchemes of the cardinal miniſter; and the latter, about the beginning of the year, was compelled to ſend inſtructions to the marſhal count de Belleiſle (afterwards duke) to prepare a plan for negotiating in Europe the means of carrying on a war, to fix the elector of Bavaria on the imperial throne, and ſecure to him part of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion.

Belleiſle readily obeyed orders ſo agreeable to his own views, and of which he himſelf indeed had been the principal promoter: he drew up his ſcheme, and never did the execution of any project appear more certain. It imported, that before the month of June 1741, fifty thouſand French troops ſhould paſs the Rhine towards the Danube; that an army of forty thouſand ſhould be formed on the ſide of Weſtphalia, in order to overawe the electorate of Hanover, while Saxony (who ſeemed inclined to join the confederacy) Pruſſia, and Bavaria, were to have been ſeconded by the army on the Rhine, by advancing towards the Danube. The elector of Cologn alſo attached himſelf to this intereſt, being that of his brother the intended emperor. The old elector palatine alſo joined to ſet Bavaria on the imperial throne, in whoſe favour every thing ſeemed united. He was to be aſſiſted in ſeizing upon Auſtria, Suabia, and Bohemia; for the imperial dignity alone would have been hardly worth acceptance. This alliance was moreover to join Spain, in order to put Don Philip, ſon of Philip V. and nearly related to Lewis XV. in poſſeſſion of Parma and the Milaneſe.

This ſcheme was ſo well reliſhed by the warlike party in the French court, that they propoſed its being carried into immediate execution; to which they were the more particularly encouraged, by hearing of the miſcarriage of the Engliſh attempts againſt the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Weſt Indies. The marſhal count de Belleiſle was diſpatched to the court of Munich, where he had an interview with the elector of Bavaria at his palace of Nymphenburgh, and concluded a treaty there between the French king and the elector, whereby his moſt Chriſtian majeſty engaged "to get the elector acknowleged emperor, and to aſſiſt him, in caſe of oppoſition, with his whole force; and, in return, the elector ſtipulated, if he obtained the imperial dignity, that he would never attempt to recover any of the imperial towns or provinces conquered by France, unleſs the king ſhould be inclined to reſtore them; and if ſo, the elector was to reimburſe his majeſty forty-five millions of livres for his expences in ſupporting the election. The elector alſo promiſed to renounce the barrier-treaty, and agreed, that whatever conqueſts France ſhould make in the Netherlands, ſhe ſhould irrevocably keep."

The French having now received a large ſum of money from Madrid, began to put their troops in motion; and his Chriſtian majeſty publiſhed a declaration towards the cloſe of this ſummer, importing, "That the king of Great Britain having

aſſembled an army in Germany (meaning about twenty-ſix thouſand men which, as elector of Hanover, he had on foot in thoſe parts of his dominions) he, as guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia, was reſolved, without prejudice to the pragmatic ſanction, to ſend a body of forces to the Rhine, in order to ſecure the freedom of the approaching election of an emperor, and to be ready to aſſiſt thoſe princes who might call upon him for the performance of his engagements."

Belleiſle was now appointed to carry his own ſcheme into execution, under the double character of ambaſſador and general. He had an interview with his Pruſſian majeſty in his camp at Franckfort. That monarch, from the motives we have already related, was ready to enter with the greateſt cordiality into an alliance with France, and a treaty was concluded on the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, whereby it was agreed, "That the elector of Bavaria ſhould be choſen emperor, and ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Bohemia, the Upper Auſtria, and Tyrol: that the elector of Saxony, if he joined the confederacy, ſhould enjoy the Upper Sileſia and Moravia: and that the Lower Sileſia, the town and territory of Neiſs, and the town and country of Glatz, ſhould remain to the king of Pruſſia." The marſhal next repaired to the court of Dreſden; and the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, being informed of the advantageous terms that were ſtipulated for him, ordered his troops to join the allies even before he had ſigned the treaty.

Immediately on the concluſion of this treaty, the elector of Bavaria commenced his military operations by aſſembling his forces, conſiſting of thirty thouſand men, in a camp near Scharding, where they were ſoon after joined by an army of forty thouſand French, under the command of the marſhals Broglio and Belleiſle, who had paſſed the Rhine and entered Bavaria. At the ſame time the elector received a patent from the moſt Chriſtian king, appointing him his lieutenant-general, with full power and authority to command the French auxiliary army in Germany, wherever there ſhould be occaſion.

The elector thus ſtrengthened, declared war againſt the queen of Hungary, by the title of grand ducheſs of Tuſcany, and eaſily penetrated into Auſtria; while that hapleſs princeſs was ſcarcely able to oppoſe the king of Pruſſia. Bavaria ſoon made himſelf maſter of Paſſau, a ſtrong city ſituate at the confluence of the Danube, Inn, and Ilts, belonging to cardinal Lemberg, biſhop of that ſee. This city was the key from Bavaria into Upper Auſtria. He afterwards took poſſeſſion of Lintz, the capital of the lower territory; and from thence ſent a ſummons to count Khevenhuller, governor of Vienna, and ſpread conſternation to the very gates of that metropolis.

Another body of French troops, to the number of thirty-five thouſand men, commanded by marſhal Maillebois, quitted their camp at Sedan, a town of Champagne in France, and marched ſo far into Weſtphalia as to appear on the frontiers of Hanover. The views of France in this manœuvre were to frighten the miniſtry of Hanover into a neutrality. The king of England was then in his electorate, and the whole of his forces compoſed a body of no more than twenty-ſix thouſand men. Theſe were too inſufficient to oppoſe ſuch a numerous army; and the king of Pruſſia having another conſiderable body of troops upon the other ſide of the Hanoverian dominions, ſo conveniently poſted, that the greateſt part of the electorate might have been deſtroyed by it in leſs than twenty-four hours, his Britannic majeſty in theſe circumſtances was obliged to think of neutral meaſures for Hanover; and a convention for the neutrality of that electorate was ſigned there upon the ſixteenth of September.

The news of this ſurpriſing event ſtruck the whole court of Vienna with unſpeakable conſternation, to find itſelf abandoned at this melancholy juncture. Not one of the princes, either within the empire or without, at this time, ſupported that pragmatic ſanction which ſo many of them had guarantied. Vienna, poorly fortified on that ſide where it was threatened, could not have held out long; or indeed the taking of it ſeemed rather a certainty. The Dutch beheld unmoved the army under Mallebois parade it in Weſtphalia: the king of Great Britain, at the very inſtant he was ready to march to the aſſiſtance of the diſtreſſed queen, at the head of an army he had aſſembled for that purpoſe, was obliged to lay down his arms to ſecure the ſafety of his own electorate, and to ſwell the number of her foes: the queen of Spain, another Semiramis in ambition, who governed entirely the Spaniſh court, had cauſed it to publiſh a memorial, alleging the pretenſions of that crown to all the dominions poſſeſſed by the late emperor.

Thus the queen of Hungary, almoſt before ſhe had been inveſted with the regal purple, found herſelf ſurrounded by a troop of foes, rapacious and eager to devour the four poſſeſſions bequeathed to her by her anceſtors. In this diſtreſsful ſituation, however, this princeſs gave proofs of a magnanimity equal to that of the moſt renowned heroes of antiquity, without the leaſt alloy of that weakneſs liable to her ſex. She quitted Vienna, and threw herſelf into the arms of the Hungarians. Having aſſembled the four orders of the ſtate at Preſburg on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, ſhe appeared in the midſt of them, holding in her arms her eldeſt ſon, who was yet a cradle infant; and addreſſing them in Latin, a language in which ſhe expreſſed herſelf perfectly well, ſpoke nearly in theſe words: "The perplexed ſituation, ſaid ſhe, to which, by the permiſſion of Divine Providence, I find myſelf reduced, is attended with ſuch dangerous circumſtances, that I have no hopes of extricating myſelf from it without ſpeedy and powerful ſuccours. Abandoned by my friends, perſecuted by my enemies, attacked by my neareſt relations, I have no other reſource left but to ſtay in this kingdom, and commit my perſon, my children, my ſceptre, my crown, to the care of my faithful ſubjects. I do not heſitate to intruſt them with all: their loyalty and bravery leave me no room to doubt but they will exert all their ſtrength, ſpeedily and reſolutely, to defend me and themſelves in this melancholy conjuncture."

All the Palatines, at once ſoftened and animated by this pathetic ſpeech, drawing forth their ſabres, exclaimed as one man, "Moriamur pro rege noſtro Maria-Thereſa! We will die for our king Maria-Thereſa!" they always ſpeaking of the ſovereign in the maſculine gender. Nor was this a ſudden burſt of affection only called forth by the preſent

preſent view of majeſty in diſtreſs; their real actions correſponded with their words. Before they roſe they paſſed a decree againſt the elector of Bavaria, which they made perpetual, for excluding that prince and his family for ever from the crown of Hungary. The whole nobility inſtantly armed themſelves and their followers. Old count Palfy, whom the queen uſed always to ſtile affectionately her father Palfy, marched to the relief of Vienna with thirty thouſand men; Khevenhuller had raiſed a body of twelve thouſand; Neuperg was in Bohemia at the head of about twenty thouſand; the grand duke, and his brother prince Charles of Lorraine, who was the delight of the Auſtrian ſoldiery, commanded another large army; and prince Lobkowitz, count Berenklau, count Traun, with many other officers of diſtinction, exerted themſelves ſtrenuouſly in defence of their beloved queen, than whom no ſovereign was ever better ſerved by her ſubjects, and no one ever better deſerved it. Several fortunate circumſtances alſo concurred about this time to ſave her majeſty from the ruin which threatened to overwhelm her.

Cardinal de Fleury, ſtill deſirous of peace, tho' hurried againſt his inclinations into a war, was very ſlow in furniſhing Belleiſle with the neceſſary ſupplies for effecting his extenſive ſcheme. In particular, he furniſhed him only with ten thouſand cavalry, though the marſhal had always declared that he could not anſwer for ſucceſs without double the number; and his allies could not furniſh him with the other neceſſaries he ſtood in need of, without too much diſtreſſing themſelves. The elector of Bavaria alſo was guilty of a moſt imprudent and impolitic meaſure; for inſtead of advancing to the attack of Vienna (which every one expected) while the inhabitants were in the depth of conſternation, and would in all probability have made little or no reſiſtance, after leaving twelve thouſand men under count Segur, to guard the banks of the river Inn, and preſerve his communication with Bavaria, towards the middle of October he turned off towards Bohemia, and allowed the Auſtrians to recover from their panic, and prepare themſelves for a vigorous defence of Vienna.

The active Khevenhuller, who was univerſally eſteemed the braveſt of the Auſtrian generals, failed not to improve this incident to the advantage of his royal miſtreſs, and marched at the head of a powerful army into Bohemia, with a view of covering Prague, or bringing the fate of Germany to the iſſue of a battle. In this however he failed; for the elector of Saxony, who had by this time declared againſt the queen of Hungary, tho' indebted to her father for his crown of Poland, had joined his troops, under count Rutowſki, to thoſe of the Bavarian and French, who, on the tenth of November, advanced to Prague, the capital of Bohemia, without any reſiſtance; and being then upwards of ſixty thouſand ſtrong, and the garriſon conſiſting only of three thouſand men, they took the place by ſcalade, and made general Ogilvy, who commanded therein, priſoner, together with his whole garriſon.

The grand duke and count Khevenhuller were already within five leagues of Prague when it was taken; but being unable to prevent its fate, and finding ſubſiſtence fail in the quarters which they occupied, he retired to the ſouthern part of the province. There they divided their army into three bodies. The grand duke commanded one, prince Lobkowitz another, and Khevenhuller a third: the two firſt gained a great many advantages, which it would be tedious to enumerate; but the moſt important affair was conducted by Khevenhuller, who marched againſt M. Segur, whom the elector of Bavaria had left commander of the forces in Auſtria. Him Khevenhuller attacked and defeated; and encouraged by theſe ſucceſſes, advanced to Lintz, the capital of Upper Auſtria, which he inveſted. The place was defended by a garriſon of ten thouſand Bavarians and French; but the count being joined by the army under the grand duke, carried on his attacks with ſuch impetuoſity, that the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender, on condition of not ſerving for one whole year againſt her Hungarian majeſty.

In the mean time, the elector of Bavaria being in poſſeſſion of Prague, the court of France now put in execution the plan of promoting him to the imperial dignity. The miniſtry of Verſailles had previouſly intereſted the electoral powers in his favour; and he being crowned king of Bohemia at Prague on the ſixteenth of December, whereby the vote of that kingdom was ſuppreſſed, there remained no obſtacle to his advancement, and he was elected emperor by the majority of ſuffrages in the electoral college on the twelfth of February following, on which very day he received information of the misfortune he had ſuſtained in the loſs of Lintz.

France, however, thinking its work but half done while the queen of Hungary, its devoted victim, had a town left wherein to ſhelter her head from the ſtorm that ſurrounded her, had employed its emiſſaries at Conſtantinople, to excite the Ottoman forces to augment the enemies of this wretched princeſs; in which caſe ſhe muſt have inevitably been undone. In this alarming conjuncture, ſhe wrote a letter with her own hand to the grand ſeignior, who, with a magnanimity that might do honour to the beſt of Chriſtian princes, aſſured her in return, that, far from taking advantage of her diſtreſſes, he ſhould ſeize all opportunities to convince her of his friendſhip. The pope permitted her to levy a tenth on the revenues of the clergy within her dominions, and even to uſe all the church plate, for the ſupport of the war. The czarina having alſo expreſſed an inclination to aſſiſt this unfortunate princeſs, the French reſolved to find her employment in another quarter, by perſuading the Swedes to declare war againſt Ruſſia, which they accordingly did, on the moſt frivolous pretences; and having aſſembled a numerous army in Finland, and equipped a large ſquadron of ſhips, they commenced hoſtilities, by blocking up the Ruſſian ports in Livonia; but a large detachment of their army being defeated by the Ruſſians near Wylmanſtrandt, that fortreſs was immediately after taken from them by aſſault; and the revolution in Ruſſia happening ſoon afterwards, by which the princeſs of Mecklenburgh and the infant czar were depoſed, and the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of the late Peter the Great, raiſed to the throne of Ruſſia, a ceſſation of arms was agreed upon in December between the two powers.

Though deprived by this event of the ſuccour which ſhe had ſo much reaſon to expect from the friendſhip of the depoſed princeſs; yet fortune on a ſudden ſeemed to relax of her ſeverity in favour of

Maria-Thereſa; for while marſhal Khevenhuller was beſieging Lintz, general Bernes ſeized the great magazine which the French and Bavarians had eſtabliſhed at Cremſmunſter; and general Berenklau, in his march towards Bavaria, maſtered the towns of Hallſtadt and Iſchel, making the garriſon, conſiſting of four hundred men, priſoners; and proſecuting his ſucceſſes, opened a way for the huſſars to make incurſions very far into the electoral dominions. Soon after he joined colonel Mentzel with a body of troops under his command; and they proceeding together, attacked the Bavarians at the village of Wittich, and obtained a complete victory, in which the enemy loſt upwards of three thouſand men, and their general, Preyſing, was taken priſoner. By theſe and other unlooked-for ſucceſſes, her Hungarian majeſty recovered Auſtria, and procured winter-quarters for her troops in Bavaria.

As the campaign terminated with an auſpicious proſpect in favour of the queen of Hungary, againſt the confederate army, it will be now requiſite to take a view of the ſituation of affairs in her Italian dominions.

The miniſters of France and Spain had omitted no ſollicitations to engage the king of Sardinia in the alliance againſt her: but this prince, jealous of the Spaniards gaining any ſettlement in Italy, determined to eſpouſe the cauſe of the houſe of Auſtria; and not only denied a paſſage through Piedmont for fifteen thouſand French troops to join the Spaniards, but alſo formed two camps on his frontiers, to oppoſe the entrance of the Spaniards into his country, which compelled them to run the hazard of ſending their troops by ſea. The republic of Genoa was deeply engaged in the French intereſt: the pope, the Venetians, and the duchy of Tuſcany, were neutral. The king of the Two Sicilies, awed by the Britiſh fleet, had hitherto profeſſed a like neutrality; but being evidently attached to the Spaniſh intereſt, privately reſolved to aſſiſt that court againſt the queen of Hungary.

I have already obſerved, that the queen of Spain had formed a plan for erecting the Auſtrian dominions in Italy into a monarchy for her ſecond ſon Philip; and no ſooner was the court of Spain aſcertained of our king's having ſigned a neutrality for his Hanoverian dominions, than they embarked a body of fifteen thouſand men under the duke de Montemar, captain-general of Spain, at Barcelona, which were tranſported to Orbittello, on the coaſt of Tuſcany, under convoy of the united ſquadrons of France and Spain, in the month of October. The Britiſh admiral Haddock was then lying at anchor in the bay of Gibraltar with a fleet of twelve ſhips of the line, who no ſooner heard of the Spaniſh fleet paſſing the Streights than he put to ſea after them. He fell in with them in a few days, but to his great mortification found that they had been joined by the French ſquadron at Toulon, and ſaw the ſhips of the two nations drawn up in line of battle. As he bore down upon the Spaniſh fleet, the French admiral ſent a flag of truce to inform him, that as the French and Spaniards were engaged in a joint expedition, he ſhould be obliged to act in concert with his maſter's allies. Thus circumſtanced, our admiral was obliged to decline the engagement, the force of the combined fleets being double that of the Engliſh ſquadron, and to make the beſt of his way for Port Mahon, leaving the enemy to proſecute their voyage without moleſtation. But it was too late in the year for the Spaniards to commence any military deſigns; therefore they put their troops into winter quarters, waiting for a reinforcement from Spain and the return of ſpring, before they attempted any thing farther to diſturb the repoſe of her Hungarian majeſty's dominions in Italy.

Although king George, as elector of Hanover, had been obliged to deſert the cauſe of this princeſs; yet he did not fail, as king of Great Britain, to eſpouſe it to the utmoſt. He had the pleaſure to ſee his opinion warmly eſpouſed by all his ſubjects, who were univerſally warmed in her favour. The ducheſs of Marlborough, whoſe deceaſed huſband had fought for Charles VI. aſſembled the principal ladies of diſtinction in London, whom ſhe induced to advance for this cauſe one hundred thouſand pounds, forty thouſand of which ſhe laid down herſelf. The queen of Hungary however nobly declined accepting the money, chuſing rather to wait for ſuch ſums as might be granted to her by the nation in parliament aſſembled.

The king returned to England in the month of October, and on the firſt day of December the ſeſſion was opened, Mr. Onſlow being re-choſen ſpeaker. Never had there been a more violent conteſt than that occaſioned by the late elections for the new parliament. The miniſter, ſecure in his own influence, was unpardonably remiſs in ſolliciting his friends on this occaſion. The minority beheld with pleaſure this overſight, which they converted to their own advantage, and exerted themſelves with ſuch diligence, that they obtained at leaſt an equality of voices.

His majeſty, in his ſpeech to both houſes, ſaid, "That, agreeable to the advice of his parliament, by whoſe advice and concurrence he had undertaken the preſent war, he had ordered the chief operations to be carried on in the Weſt Indies: that he needed not inform them of the powerful confederacy which had been formed againſt her Hungarian majeſty; that was a matter too generally known to require any particular explanation: that had other powers, who lay under the like obligations with himſelf, been as punctual in fulfilling their engagements, the ſupport of the common cauſe would have been attended with leſs difficulty: that he had, purſuant to the advice of his parliament, ever ſince the death of the late emperor, exerted himſelf in ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria; he had endeavoured, by the moſt proper and early applications, to induce other powers who were equally engaged with him, and united by common intereſt, to concert ſuch meaſures as ſo important and critical a conjuncture demanded; and where an accommodation ſeemed to him neceſſary, he had laboured to reconcile thoſe princes, whoſe union would have been the moſt effectual means to prevent the miſchiefs which had happened, and to ſecure the intereſt and ſafety of the whole: that although his endeavours had not hitherto had the deſired effect, he could not but ſtill hope, that a juſt ſenſe of the common and imminent danger would produce a more favourable turn in the councils of other nations: that he hoped the parliament would think it expedient to put the nation in ſuch a condition as might enable it to aſſiſt its friends,

and

and defeat its enemies; and he flattered himſelf they would make it their ſtudy to proceed with unanimity, vigour, and diſpatch, in all their deliberations."

After this ſpeech had been reported to the commons by their ſpeaker, Mr. Herbert (afterwards earl of Powis) moved for an addreſs of thanks, including an approbation of the means by which the war had been proſecuted. This motion being ſeconded by Mr. Trevor, lord Noel Somerſet, afterwards duke of Beaufort, ſtood up, and moved that it ſhould be inſerted in the addreſs, "that his majeſty ſhould not engage theſe kingdoms in a war for the preſervation of his foreign dominions." He was ſeconded by Mr. Shippen, who had remarkably diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his conſiſtency of principles, through a long courſe of parliamentary attendance, and who on this occaſion was an eminent proof of the acquiſition liberty of ſpeech in that houſe had made ſince himſelf was committed to the Tower for an expreſſion which at this time would have paſſed unnoticed. Mr. Gibbon, an ancient member, who had been always in the oppoſition, obſerved, that it would be the higheſt abſurdity to return thanks for the proſecution of a war which had been egregiouſly miſmanaged. Sir Robert Walpole having made a ſhort ſpeech in defence of the firſt motion for an addreſs, was anſwered by Mr. Pulteney, who, after entering into a long detail of the miniſter's conduct, which he cenſured in every point, ſuffered himſelf to be ſo far carried away by the heat of his imagination, and the acrimony of his animoſity, as to charge ſir Robert in direct terms with perſonal attachment and affection to the enemies of his country; an exaggeration which took greatly from the force of his other arguments, which were founded on real facts. After much debate, the miniſter agreed to leave out the paragraph approving of the manner in which the war had been proſecuted; and the addreſs paſſed in the following terms: "We will, ſaid they, grant ſuch effectual ſupplies as ſhall enable your majeſty not only to be in a readineſs to ſupport your friends and allies, at ſuch time and in ſuch manner as the exigency and circumſtance of affairs ſhall require, but to oppoſe and defeat any attempts that ſhall be made againſt your majeſty, your crown, and kingdom; or againſt thoſe who, being equally engaged with your majeſty, by the faith of treaties, or united by the common intereſt or common danger, ſhall be willing to concert ſuch meaſures as ſhall be found neceſſary and expedient for maintaining the balance of power in Europe."

The coldneſs of this addreſs tended greatly to the prejudice of the miniſter: his mercenary friends ſuſpecting his power was upon the decline, began by degrees to forſake him; and thoſe who followed him from principle, imagined that he had been too negligent in the intereſts of a maſter who had ſo highly favoured him. The miniſter alſo at this time committed another piece of miſconduct which did him infinite prejudice: this was the ſetting up for chairman of the committee of elections, a perſon who was very little eſteemed by either party *, againſt one whoſe intereſt was warmly eſpouſed by the adverſe faction, and was in his own character unexceptionable †. This queſtion being carried againſt the miniſter, gave a mortal damp to his intereſt, and was the prelude to ſtill greater mortifications that awaited him; for the oppoſition in the houſe of commons finding their aſcendancy, ſoon manifeſted the force of their ſuperiority, which was ſeen in the debates on the controverted elections for Boſſinney in Cornwall, the city of Weſtminſter, the ſhire of Berwick, and Clapperton in Wiltſhire, which were all decided in favour of the oppoſition.

At that for Weſtminſter, a party of ſoldiers being called on pretence of a riot, the poll books were ſhut, and the two court candidates, lord Sundon and ſir Charles Wager, returned by the high bailiff. The electors of Weſtminſter hereupon preſented a petition, which being taken into conſideration, the election was declared void, the high bailiff committed to cuſtody, the juſtices who ſent for the ſoldiers reprimanded on their knees at the bar of the houſe, and a writ ordered for a new election, when lord Percival and Mr. Edwin were choſen. When the election was declared void, there were great rejoicings throughout the city of Weſtminſter. The court loſt this election by a majority of two only (viz. two hundred and twenty-two againſt two hundred and twenty.) This however ſerved evidently to demonſtrate the declenſion of the miniſter's intereſt, and the concluſion of his influence in the houſe of commons; and he himſelf was convinced it was high time to provide for his own ſafety, by retiring from a place where the majority of a ſingle voice might at any time have ſent him to the Tower. He had however the conſolation of being certain to find the royal protection extend, as far as it conſtitutionally could, to ſecure his perſon from the rage and fury of the times. He therefore continued to give his attendance in the houſe till the ſecond of February, and even during that time carried ſome points againſt the oppoſition; but the deciſion of the Chippenham election on that day being carried againſt him only by one vote, and he having been very roughly handled in the courſe of the debate, he came out of the houſe, and in the lobby declared he would never enter it more.

This declaration was not ſo ſoon expected either by his friends or his enemies, and ſeems chiefly to have been accelerated by the repulſe ſir Robert met with in an attempt which, if it had ſucceeded, would probably, by dividing the oppoſition, have ſecured him a longer political reign.

His royal highneſs the prince of Wales, who was juſtly the darling of the whole nation, eſteeming ſir Robert Walpole as a bar between the king and his people, between the king and foreign powers, and between the king and himſelf, ſtood in the front of the oppoſition, and had for ſome years lived at a diſtance from his royal father's preſence. Sir Robert therefore, finding himſelf ſo cloſely hunted, was reſolved to try, as the laſt expedient, to reconcile the king and prince, and thereby bring the latter off from the country party. With this view Dr. Secker, biſhop of Oxford, and now archbiſhop of Canterbury, was ſent

* Mr. Earl.

† Dr. Lee.

to the prince with a meſſage, importing, that if his royal highneſs would write a ſubmiſſive letter to his majeſty, fifty thouſand pounds ſhould be added to his annual income, two hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be given him to pay his debts, he and his friends ſhould be readmitted into the royal favour, and ſuitable proviſions ſhould be made for them all. To this meſſage the prince replied with the ſtrongeſt proteſtations of duty towards his majeſty, but declared he could agree to no terms till he was removed. It was this anſwer that determined the miniſter to withdraw from power; but as it required ſome time to deliberate upon the firſt changes, it was requiſite to adjourn the houſe. Accordingly, on the third of February his majeſty came to the parliament, and adjourned both houſes to the eighteenth. In this interim ſir Robert Walpole was, on the eighth of February, created by his majeſty, baron of Haughton, viſcount Walpole, and earl of Orford; and on the eleventh he reſigned all his employments.

As the firſt happy effect of the change in the miniſtry, his royal highneſs waited on his majeſty at St. James's, attended by a great concourſe of nobility and other perſons of diſtinction; was received in a moſt gracious manner; and a guard was immediately ordered to attend his royal highneſs at Carleton-houſe. This happy reconciliation, with the change of the miniſtry, was celebrated with public rejoicings. It was now expected the national honour would be retrieved, and ſuch meaſures purſued as would be moſt conducive to the reſtoring and maintaining the ancient conſtitution, and to concur in making the ſtricteſt enquiry into the cauſe of paſt miſmanagements. It ſoon appeared, however, that the removal of ſir Robert Walpole had wrought no material alteration in the meaſures of the miniſtry, though ſome changes in the higher departments of government were abſolutely neceſſary: therefore, on the reſignation of ſir Robert Walpole, Mr. Sandys, who had long perſevered in oppoſing him, and had led on the attack againſt him in parliament, now ſucceeded him in his place of chancellor of the Exchequer, and was likewiſe appointed a lord of the Treaſury; and the earl of Wilmington ſucceeded him as firſt commiſſioner of that board. Lord Harrington, being dignified with the title of earl, was declared preſident of the council; and in his room lord Carteret became ſecretary of ſtate, jointly with the duke of Newcaſtle, who continued in his place as the other ſecretary. The duke of Argyll was made maſter-general of the ordnance, colonel of his majeſty's royal regiment of horſe-guards, and field-mareſchal and commander in chief of all the forces in South Britain; but ſoon after conceiving ſome diſguſt, he reſigned all his employments with the utmoſt indignation. The marquis of Tweedale was appointed ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland; a poſt which had been long ſuppreſſed; Mr. Pulteney was re-admitted to his ſeat in the privy-council, but, agreeable to the promiſes which he had made to the party, declined accepting of any place; the earl of Winchelſea and Nottingham was preferred to the head of the admiralty, in the room of ſir Charles Wager; and, after the reſignation of the duke of Argyll, the earl of Stair was appointed field-mareſchal of his majeſty's forces, and ambaſſador-extraordinary to the States-general.

As the Whigs who had confederated in the oppoſition never intended to continue an alliance with the Tories, any further than the removal of the miniſter, and an alteration in his ſyſtem of politics; they endeavoured to keep that party from the lead in government, and to prevent them from engroſſing any material charge in the adminiſtration. As the choice of thoſe already preferred had fallen principally upon the Whigs, it adminiſtered matter of great jealouſy to, and was conſidered as an ill omen by the Tories, who expected nothing leſs than to be admitted into a coalition of power; and though his majeſty had already ſupplied the principal miniſterial poſts with perſons who had long been moſt confided in by the people, the Tories had very juſt ſuſpicions they were to be deſerted by thoſe gentlemen in power; and that none, or only a very few of the Tories, would be permitted to preſide in the government. The duke of Argyll in particular was ſo diſguſted at this proceeding, that he with the utmoſt reſentment again threw up all his places, and was ſucceeded by the duke of Montagu in that of maſter of the ordnance.

The parliament met, purſuant to their adjournment, on the eighteenth of February, 1742, when petitions having been preſented by the merchants of London, Briſtol, Liverpool, Glaſgow, and many other trading towns in the kingdom, complaining of the loſſes they had ſuſtained by the bad conduct of the war; the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee to deliberate on theſe remonſtrances. The articles of the London petition were explained by Mr. Glover, an eminent merchant of that city, and author of the well-known poem of Leonidas. Six days were ſpent in peruſing papers and examining witneſſes; then the ſame gentleman ſummed up the evidence, and pathetically and eloquently expatiated upon the hardſhips ſuſtained by the Britiſh merchants, and the indifference, diſregard, and haughtineſs, ſhewn to them from the admiralty upon ſeveral applications, which he repreſented as the reſult of one uniform and continued deſign to make the merchants uneaſy with the war. He concluded with obſerving, that the Britiſh trade in this its day of oppreſſion, threw itſelf upon the protection of a Britiſh parliament, in full hopes of that wiſe and auguſt aſſembly taking their caſe into conſideration, and of providing for their future ſecurity by a law. The parliament paid a due regard to theſe petitions, and entered into vigorous reſolutions for the better protection of the Britiſh trade and commerce for the future. Accordingly, a number of ſmall men of war were appointed to cruize in the Channel and about the coaſts, to ſecure the merchant ſhips from the inſults of the Spaniſh privateers.

It was hoped, that in conſequence of the late change in the miniſtry, the great aſſembly of the nation would have become again the ſeat of concord: but alas! theſe hopes were quickly blaſted; and it appeared too plainly that thoſe who had declaimed the loudeſt for the liberties of their country, had been actuated ſolely by the moſt ſordid views of ſelf-intereſt. The members of the long oppoſition were now divided: thoſe who were in power, joined by ſome of the late miniſterial friends, and promoting others of their own, obtained a viſible aſcendancy in the parliament; many of the leading Tories were neglected by the miniſtry;

party began again to kindle; and another oppoſition quickly diſcloſed itſelf. Whigs and Tories were blended in ſuch confuſion, ſome in and others out of employ, that there was hardly making any diſtinction.

The public voice was at this time unanimous for an enquiry into the adminiſtration of ſir Robert Walpole. The crime they imputed to him was that of applying not only all the favours of the crown, but even the public money, towards gaining a corrupt influence at elections and in parliament; and in their frenzy of reſentment, nothing leſs was expected as an atonement than the loſs of his life, his honours, and the utter ruin of his family. The wiſer and more moderate part of the ſenate, however, were diſinclined to take ſuch ſevere revenge on a miſtaken man, who, though he might have treſpaſſed upon the power in his hands, yet the laws might have been tortured more to have reached him capitally, than he had ſtrained his power to maintain himſelf; and therefore at the ſame time they concurred in detecting and expoſing the miſmanagement of his adminiſtration, in order to gratify the wiſhes of the nation, they at the ſame time determined to protect him from the rage and violence of party fury.

On the ninth day of March the lord viſcount Limerick moved the houſe of commons, that a committee might be appointed to enquire into the conduct of affairs at home and abroad for the laſt twenty years (the ſpace of time the late miniſter had been at the helm.) He was ſeconded by ſir John St. Aubyn, Mr. W. Pitt, and lord Percival, the new member for Weſtminſter. The motion was oppoſed by ſir Charles Wager, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Henry Fox. Several of the members, who were otherwiſe inclined to have favoured the motion, oppoſed it alſo, becauſe they apprehended it to be too extenſive, both as to time and matter; and that an enquiry for ſo long time back was without a precedent, and if allowed would be ſuch a precedent as might be of dangerous conſequence in future times. In fine, the motion, after a long debate, was rejected by a majority of two. Not diſcouraged by this diſappointment, the ſame nobleman, on March 23, made another motion, "That a committee be appointed to enquire into the conduct of Robert earl of Orford, during the laſt ten years of his being firſt commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and chancellor and under-treaſurer of his majeſty's Exchequer," which was carried in the affirmative by a majority of ſeven; and the houſe reſolved, "That a committee of ſecrecy, in number twenty-one, ſhould be choſen by balloting;" and in the mean time preſented an addreſs to the king, aſſuring him of their fidelity, zeal, and affection.

The place and penſion bills, and that for repealing ſeptennial parliaments, had been regarded as the great criterions of the party during their late oppoſition, and it was now determined to put the ſincerity of the preſent adminiſtration to thoſe teſts. The penſion-bill went through the lower houſe, but was rejected in the upper, lord Carteret voting againſt that very meaſure which he had ſo lately endeavoured to promote. It was generally thought that the motion for repealing the ſeptennial act would have been carried; but as it was made by ſir Robert Godſchall, and ſeconded by ſir John Barnard, it was rejected by a majority of twenty voices. Among thoſe who ſpoke againſt it were Mr. Pulteney and Mr. Sandys, who having, during the late oppoſition, been always the chief promoters of it, were thereby expoſed to a great deal of cenſure. The people, enraged by the miſcarriage of thoſe their favourite ſchemes, exclaimed with great vehemence, that they had been deceived and betrayed; and that an infamous compromiſe had been made between the old and the new miniſters, in order to elude the hopes and wiſhes of the nation: the cry for juſtice againſt the late miniſter was revived, and re-ecchoed from all parts of the kingdom, and ſomething in decency muſt be done to ſilence it.

The committee of ſecrecy being choſen, they proceeded to buſineſs; and upon the thirteenth of April the lord Limerick reported to the houſe, that the committee met with great obſtructions in their enquiry; for having ordered Nicholas Paxton, eſquire, ſollicitor to the Treaſury; Gwynn Vaughan, eſquire; and Mr. Scroope, ſecretary to the Treaſury, before them for an examination, they refuſed to anſwer the interrogations exhibited by the committee. It ſeems that the two firſt of theſe gentlemen alleged, that the laws of England did not compel a man to ſay any thing which might tend to accuſe himſelf; and the latter, in whoſe name all the ſecret ſervice-money was iſſued, amounting to above a million, refuſed to anſwer any queſtion, pleading his majeſty's injunction to the contrary; and that he was not permitted to reveal any thing on that ſubject.

Mr. Paxton had been committed to Newgate by the commitee for his obſtinacy: and upon this report to the houſe it was reſolved, That leave be given to bring in a bill for indemnifying ſuch perſons as ſhould, upon examination, make diſcoveries touching the diſpoſition of public money, and concerning the diſpoſition of offices, or any payment or agreement in reſpect thereof, or concerning other matters relating to the conduct of Robert earl of Orford. This bill was drawn up, paſſed, and ſent up to the lords, when a motion was made for its being committed; upon which a long debate enſued, in the courſe of which the lord Carteret ſpoke ſtrenuouſly againſt it. This nobleman had been long remarkable for his oppoſition to the late miniſter, and had even made the motion in the houſe of peers for removing him from his majeſty's preſence and councils. On this occaſion he appeared in the light of his advocate. His lordſhip affirmed, that the bill now propoſed was contrary to juſtice, the laws of nature, and the fundamental maxims of the Britiſh conſtitution, and even without precedent: that againſt ſuch a method as this, no innocence could be a protection; for informers would naturally expect a reward, if they could fix any crime upon a man thus ſet up as the object of public reſentment: nay, that by this means a few of them would probably be induced to enter into a conſpiracy for charging him with ſome heinous crime; and that conſpiracy might be ſo cunningly formed, as to render it impoſſible for him to prove his innocence, or to avoid condemnation. After this and ſome other ſpeeches, the queſtion being at laſt put, it was carried in the negative by a majority of fifty-two; though no leſs than thirty-two lords, and amongſt them the moſt eminent and beſt eſteemed part of the nobility entered their proteſt againſt the rejecting

jecting this bill; becauſe they conceived it might prove a dangerous precedent, of fatal conſequence to the conſtitution, ſince, whenever the nation ſhould be viſited by a wicked miniſter, thoſe who ſhould have ſerved him in defrauding or oppreſſing the public, and in corrupting individuals, would be furniſhed with an excuſe for refuſing their evidence; their danger would produce his ſecurity, and he might enjoy in ſafety the plunder of his country: nay, they even apprehended that the rejecting of this bill might be underſtood, by thoſe who could make any diſcovery, as if that houſe deſigned to diſcourage any evidence whatſoever that could affect the perſon whoſe conduct the ſecret committee was appointed by the houſe of commons to enquire into.

Thoſe members in the houſe of commons who were for proſecuting the enquiry, beheld with the utmoſt indignation the fate of their favourite bill. A committee was appointed to ſearch the Journals of the Lords for precedents; and their report being read, lord Strange, ſon to the earl of Derby, moved for a reſolution, "That the lords refuſing to concur with the commons of Great Britain, in an indemnification neceſſary to the effectual carrying on the enquiry now depending in parliament, is an obſtruction to juſtice, and may prove fatal to the liberties of this nation." The motion, which was ſeconded by lord Quarendon, ſon of the earl of Litchfield, gave riſe to a warm debate; and Mr. Sandys declaimed againſt it, as a ſtep that would bring on an immediate diſſolution of the preſent form of government.

Another motion was made in the courſe of this ſeſſion, which greatly engaged the attention of the public. This was for leave to bring in a bill for taking, examining, and ſtating the public accounts of the kingdom. The motion was carried, and the bill prepared, importing, among other things, that the number of commiſſioners for carrying the bill into execution ſhould be ſeven: that no perſon ſhould be a commiſſioner who had any office of profit, or was accountable to his majeſty: that the commiſſioners ſhould be members of this houſe; and that they ſhould be choſe by ballot. This motion was in its nature extremely alarming to the earl of Orford's friends, who were indefatigable in exerting their intereſt to procure on their ſide a majority of the commiſſioners; and having, in ſpite of all the endeavours of the oppoſite party, ſucceeded in this point, the patrons of the bill became ſo indifferent about it, that it was dropped.

It was with unſpeakable regret that the country party, and the bulk of the nation, beheld ſo many obſtructions thrown in the way of an enquiry which they had ſo loudly demanded; and that they were likely to be diſappointed in their ardent hopes of bringing the late miniſter to public juſtice. I have already hinted that the new adminiſtration only wanted to expoſe the miſconduct of the earl of Orford; and when this was done, they intended to protect him from any dangers ſuch a proceeding might naturally incur, and from the open and declared vengeance of an enraged and unthinking multitude. It was with this view that they had concurred with the other part of the late oppoſition, in promoting an enquiry into the conduct of the late miniſter, which they puſhed ſo far as to make it evident that he had been concerned in many flagrant acts of fraud and corruption in influencing elections; and, by making uſe of the wealth, power, and places of the crown, to introduce a criminal dependency in parliament, and to ſap the conſtitution at its very foundation. It was demonſtrated, that during the laſt ten years of his adminiſtration, no leſs a ſum than one million four hundred and fifty-three thouſand four hundred pounds of the public money had gone through his hands for ſecret ſervice; that above fifty thouſand pounds of this ſum had been paid to hireling writers; that on the very day which preceded his reſignation, he had ſigned orders on the civil liſt revenues for above thirty thouſand pounds. In a word, it was clearly manifeſted, as far as the enquiry extended, that the late miniſter had made too free with his truſt on the one hand, and the conſtitution on the other. The new miniſtry wanted no further or greater accuſation: the public were made ſenſible of his errors and miſmanagement. This was thought ſufficient: and though the blind and outrageous populace called aloud for his blood; yet thoſe at the helm, wiſely and juſtly conſidering that it would be no leſs than murder to ſuffer the life of a man to be taken away, when no law of the land had ſubjected him to death, ſtepped in the breach, and ſaved him from deſtruction; and the committee proceeding to make a further progreſs in their ſcrutiny, and having almoſt prepared a third report, were interrupted, by the prorogation of the parliament on the fifteenth of July.

In the mean time, in hopes of lulling the reſentments of the people, and, if poſſible, to conciliate their affections, the miniſtry aſſented to a bill for excluding certain officers from ſeats in the houſe of commons. They paſſed another for encouraging the linen manufacture, another for regulating the trade of the plantations, and a third to prevent the marriage of lunatics. They voted forty thouſand ſeamen, and ſixty-two thouſand five hundred land-men, for the ſervice of the current year: they provided for the ſubſidies to Denmark and Heſſe-Caſſel: they granted the ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds, and voted to ſend ſixteen thouſand three hundred and thirty-four effective men to the aſſiſtance of the queen of Hungary. The grants for the year 1742 amounted to five millions ſeven hundred and twenty-three thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſix pounds, for which the committee of ſupplies provided by a land-tax at four ſhillings in the pound; the malt-tax; one million from the ſinking fund; annuities granted upon it for eight hundred thouſand pounds; and a loan of one million ſix hundred thouſand pounds from the Bank. This produced in all ſix millions one hundred thouſand pounds; ſo that there was a ſurplus of three hundred and ſeventy-ſix thouſand four hundred and ſixty-three pounds.

Some time before the prorogation of the parliament, John lord Gower was appointed keeper of his majeſty's privy-ſeal; Allen lord Bathurſt was made captain of the band of gentlemen penſioners; and, to the ſurprize of every one, that great champion in the oppoſition, Mr. Pulteney, accepted of a coronet, by the title of earl of Bath.

I ſhall now reſume the hiſtory of the operations of war in the year 1742, which the money, the countenance, and the arms of this nation ſo greatly influenced.

Upon

Upon the duke of Argyll's throwing up all his places, the earl of Stair, who had been lately appointed ambaſſador to the States-general, was made commander in chief of the Britiſh forces deſigned for Flanders. His lordſhip had embarked early in the ſpring on his embaſſy for Holland, with orders to endeavour to concert, jointly with their High Mightineſſes, the proper meaſures for preſerving the liberty of Europe, and eſtabliſhing a juſt balance of power.

The troops deſtined for the queen of Hungary's ſervice, after paſſing in review before his majeſty, were embarked the latter end of April for Flanders, where they were to be joined by fifteen thouſand Hanoverians, and by the ſix thouſand Heſſians that were in Britiſh pay; and the earl of Stair, who had not been able with all his addreſs, which was allowed to be very great, to prevail on the Dutch to come to a reſolution of taking the field in conjunction with the Engliſh, was recalled from the Hague to take the command of the army; and the lord Carteret, principal ſecretary of ſtate, was diſpatched to Holland with freſh inſtructions.

Mean time, the change in the Britiſh adminiſtration had given a new aſpect to the face of affairs on the continent. The news no ſooner arrived in Holland than the States-general, tho' corrupted in great meaſure by the gold of France, ſhewed a more favourable diſpoſition to renew the ancient good underſtanding with England, ſo neceſſary for checking the ambitious views of the general enemy. It was no ſooner known in Germany than it infuſed new ſpirits into the councils, and gave freſh courage to the arms of her Hungarian majeſty. The king of Sardinia, who foreſaw his own ruin in that of the houſe of Auſtria, and had hitherto ventured only to refuſe the Spaniſh troops a paſſage through his territories, on their coming to invade the Auſtrian dominions in Italy, as ſoon as he was aſcertained of the alteration in the Britiſh miniſtry, diſcovered a reſolution to ſupport the queen of Hungary. France received the news of this change with the utmoſt conſternation. His moſt Chriſtian majeſty immediately called an extraordinary council of ſtate, wherein it was reſolved to put that kingdom in the beſt poſture of defence, and to purſue the affairs of the marine with the utmoſt diligence.

By this time Charles Albert, duke of Bavaria, was elected emperor, by the name of Charles VII. and recognized by the pope, who, according to the ancient cuſtom, on this occaſion granted the letters of diſpenſation, to excuſe the emperor going into Italy to take the two crowns of Rome and Milan. As ſoon as the election, the inveſtiture conſequent thereupon, and other ceremonials, were completed, the emperor revoked the Aulic council, or ſupreme court of judicature at Rome, and eſtabliſhed another at Franckfort; from whence the elector of Mentz, as chancellor of the empire, wrote to the queen of Hungary to tranſmit the records and papers belonging to that council from Vienna. This princeſs, however, diſacknowleged the validity of the imperial election: ſhe refuſed to comply with the demand; and ſoon after, the imperial diet or aſſembly of the ſtates was removed from Ratiſbon to Franckfort.

The elector of Bavaria, however, received but a ſmall ſhare of happineſs from his new elevation; for, amidſt the loud acclamations which every way approached him, he had the misfortune to behold his electoral dominions laid open to the victorious Auſtrians, conducted by the great Khevenhuller, the moſt conſummate general of the age. The ſtrong paſſes of that electorate had been already penetrated; ſeveral principal towns were reduced; and the Bavarian army defeated during the ſeverity of the winter ſeaſon. The Auſtrians ſoon after advanced into the bowels of this plentiful country; and Munich, the capital ſeat of the Bavarian family, fell an eaſy prey to the unreſiſted invaders.

The queen of Hungary was no ſooner informed of this event, than ſhe wrote a moſt affecting letter to Khevenhuller, and preſented him with the pictures of herſelf and her infant ſon, the archduke Joſeph (born March 13, 1741). The letter was read, and the pictures ſhewn, to the officers and ſoldiers, who, tranſported with an enthuſiaſm of zeal for their beloved ſovereign, ſwore they would live and die for her ſervice; and in their future behaviour, as if inſpired with theſe noble ſentiments, they diſcovered on all occaſions not only courage and reſolution, but even madneſs and fury.

About the ſame time baron Bernklau entered Bavaria by another quarter, with an army drawn from the woods and wilds in the remoteſt territories of Auſtria, whoſe appearance, ſcarcely bordering upon human, ſpread terror wherever they went, which was ſtill increaſed by their being allowed to live upon free quarters. They were however a very uſeful and indefatigable body of men: they drove count Thoring, with his Bavarians, under the cannon of Ingolſtadt, and performed many other important ſervices.

Soon after, viz. about the middle of April, the Bavarians received a reinforcement of twenty thouſand French troops, commanded by the duke de Harcourt, who were detached from Prague, and came by Amberg, through the Upper Palatinate. On the other hand, marſhal Khevenhuller, being joined by the prince of Saxe-Hilburghauſen, with an army of twenty-four thouſand men, had ſeized an advantageous poſt at Ortenburgh, in the neighbourhood of Paſſau, and detached general Bernklau to obſerve the motions of the confederates, who had ſent a body of four thouſand men to attack the Auſtrian garriſon in Munich. The garriſon, upon intelligence of their deſign, quitted the city, thinking it untenable; but before the French could arrive, the city was again repoſſeſſed by the Auſtrians.

The Bavarians having received a ſecond reinforcement from France, the confederate army was now augmented to fifty thouſand men, and pitched their camp at Neder Altach. This obliged Khevenhuller to recal his troops from Munich, and aſſemble his army all together near Villhoven, where, having thrown two bridges over the Danube, general Bernklau was detached, with baron Trenck, and a body of ſix thouſand men, to croſs that river, and march as far as Zell, where they encamped and entrenched themſelves within a league of the French and Bavarians, who thereupon marched back to Deckendorff towards the end of May; and from thence count Thoring and the duke de Harcourt advanced with a part of the army to the caſtle of Hilkerſberg, on the

Danube, with a view to take poſſeſſion of the bridge the Auſtrians had thrown over that river. The Auſtrian garriſon, under the command of general Helfreich, immediately marched out to give them battle; and a ſevere action enſued, in which the Imperialiſts were defeated, with the loſs of one thouſand killed and wounded. After this action the French and Bavarians, though ſo greatly ſuperior to the Auſtrians, avoided an engagement. To counterbalance, however, in ſome meaſure, theſe advantages, mareſchal Broglio ſent a body of French and Bavarians under prince Maurice of Saxony (better known by the name of count Saxe and marſhal Saxe) who took by capitulation the town of Egra, while the citadel of Glatz, for want of proviſions, was obliged to ſurrender to his Pruſſian majeſty, who was conducting the operations of the war in Moldavia.

Prince Charles of Lorraine, brother to the grand duke, was in the heart of Bohemia, at the head of thirty-five thouſand foot, and eighteen thouſand horſe, and every-where favoured by the inhabitants. He commenced a defenſive war very ſucceſsfully, keeping the enemy in a continual ſtate of alarm, by cutting off their convoys, and harraſſing them perpetually on every hand with crouds of huſſars, Croats, Pandours, and Talpaches. The Pandours are Sclavonians, inhabiting the banks of the Drave and the Saave: they wear long garments, and in their girdles carry ſeveral piſtols, a ſabre, and a poniard. The Talpaches are Hungarian infantry, armed with a muſket, two piſtols, and a ſabre: the Croats are the militia of Croatia: the huſſars are Hungarian cavalry, mounted upon ſmall horſes, which are very ſwift, light, and hardy; they are employed to cut off poſts that are weak, and not properly ſupported by cavalry, which was every-where the caſe of the troops of France and Bavaria. The Auſtrians being enabled, by means of the great number of recruits which they daily received, to form a more regular plan of operations, prince Lobkowitz, at the head of eleven thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, was appointed to watch the motions of the French in Bohemia, while prince Charles with his army advanced againſt the Pruſſians and Saxons, who were preparing to lay ſiege to Brinn; but on advice of prince Charles's march, laid aſide that intention, retired with great precipitation out of Moravia, and abandoned Olmutz.

This retreat was conſidered by the Auſtrians as extremely advantageous to their views, ſince it gave them an opportunity of uniting their whole force againſt the French under marſhal Broglio, who was too ſtrong for prince Lobkowitz ſingly; but before the Auſtrians could effect this junction, the king of Pruſſia having received a ſtrong reinforcement of thirty-two thouſand men, under prince Leopold of Anhalt-Deſſau, entered Bohemia, and with the utmoſt celerity endeavoured to circumvent the motions of the Auſtrians, and prevent their junction. By the force of generalſhip the king effected his deſign, and at laſt his army and that of prince Charles came to a pitched battle at Czaſlaw, a town thirty-five miles to the eaſtward of Prague. The regular troops on both ſides were nearly equal in number; but the Auſtrians had the advantage of a vaſt number of irregulars, who did them great ſervice in the action. The battle continued four hours with the moſt bloody obſtinacy: the Auſtrians demonſtrated the greateſt bravery; the Pruſſians fought with a degree of deſperation. Victory, however, was on the point of deciding for the former, when the irregulars, having forced their way into the Pruſſian camp, fell to plundering: their example was unfortunately followed by the regulars of the right wing, who had alſo broken into the enemy's intrenchments; and the main body of the Auſtrians being by this means left expoſed, his Pruſſian majeſty ſeized the critical moment; and renewing the attack with redoubled fury, obliged prince Charles to retire, with the loſs of three thouſand men, though his own loſs was not much inferior.

His Pruſſian majeſty, however, notwithſtanding his great ſucceſs, as well in Bohemia as Sileſia, began to think of compromiſing his differences with the queen of Hungary. He was chiefly induced to take this reſolution from his detection of the chicanery of the French court, which now firſt manifeſted itſelf towards his majeſty. According to the plan of operations concerted, the French army was to have joined the Pruſſian forces before the battle of Czaſlaw; but every courier brought freſh pretences for retarding their march. Theſe ſubterfuges were fully expoſed, by a copy of marſhal Broglio's diſpatches, of the fourth of May, which fell into the king's hands. By theſe he diſcovered that a reinforcement of five thouſand men was in march towards the marſhal's army, and that his inſtructions ordered him not to join the Pruſſians; to ſpare his troops as much as poſſible, and never to act near thoſe of the king; to form an army of obſervation of twenty thouſand men to watch the motions of the Pruſſians; to riſque nothing in conjunction with them, but to pretend to the king in excuſe, that no reinforcement was arrived, any more than marſhal Belleiſle, who was the only general that had orders to act in concert with the king. Notwithſtanding this diſcovery, he continued his operations againſt the Auſtrians, foreſeeing, that if theſe ſhould deſtroy the French, an event which was by no means improbable, he himſelf muſt be left to the mercy of the court of Vienna, from which he had every thing to fear. In order therefore to ſecure himſelf againſt this danger, he was obliged to ſave the French, though he was by no means ſatisfied with their conduct; but having gained the victory of Czaſlaw, he continued entirely upon the defenſive.

In a letter which he wrote to marſhal Broglio after the battle, he covertly reproaches the French with their perfidy, in the following terms: "I am quit with MY allies, for my troops have juſt now gained a complete victory: it is your buſineſs to make what advantage you can of it immediately, otherwiſe you may be anſwerable to YOUR allies." The marſhal pretended not to underſtand what his majeſty meant by the words, "I am quit with MY allies;" and wrote to Verſailles, "That the king of Pruſſia might have expreſſed himſelf more obligeingly, but that he did not underſtand the French tongue." He underſtood it well, and his meaning was clear.

While this monarch remained in a perfect ſtate of inaction, the French gained a victory over the Auſtrians at Sahay, on the road to Frauemberg; but ſcarcity of proviſions rendered the allies unable to make any advantage of their ſucceſs. The arrival of the recruits from France was too late: the troops under

der Broglio were ſo much diminiſhed, that only twelve thouſand men could be muſtered at a review of forty-ſix battalions, which ought to have amounted to thirty thouſand men; the reſt of the army was ſcattered, while prince Charles of Lorraine and prince Lobkowitz united their forces. To add to this misfortune, there was but little agreement between the French generals. Had the Pruſſians acted conjunctly with the French and Saxons, it is certain, that being maſters of Prague, Egra, and all the northern Bohemia, victorious at Czaſlaw and Sahay, they might have remained maſters of Bohemia. The reaſon of the king of Pruſſia's inactivity was owing to the reſolution he had taken to accommodate his differences with the queen of Hungary, in caſe he could procure any reaſonable terms; and when marſhal Belleiſle waited upon him in his camp on the fifth of June, in order to concert with him what was to be done for the common cauſe, the king ſpoke thus to him: "I give you warning, that prince Charles is advancing towards M. de Broglio; and that if you do not improve the advantage you had at Sahay, I ſhall forthwith conclude a ſeparate peace."

Nor did he fail to adhere to this reſolution; for finding the queen of Hungary willing to cede to him the dominions to which he made pretenſions; and incenſed againſt the French, on account of the diſingenuous treatment he had received from them, he had a private interview with prince Charles of Lorraine, when the preliminaries of a treaty of peace were agreed upon, which were ſigned at Breſlau on the eleventh of June by the earl of Hyndford, the Britiſh miniſter at the court of Vienna, to whom her Hungarian majeſty had given full powers to act for her, and by the count de Podewitz, on the part of the king of Pruſſia. The ſubſtance of this treaty is as follows.

"The queen of Hungary cedes to the king of Pruſſia all Upper and Lower Sileſia, except the principality of Jeſchen and Troppau, and likewiſe the principality of Glatz in Bohemia. The king of Pruſſia engages, on his part, to obſerve an exact neutrality during the continuance of the war, and to withdraw his troops from the kingdom of Bohemia, within fifteen days from the ſigning of the preſent treaty; within which time the ratification thereof is to be made. His Pruſſian majeſty charges himſelf with the repayment of what was lent by the Engliſh merchants to the late emperor on the ſecurity of the revenues of Sileſia, by the contract made at London, January 10--21, 1735. His Britannic majeſty guaranties this treaty, as well in quality of king of Great Britain as elector of Hanover. By a ſeparate article, the king of Poland is invited to accede to this treaty, upon condition of withdrawing his troops within ſixteen days from the ratification hereof. The czarina, the States-general, the king of Denmark, and other powers of Europe, are invited to concur in this treaty."

By this treaty the queen of Hungary yielded to the king of Pruſſia not only more than he demanded fifteen months before, when ſhe might in return have been aſſiſted with troops and money, and his intereſt and influence in procuring the imperial crown for her conſort the archduke, but gave him into the bargain the principality of Glatz, only to remain neuter. But it muſt be conſidered, that at that time the king of Pruſſia was the only power who had commenced hoſtilities againſt her, with leſs pretenſions to any part of the Auſtrian dominions than any of the other competitors. An emperor was now elected in oppoſition to her hereditary right, and the king of Pruſſia was the moſt ſucceſsful of his allies. In drawing off him, ſhe judiciouſly imagined that he would attract the king of Poland: and in this ſhe was not miſtaken; for as ſoon as the notification of the preliminary treaty was made to him, the Saxon troops in Bohemia were immediately ordered to halt till further inſtructions. A negociation was ſet on foot, and a peace concluded between him and the queen of Hungary, which was proclaimed at Dreſden the ſeventeenth of September; and by which the queen yielded to his Poliſh majeſty, as elector of Saxony, ſome places in the circles of Elnbogen, Satzer, Leutmeriz, and Buntzlaw, in Bohemia; in conſideration whereof the elector guarantied to her the reſt of Bohemia.

The emperor was abandoned by theſe treaties, and not the ſlighteſt mention made of France: in other words, the French and Bavarians were left to contend for themſelves. Prince Charles of Lorraine, after the battle of Czaſlaw, marched towards Budwies, and joined prince Lobkowitz in his camp at Weſel, where the two armies formed a force of ſixty thouſand three hundred men. The confederate army was now forced to abandon all their poſts one after another: they daily loſt their proviſions and ammunition, of which part was pillaged by their own ſoldiers, and part carried off by the enemy. Prince Charles paſſed the Moldau in purſuit of a body of troops under M. d'Aubigné, who retreated in diſorder. He followed the French to Thein, to Piſeck, and from Piſeck to Pilſen, and from thence to Beraun. Theſe retreats coſt the French at leaſt as many men as a battle, and, beſides, contributed to diſpirit the troops. They were perpetually harraſſed in their precipitate marches by the huſſars; their baggage pillaged; and every Frenchman who chanced to ſtray from his corps was ſure to be knocked on the head by the purſuers, or the peaſants of the villages they paſſed through; and, had it not been for a moſt judicious ſtand made by marſhal Broglio againſt prince Charles, the whole French army muſt have been deſtroyed. This was an admirable piece of generalſhip, but did not at all reſtore his affairs. During the time he was making ſo many efforts to prevent being cut off by the united armies of prince Charles and prince Lobkowitz, he received advice of the defection of his Pruſſian majeſty, and the ſigning the treaty of Breſlau. This news came like a thunderbolt upon Broglio, and encreaſed the panic of his men, who never ventured to look back till they found themſelves under the protection of the cannon of Prague, where they were joined by marſhal Belleiſle from Dreſden, whither he had lately made a tour, with a view of diſſuading his Poliſh majeſty from abandoning the confederacy; but finding all his attempts ineffectual, he poſted away for Prague, reſolved to take the beſt meaſures for ſecuring that important city and the confederate army againſt the attack of the Auſtrians.

The city of Prague * is encompaſſed with a wall, baſtions, and other works; has a citadel in the new town, and a caſtle in the little town, well provided with cannon, which render it as ſtrong as a place of that extent can be; but it is commanded by the hills of Ginriſnitz, about a mile from the city. The French garriſon within, and the army under the walls of Prague, conſiſted now of twenty-four thouſand of the choiceſt troops of France: theſe were employed night and day in fortifying their camp, which they choſe on a very convenient ſpot of ground, being a ſort of peninſula, formed at the north end of the city by the winding of the river Moldau, by which the right, left, and rear, were ſecured againſt any attack; ſo that they had nothing but a narrow front to guard; and this was defended in flank by the cannon upon the ramparts of the city, as well as by the ſtrong intrenchments they had raiſed in front between the town and the river.

Prince Charles and prince Lobkowitz, with their combined armies, amounting to ſixty thouſand men, arrived within ſight of Prague on the twenty-fifth of June, and encamped on the hills of Ginriſnitz, about a quarter of a mile from the city; from whence the army marched, and encamped at Konigſhall, nearer to Prague, where, on the twenty-ſeventh, the grand duke of Tuſcany arrived in the camp.

The appearance of the Auſtrian army convinced the French that the force of oppoſition would be of little ſervice, and they reſolved to try if they could extricate themſelves by ſtratagems of negociation. With this view Belleiſle ſent a trumpet to demand a conference, offering immediately, in virtue of his plenipotentiary power, to open conferences for a general accommodation; but he received for anſwer, that the queen of Hungary was determined to take no ſtep of that kind without the participation of her allies. When Belleiſle found the Auſtrians were too wary to be trepanned into his cobweb negotiation, he held ſeveral conferences with count Konigſeck concerning a capitulation for the ſurrender of the place, offering to evacuate Prague and all Bohemia, the fortreſſes of Egra and Frauemberg included, on permiſſion of marching off with their artillery, arms, and baggage: but the court of Vienna inſiſting they ſhould ſurrender priſoners of war, the conferences were entirely broken off; and the place being inveſted on all ſides, the trenches were opened on the twenty-eighth of July.

It was a ſight altogether new to ſee an army of twenty-ſix thouſand of the beſt troops in Europe beſieged. The French general acquitted himſelf with great ſpirit and reſolution. He knew he had nothing but famine to fear: he was ſenſible the Auſtrians were very ignorant of the art of attack and defence; but they were formidable, by their numbers, by their knowlege of the country, by their valour in the field, and by their being acquainted with the language of, and poſſeſſed of the good will of the inhabitants. The queen had left nothing undone, on her part, which ſhe thought might contribute to the retaking of this capital. She gave all the horſes in her own ſtables to aſſiſt in drawing the artillery and ſtores. Her example was followed by her nobles, who ſtrove with each other who ſhould moſt contribute to the ſucceſs of this great expedition. In ſhort, the hopes of the queen of Hungary and her brave ſubjects ſeemed to riſe in proportion as ſhe was oppreſſed.

It was the misfortune of the French at Prague to find themſelves at a great diſtance from their own country, among a people to whoſe language they were ſtrangers, and by whom they were hated; to be expoſed to every kind of neceſſity, without any certainty of aſſiſtance. In Prague every thing began to fail but courage. About the end of July meat ſold there for four livres (three ſhillings and ſix-pence of our money) per pound. Horſe fleſh was eaten at the beſt tables; and thro' ſcarcity of forage, the beſieged were forced to kill or turn looſe upwards of fourteen thouſand horſes. Several of the principal French officers ſent their plate to the mint to be coined, to purchaſe ſubſiſtence for their ſoldiers. The Auſtrians indeed had not one good engineer among them; their works therefore were very indifferently carried on: the trenches were too long and too wide, and the French reaped ſome advantages from the errors of their enemies. They made many ſucceſsful ſallies: the moſt memorable was that of the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt; it was little leſs than a battle. Twelve thouſand of the beſieged, under marſhal Belleiſle, attacked the beſiegers in their works, carried a battery, made two hundred priſoners, filled up the works, took general Monty, and killed and wounded fifteen hundred men. Their own loſs was likewiſe very conſiderable: the duke de Biron, the prince de Deuxponts, and the prince de Beauveau, were wounded, and ſeveral officers of diſtinction loſt their lives. On the Auſtrian ſide, the grand duke and prince Charles, who greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves during the whole engagement, were frequently expoſed to the utmoſt danger; the grand duke in particular eſcaped very narrowly, having his hat carried off by one of the cannon bullets.

In the mean time, cardinal de Fleury was making private overtures for an accommodation, and

* This city, ſo remarkable for the extraordinary ſiege ſuſtained there by the French under the marſhals Broglio and Belleiſle, is the metropolis of Bohemia, pleaſantly ſituated on the large river Moldau, one hundred and fifty miles north-weſt of Vienna, one hundred north-eaſt of Ratiſbon, and ſeventy ſouth of Dreſden. Few cities in Europe have a larger extent than Prague, which is divided into three parts, called the old, the new, and the middle city. The old city, on the eaſt of the Moldau, is very populous, and full of handſome, but old-faſhioned houſes; in which ſtands the univerſity, one of the moſt celebrated in Europe; and in this quarter great numbers of wealthy Jews have their reſidence. The new city was formerly ſeparated from the old by a wall, but now only by a ditch, into which the river can be let at pleaſure. The leſſer town lies on the weſt of the Moldau, and joins to the old town by a bridge of ſixteen arches, being in all one thouſand ſeven hundred feet long, and thirty-five broad, with two large gates under two ſpacious towers, one at each end, which makes this bridge one of the nobleſt ſtructures in the world, it being four hundred feet longer than Weſtminſter-bridge, and ſeven hundred and eighty feet longer than London-bridge. Part of this town is built on a riſing ground, at the top of which ſtands Upper Prague, where is a magnificent palace belonging to the crown. Prague is pleaſantly ſurrounded by fine fields and gardens, and adorned with a great many elegant houſes, churches and convents: the inhabitants are computed to be about one hundred thouſand; and, excepting London, Paris, and Rome, no city has a greater concourſe of nobility and gentry, who are exceeded by none in affluence and grandeur, equalled by few in politeneſs and civility to ſtrangers.

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even went ſo far as to accept the king of Great Britain as mediator. He alſo offered to treat about the ſecularization of the biſhoprics of Oſnabrug and Hildeſheim, and the annexation of thoſe territories in perpetuity to the houſe of Hanover. While, on the one hand, the cardinal thus addreſſed the Britiſh court, who lent a deaf ear to his propoſals, as knowing their illuſory tendency, he applied on the other to veldt-marſhal count Konigſeck before Prague, to whom he wrote a letter, which was delivered to him by marſhal Belleiſle; in which the cardinal excuſes himſelf from having conſented to the preſent war, and ſays he was forced into it by the ſuperior power of others with the king. This was directly levelled at marſhal Belleiſle. The cardinal afterwards chuſing to diſavow this letter, it was printed by order of the court of Vienna, which ſerved greatly to leſſen the cardinal's credit.

By this time Prague, the late flouriſhing and happy capital of a ſpacious kingdom, with more than one hundred thouſand citizens within its walls, was ſubjected to all the calamities that war and famine could inflict. It would be foreign to our purpoſe to relate particularly every remarkable incident of this long and important ſiege: ſuffice it to ſay, that the French behaved with great ſpirit and intrepidity; nor could the Auſtrians and Hungarians, with their utmoſt efforts, make any regular approaches; ſo that the place might rather be ſaid to be inveſted than beſieged: yet it was apparent, that in the end the entire loſs of the French army, both in Prague and Egra, was inevitable. There was but one way to relieve them, which was to ſend to their ſuccour that army of forty thouſand men, which, under the command of marſhal Maillebois, had compelled the king of England to ſign the neutrality for Hanover: but this army was in Weſtphalia, about ſeven hundred miles from Prague. This expedient was propoſed by the marquis de Fenelon, ambaſſador in Holland. It had its inconveniencies, but yet was not without its advantages. France had in a manner exhauſted herſelf of men: ſhe had at different times ſent into Germany the better part of two hundred and twelve ſquadrons, and one hundred and ſeventeen battalions; and theſe had been from time to time recruited. Theſe troops, divided in Prague, Egra, Bavaria, and the Upper Palatinate, were above half waſted away. It was debated to march theſe weakened armies towards the complete and flouriſhing army of Maillebois, compoſed of forty-one battalions and ſixty-five ſquadrons, three thouſand Palatines, three thouſand Heſſians, and three independent companies of foot, and two of dragoons. It was obvious, that if all theſe forces united had acted with unanimity, and been aſſiſted by Pruſſia and Saxony, they muſt have ſucceeded in every thing. If marſhal Maillebois had advanced with his army along the banks of the Rhine, to penetrate into Bohemia, he had left France unguarded; ſo that even the Dutch might have become formidable, and harraſſed the frontiers with forty thouſand men they kept on foot for their own defence. Theſe conſiderations were urged by the cardinal and his party as ſtrong arguments againſt the meaſure projected; but the marquis de Fenelon, having undertaken for the continuance of Holland's neutrality, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty determined upon it, however hazardous, becauſe neceſſary; rightly conſidering, that great undertakings cannot be executed without riſking great loſſes; and it was agreed in council, that orders ſhould be ſent to M. Maillebois to begin his march from Weſtphalia without loſs of time; but the route and manner in which his army was to be conducted ſtill embarraſſed them extremely.

The ſcheme was imparted to his imperial majeſty, without whoſe conſent it could not be executed. Charles at firſt ſtarted ſome objections: he was deſirous that the troops under Maillebois ſhould continue in his electoral dominions: he repreſented in a memorial, that by delivering Bavaria, Prague would be ſet free of courſe, as the Auſtrians could no longer continue the ſiege of that place, when M. Maillebois' army ſhould reach the banks of the Danube. In this opinion the emperor was ſeconded by M. Maillebois himſelf, who was extremely averſe to ſet out on ſo diſcouraging an expedition. The French miniſtry, however, could not be brought to put their only reſource in the hands of an emperor who had been ſo little able to defend himſelf, and who by this time had incurred their contempt, and even ſuſpicion. Accordingly, Maillebois began his march from Weſtphalia to Bohemia about the middle of Auguſt, under the ſanction of a reſcript which the emperor ſent to the diet, in which he juſtified the march of Maillebois upon the principles of neceſſity, from the unconquerable obſtinacy of the court of Vienna.

The duke de Harcourt was then at the head of the French troops in Bavaria; Seckendorff commanded the Imperialiſts; and Khevenhuller the Auſtrians: but the deciſion of the fate of Prague, which was hourly expected, kept all parties in a ſtate of inaction. The count de Saxe, who had now entered into the ſervice of France, and gave daily proofs of his uncommon vigour, activity, and reſolution, was appointed to ſucceed the duke de Harcourt in the command of the French army.

Prince Charles, who ſtill continued before Prague, no ſooner received news of the march of M. Maillebois to the aſſiſtance of that city, than he turned the ſiege into a blockade; and committing the care of it to prince Lobkowitz and the Hungarian general Feſtititz, with a body of eighteen thouſand men, he ſet out to the defence of Bohemia.

After a moſt intricate and fatiguing march, the auxiliary army at length arrived on the frontiers of Bohemia, about the beginning of September. Every thing hitherto had been happily conducted: count Saxe was to join this army with the body he commanded in Bavaria. He had already acquired the character of an officer who would let no opportunity ſlip him. On this occaſion he found means to eſcape from Bavaria, where count Khevenhuller held him in a manner ſhut up, and by a dexterous march joined his forces to thoſe of Maillebois, after having taken the poſt of Elnbogen. Soon after, the Imperialiſts under Seckendorff arrived alſo from Bavaria; while Khevenhuller, who had in vain attempted to prevent this junction, joined the army under prince Charles, near Hayd. Mean while, the Auſtrians reduced the town of Frauneburg; and Trenck, the famous partiſan, made himſelf maſter, by a deſperate attack, of Chamb in Bavaria, which, on account of its ſituation, was the general

general repoſitory of the effects and treaſure of the inhabitants.

Upon the departure of prince Charles from Prague, Belleiſle and Broglio reſolved to execute the ſame deſign which had been accompliſhed by the counts Saxe and Seckendorff; that of joining the marſhal de Maillebois, who, by the acceſſion of the troops from Bavaria, was now at the head of ſeventy thouſand men; and had marched with ſuch precipitation, that prince Charles could not bring him to an engagement. Mean while, Feſtititz, for want of a ſufficient force, was obliged to raiſe the blockade of Prague; and the French generals being now at liberty, took poſt at Leutmeritz, a ſmall town, lying half way between Prague and Kaden, in order to join the main army under Maillebois, who had by this time advanced in the neighbourhood of the latter place.

Prince Charles, well knowing that if the enemy's project ſucceeded, it would entirely alter the face of affairs in Germany, reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent its execution. With this view he made himſelf maſter of the paſſes in the mountains of Bohemia, where an hundred men may put a whole army to a ſtand. Count Saxe had detached a body of troops towards Kaden, a poſt of the laſt importance, to break down the bridge upon the Eger, over which the Auſtrians were to paſs. One company had already entered the place, and broken down part of the bridge. The Auſtrians came up at the ſame inſtant, repaired the bridge, and made themſelves maſters of the town. Thus was all communication cut off between the armies of Belleiſle and Broglio, and Maillebois. The latter could receive no accounts from Leutmeritz; and the only road to Kaden lay through a defile which it was impoſſible to penetrate. The main army had now ſcarce bread enough to laſt for three days; ſo that Maillebois was obliged to reduce the ſoldiers to half allowance. Diſcontent, want of diſcipline, miſunderſtanding, deſertion; every thing conſpired againſt the united army at this time. In fine, Maillebois ſeeing it impoſſible to effect his junction with the other two French marſhals, returned towards Bavaria, while Belleiſle and Broglio marched back to Prague. Maillebois, on his arrival on the confines of Bavaria, was diſgraced, and the command given to M. Broglio, who eſcaped in diſguiſe from Prague, and arrived in the auxiliary army on the twenty-ſecond of November, where he took upon him the chief command. The auxiliary army being now of conſequence ſuperior in Bavaria, Munich, the capital of that electorate, was a ſecond time relieved, and the emperor entered it again.

On the other hand, the Auſtrians having made themſelves maſters of Leutmeritz, M. Belleiſle, who remained in Prague, found himſelf cloſely pent up therein by prince Lobkowitz (who had renewed the blockade) together with his whole army, now reduced to about ſeventeen thouſand men, without money, ſubſiſtence, or hope of ſuccour; and they had no other proſpect but that of periſhing by famine or war. They were thus cruelly ſituated, when, about the latter end of November, M. Belleiſle received orders from his court to endeavour at effectuating a retreat from Prague. The general returned for anſwer, that he would engage to conduct his troops in ſafety to Egra, in ſpite of the enemy's army or the rigour of the ſeaſon: a bold undertaking, but which was as ſucceſsfully executed.

Belleiſle had formed his deſign of eſcaping with incredible ſecrecy; and, the better to conceal his purpoſe, he had remounted his cavalry, repaired his carriages, and made every other preparation for a longer defence. He had alſo engaged the whole attention of the Auſtrians, by frequent ſallies and ſkirmiſhes, in which the French had generally the better. At laſt, every thing being entirely got ready, he reſolved to carry his ſcheme into immediate execution: the danger was extreme. Prince Lobkowitz had diſtributed his army in ſuch a manner as to ſurround the town, the inhabitants of which were ſo many ſpies on the motions of the French. The weather growing more and more cold, became almoſt intolerable. There were upwards of two thouſand ſoldiers ſick in the place; and the marſhal himſelf had been a long time ſo ill of the ſciatica, or hip-gout, that he could not mount on horſeback; yet, in the midſt of theſe conſpiring obſtacles, he fixed on the night of the ſixteenth or ſeventeenth to make his retreat.

In order to ſecure it more effectually, it was incumbent on him not only to deceive count Lobkowitz, but alſo the inhabitants of the place, and even his own people. To this end, he was continually ſending detachments all around him to bring in forage, which were always accompanied with cannon and covered waggons; ſo that the ſurprize ſhould be leſs when he choſe to evacuate the place, which muſt be done with ſuch an equipage. Two days before his retreat he laid contributions, payable in four months. The day of his intended departure the gates of the town were kept ſhut; and having cauſed a report to be ſpread that he intended a general ſally at ſuch a quarter, he made his retreat by another road, and gained a day's march of prince Lobkowitz, before the other was apprized of his departure. This project he was enabled to execute with the greater facility, on account of the prodigious extent of the walls: and in order the more effectually to amuſe the enemy, he left a garriſon of about three thouſand men in the place, under M. Chevert. M. Belleiſle continued his retreat for ten days through ice and ſnow, the enemy's cavalry perpetually harraſſing him on his march. On the third day prince Lobkowitz appeared at the head of a body of horſe, on the other ſide of a plain, where the two armies might have come to an engagement; but the prince did not chuſe to attack forces who, from their ſituation, muſt neceſſarily fight with that ſort of deſpair that renders courage invincible: he determined therefore to cut off the retreat of the French, by taking poſſeſſion of the paſſes upon the two principal roads leading to Egra.

M. Belleiſle, however, once more eluded the deſigns of his enemy: he choſe a road which would have been in any other ſeaſon impaſſable: he marched his army acroſs vaſt frozen moraſſes that never perhaps had been trodden. In this exploit he merited the greater honour, as, notwithſtanding his being confined during the whole march to his coach or ſedan by a violent rheumatiſm, he always continued himſelf to point out the way. At length, having ſurmounted all his difficulties, he arrived at Egra on the twenty-ſixth day of December, having performed a march of one hundred

and fifty miles, and not having loſt, by his own account, ſo much as a ſingle ſoldier, except thro' the inclemency of the ſeaſon, which killed about one thouſand.

The very day that M. Belleiſle reached Egra, the troops that had been left behind in Prague, under M. Chevert, capitulated on the moſt honourable terms, being allowed to march to Egra with all the honours of war. Thus the town of Prague, which had been taken by the French in a few hours, was evacuated after a ſiege and blockade of five months.

Having thus given an account of the campaign in Germany, the event of which was ſo very intereſting to England, it is now time to attend the progreſs of the war in Italy and the ſouthern parts of Europe, where the naval force of Great Britain had a conſiderable influence.

We have already taken notice of the junction of the French and Spaniſh fleets in the Mediterranean; of their having paſſed admiral Haddock; and of the latter having landed their troops at Orbitello in Italy; after which the French and Spaniſh ſquadrons put into the harbour of Toulon.

The queen of Hungary, alarmed at the dangers that threatened her, reſolved to apply to the king of Sardinia, whoſe intereſt it was to preſerve the preſent ſyſtem of power in Italy, and who, by his ſituation, was beſt able to check the ambitious views of the French and Spaniſh monarchs. His Sardinian majeſty was at this time ſufficiently jealous of the deſigns of the Spaniards in Italy; but, at the ſame time, he was afraid of being cruſhed between France and Spain before he could be properly ſupported. He had therefore temporized for ſome time: but being now alarmed at the progreſs of the Spaniſh arms in Italy, he reſolved to declare for the houſe of Auſtria. On this occaſion, however, his Sardinian majeſty took care to make the beſt terms for himſelf. He ſtipulated a ſubſidy from England; he reſerved in their full force all the claims of his family upon the Milaneſe; and he obtained ſeveral private ceſſions of places from the queen of Hungary, whoſe huſband's ſiſter he had married. On the firſt of January, 1742, he cauſed to be printed and publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he ſtated his claims; but it was not till the month of February that he reſolved to act in conjunction with the queen of Hungary; and then he was not upon the beſt of terms with her in the main: they only united againſt the preſent danger that threatened both.

The troops which had been ſent into Italy by the Spaniſh court were under the command of the duke de Montemar, famous for his victory at Bitonto, and afterwards remarkable by his diſgrace. Their route lying neceſſarily through Tuſcany, the grand duke, huſband to the queen of Hungary, gave them a free paſſage, having declared himſelf neuter in the cauſe of his wife. The duke of Modena, who was married to a princeſs of the blood-royal of France, alſo declared himſelf neuter. Pope Benedict XIV. through whoſe territories both the Spaniſh and Auſtrian armies were to paſs, promiſed the ſame neutrality. The republic of Genoa, from the ſame principle of neutrality, gave free paſſage to a body of French forces that arrived from Spain: and the king of Naples and the Two Sicilies adopted the ſame neutral ſyſtem, though his father and brother were principally concerned; yet, after all, not one of theſe potentates, ſo apparently neutral, were ſo in reality. Don Carlos in particular encreaſed the duke de Montemar's army with ſeveral Neapolitan regiments: the duke of Modena was already the ſecret friend of Spain: Genoa had much the ſame inclination: and the pope, although he had acknowleged the elector of Bavaria as emperor, was viſibly attached to the cauſe of the queen of Hungary.

Count Traun, the queen's governor in the duchy of Milan, aſſembling all his forces early in the year, joined them which were ſent him from Tirol, in order to oppoſe the Spaniards. About the beginning of March (1742) the king of Sardinia ſeconding warmly the Auſtrians, advanced towards the territories of Parma: he now exerted as much courage and abilities as he had diſplayed in the year 1733. In theſe two conjunctures he ſhewed how valuable his alliance was: he had excellent miniſters, and good generals, and was himſelf both a miniſter and a general; an oeconomiſt in his expences, ſkilful in his conduct, indefatigable in his hardſhips, and intrepid in danger.

In the mean while, the Spaniſh army aſſembled at Rimini, near the duke de Montemar's; and being joined by the Neapolitan forces, amounted to ſixty thouſand men, furniſhed with a large train of artillery. About the beginning of May they entered the Bologneſe. The king of Sardinia had by this time taken the field with thirty thouſand men, and appeared on the ſide of Parma; while the Auſtrians under marſhal count Traun advanced towards the Bologneſe with about ſeventeen thouſand men. The duke of Modena, relying upon the protection of the Spaniards, was ſo impolitic, in defiance of the neutrality he profeſſed, to enter into a private treaty with the duke of Montemar; of which the king of Sardinia being appriſed, entered the duke's territories, ſeized upon his duchy, and made himſelf maſter of his capital; while the duke, thus ſtripped of all his poſſeſſions, was obliged to retire to the Spaniſh army, of which he was by his late treaty to have the nominal command. This army, however, ſoon became ſo reduced by ſickneſs and deſertion, that the duke de Montemar, finding he could not maintain his ground againſt the Auſtrians and Spaniards, retired to Rimini, whither he was followed by the king of Sardinia.

By this time the Engliſh miniſtry had come to a reſolution to keep no farther meaſures with France: the conduct of the French admiral in the Mediterranean towards admiral Haddock was ſo ſtrong a demonſtration of the intentions of that court, as all their pretexts to a neutrality could not diſguiſe.

Admiral Haddock, what by the fatigues of the ſervice, what by anxiety of mind, owing to the numerous diſappointments he had met with, found his conſtitution ſo much impaired, that he reſigned the command of the fleet in the Mediterranean to commodore Leſtock, who had lately arrived from the Weſt Indies, and been ſent up the Streights with ten ſail of men of war, to reinforce Mr. Haddock, and oppoſe the united fleets of France and Spain.

Upon the departure of the admiral for England, the commodore uſed the utmoſt diligence in fitting the fleet for ſea. On the twelfth of April he ſet ſail from Port Mahon with a ſquadron of twenty-eight men of war, and ſoon after appeared before Toulon, at which the inhabitants were in the utmoſt conſternation: the country round was alarmed

by fires, beacons, &c. But this proved a falſe alarm, the commodore not having the leaſt intention of moleſting them; for the united ſquadrons were greatly ſuperior to the Britiſh in force, the French under admiral de Court conſiſting of five ſeventy gun ſhips, ſeven of ſixty, four of fifty, two of thirty, and two of twenty; and the Spaniſh ſquadron under Don Navarro, of one ſhip of one hundred and fourteen guns, four of ſeventy, ſix of ſixty, and five of fifty; in all, thirty-ſix men of war: ſo that commodore Leſtock, after obſerving their ſituation, proceeded towards Antibes on the coaſt of Italy. In the mean time, upon the change of the Britiſh miniſtry, Mr. Leſtock was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the white; but as it was determined to ſtrike ſome bold ſtroke in the Mediterranean in the courſe of this ſummer, the ſupreme command of the fleet was beſtowed upon Thomas Matthews, eſq. vice-admiral of the red, who was at the ſame time inveſted with the character of ambaſſador-extraordinary and miniſter-plenipotentiary to the king of Sardinia, and the other princes and ſtates of Italy. He left England in the middle of April. In his paſſage he took ſeveral French and Spaniſh merchant ſhips, and at length ſafely joined rear-admiral Leſtock in the harbour of Villa Franca.

Perhaps no miniſtry ever took a more impolitic ſtep than in joining theſe two admirals in command, as it was well known that there had long ſubſiſted between them an inveterate diſlike to each other: nay, Matthews had even declared to the miniſtry on his appointment, that he accepted of the command only on condition that Mr. Leſtock ſhould be ſpeedily recalled. However, the latter was continued in the Mediterranean till the ſea-fight off Toulon, when it too plainly appeared that the glory and advantage of the nation was ſhamefully ſacrificed to the gratification of private reſentment.

Mr. Matthews' firſt care, after taking poſſeſſion of his command, was to provide for the well-guarding of the coaſts of Catalonia, Provence, and Italy; and he quickly gave an inſtance of his reſolution to ſtrike terror into the enemy, by rendering his fleet formidable; for a French man of war paſſing by Villa Franca, in ſight of the Britiſh fleet, and refuſing to pay the compliment to the flag, the vice-admiral fired at the Frenchman to bring him to; but the commander perſiſting in his obſtinacy, a man of war was ordered out to force him to comply, who poured a broadſide into the French ſhip, and ſunk her directly. His next exploit was to ſend captain Norris, in the Kingſton, of fifty guns, with the Duke fireſhip, captain Calis, to burn five Spaniſh gallies which had put into the bay of St. Tropez, a French port in the Mediterranean; an order which was effectually executed. But no action of his proved ſo agreeable to the people of Great Britain as that of ſending commodore Martin with a ſquadron of ſhips and bomb-ketches to Naples, to demand of the king of Sicily not only to withdraw his troops from acting in conjunction with thoſe of Spain, but to promiſe in writing not to give them any farther aſſiſtance in any reſpect; and in caſe of a refuſal on the part of his Sicilian majeſty to give the propoſed ſatisfaction, to bombard the city of Naples. Incredible was the conſternation that ſeized on the Neapolitans at the ſight of the formidable force Mr. Martin brought with him, and the peremptory manner in which he made the above demand: and however deeply his Sicilian majeſty might reſent this inſult upon his dignity, his private reſentment was obliged to give way to the intereſts of his ſtate, which was in no condition to defend itſelf. Accordingly, after ſeveral meſſages paſſing between the commodore and the duke de Montealegre, the Sicilian miniſter, the latter, in his maſter's name, promiſed in writing, that his troops ſhould be immediately withdrawn out of Lombardy; and that he would not in any manner whatſoever aid or aſſiſt thoſe of Spain any more during the preſent war in Italy. This promiſe was inſtantly performed: the Neapolitan troops were forthwith recalled; and the Spaniſh army being thus weakened, was not able during the remaining part of the campaign to perform any action of importance; and by this bold, but ſucceſsful ſtep of the Britiſh admiral, the queen of Hungary was ſaved from apparent deſtruction.

Soon after, viz. about the latter end of Auguſt, Mr. Matthews purſuing the ſpirited plan he had ſo happily begun, diſpatched the ſame ſucceſsful embaſſy to St. Remo, a Genoeſe town on the Mediterranean, thirty miles north-eaſt of Nice, with orders to deſtroy ſome conſiderable magazines which the Spaniards had gotten together there. This ſervice the commodore effectually performed, and in the beginning of September re-joined the vice-admiral, who took up his ſtation at Hieres-bay, where his ſhips lay in an excellent road, and commanded every veſſel that might attempt to enter or come out of the harbour of Toulon. The Britiſh fleet having by this time been joined by rear-admiral Rowley, was ſomewhat ſuperior to the united ſquadrons of France and Spain, who therefore kept cloſe within the port of Toulon.

The Engliſh fleet, however, could not controul the operations of the Spaniards by land; for the Spaniſh miniſtry, being fearful that if the Neapolitan troops were compelled to quit their army under the duke de Montemar, that general might be expoſed to the danger of being defeated by a ſuperior force; they determined to ſend another body of troops to his aſſiſtance, who were to march through the ſouth of France, and endeavour to penetrate into Italy through the paſſes of Piedmont. Accordingly, in April ſeventeen thouſand three hundred men aſſembled at Barcelona, under the command of the count de Glerices; and being joined on their march by other Spaniſh corps, were augmented to thirty thouſand. On this reinforcement, the whole army marched through Provence and rendezvouſed at Grace, about fifty miles diſtant from Toulon, where it waited for the arrival of Don Philip, ſecond ſon to the king of Spain, whom his ambitious mother had lately ſet up as a new candidate for royalty, declaring ſhe would leave no efforts unexerted to erect Lombardy into a kingdom in his favour. In May Don Philip with his court and a very ſplendid retinue entered Antibes, the laſt town of France towards Italy. In the beginning of June Don Philip put himſelf at the head of his troops, tho' the count de Glerices had the real command, on account of the prince's youth. Their plan was to force their way into Piedmont, by Nice and Villa Franca; but thro' the prudent diſpoſitions of his Sardinian majeſty, with the aſſiſtance of the Britiſh admiral, their deſigns were rendered impracticable; as was alſo another

another attempt they made with a ſtrong body of Miquelets, to force a paſſage by Demont into the valley of Stura. Diſappointed in both theſe deſigns, the Spaniards defiled towards the left, thro' Dauphiné, and entered Savoy, where they met with very little reſiſtance; and on the tenth of September the infant Don Philip took poſſeſſion of Chamberry, the capital of that duchy, ninety miles from Turin, and immediately publiſhed a manifeſto, enjoining the deputies of the province of Savoy to come in and take the oaths to him, and to bring their arms and ammunition to his quarters, within the ſpace of five days at fartheſt, prohibiting them to pay any more taxes to the king of Sardinia, or to have any correſpondence with him, under pain of death.

While theſe things were tranſacting on the borders of Piedmont, his Sardinian majeſty was in a full career of ſucceſs againſt the Spaniards in Italy, having obliged the Spaniſh and Neapolitan army to retreat from Rimini towards the kingdom of Naples; and the Neapolitan troops being recalled, he had now an opportunity of returning to the relief of his own dominions, which he did with 24,000 Piedmonteſe, leaving a ſmall body of troops behind, under the command of the count d'Apremont, to co operate with the Auſtrians in his abſence. By forced marches he arrived at Turin on the eighth day of September. In the beginning of October he advanced to Conſians, in the neighbourhood of Chamberry; and the infant not chuſing to hazard a battle, retired with ſome precipitation towards Dauphiné, and took poſt under the cannon of fort Barreaux, while his Sardinian majeſty encamped within ſight of them at Mians, near Montmelian, on the frontiers of Dauphiné: and in this condition the two armies remained till the beginning of December, when the court of Spain, diſguſted with the inactivity of the count de Glerices, ſent the marquis de las Minas to ſuperſede him in the command of the army. This laſt general had no ſooner joined the army than he made a vigorous attack upon the caſtle of Apremont, in the neighbourhood of the Sardinian camp, and obliged the garriſon to capitulate: after which he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking the king of Sardinia, who, upon the loſs of the laſt-mentioned important poſt, thought it moſt prudent to retire into Piedmont, the Spaniards at the ſame time marching back into Savoy, where they eſtabliſhed their winter quarters.

In the mean time the Auſtrians, upon the departure of the Piedmonteſe troops, returned into the duchy of Modena; and as ſoon as the duke de Montemar was informed of this ſeparation, inſtead of continuing his retreat towards Naples, advanced back again to St. Nicholas, within ten miles of Bologna, where he reſigned his command to the count de Gages, though the duke of Modena ſtill retained the title of generaliſſimo. This army attempted to penetrate into Tuſcany, but was prevented by the vigilance of count Traun, the Auſtrian general; and in the beginning of December both armies went into winter quarters, the Spaniards in the Bologneſe and Romagna, and the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe in the Modeneſe and Parmeſan.

Admiral Matthews having received information that his Sicilian majeſty had ſent a reinforcement of ſix regiments from Naples to join the Spaniſh army, in December diſpatched a man of war to Naples with a letter, expoſtulating on this breach of the late promiſe of neutrality. The king in return ordered the duke de Montealegre to deliver to Mr. Allen, the Britiſh miniſter at his court, a declaration, importing, "That he was reſolved to adhere to his engagements; but as theſe regiments in queſtion belonged to his father the king of Spain, and had been only lent to him for his expedition to Sicily, it was not in his power to retain them when recalled, as they were not in his pay or ſervice." However, his Neapolitan majeſty, ſenſible of the weakneſs of his capital, from the laſt viſit paid him by the Engliſh, cauſed ſeveral new fortifications to be erected for the defence of the port of Naples.

While the French were expelled from Bohemia, and the dominions of her Hungarian majeſty in Italy ſecured in the manner already related, her poſſeſſions in Flanders were likewiſe powerfully protected by his Britannic majeſty: for no ſooner had marſhal Maillebois marched from Weſtphalia to the relief of Prague, than the Hanoverian troops, conſiſting of ſixteen thouſand two hundred and ſixty-eight men, began their march from Hanover and paſſed the Weſer, in their way to Flanders; for which country the ſix thouſand Heſſians in Britiſh pay, began to move about the ſame time (viz. the latter end of Auguſt). Theſe two bodies of troops joined the Britiſh forces at Bruſſels about the middle of October, and all together formed an army of about forty thouſand men, which encamped in the neighbourhood of the laſt mentioned city. It was generally ſuppoſed, that his Britannic majeſty would paſs over to Flanders this year, and take upon him the command of this army; wherefore large draughts were made from the Auſtrian garriſons in that country, in order to complete the whole force to fifty thouſand men; and it was confidently reported that king George meditated no leſs than the ſiege of Dunkirk, the fortifications of which the French had of late openly repaired. This at firſt ſo alarmed the court of France, that they aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand men in the neighbourhood of Dunkirk, and took every poſſible precaution againſt any attack upon them in the Low Countries, fortifying Givet, Philipville, Avennes, and Rocroi, where they put ſtrong garriſons, and laid up great magazines, while the earl of Stair quitted his negotiations at the Hague, and arrived at Ghent on the twenty-ſeventh of November. The French miniſtry, however, were ſoon relieved from their anxiety, by hearing that his Britannic majeſty's voyage to Flanders, and the meaſures concerted for commencing operations, were entirely laid aſide for this campaign, in conſequence of the Dutch having threatened to declare againſt thoſe who ſhould ſtrike the firſt blow in Flanders, and ſoon after the confederate army were ordered into winter quarters; the Britiſh and Heſſians in Flanders, the Auſtrians in Luxemburg, and the Hanoverians in the county of Liege, in readineſs to march in the ſpring whither it ſhould appear moſt convenient for the ſervice of her Hungarian majeſty.

During theſe tranſactions in Europe, in the courſe of this year, every thing ſeemed to go backward in America, owing to the diſſenſion between the admiral and general. They had in the latter end of the foregoing year received a reinforcement from England;

England; upon the arrival of which they held a council of war, to concert in what manner the ſhips and forces under their command might be moſt effectually employed for the advantage of the nation, and the annoyance of the enemy, when it was propoſed by the land officers to undertake an expedition againſt Panama, by which a body of three hundred men, with five hundred negroes and four hundred Muſquetos, were to be landed at Porto Bello, and from thence to march over the Iſthmus of Darien to the ſaid town of Panama. Mr. Vernon and ſir Chaloner Ogle having concurred with this opinion, Mr. Lowther was ſent over to the coaſt of Porto Bello on board the Triton ſloop, in the character of a trader, in order to obtain all the intelligence he could, for the better ſecuring the ſucceſs of the intended expedition: and in the mean time the admiral loſt no time in getting his ſquadron in readineſs; but the land officers were ſo very dilatory in their motions, that it was the latter end of March before the armament arrived at Porto Bello. The fleet conſiſted of eight ſail of the line, with three fire-ſhips and two hoſpital ſhips: the tranſports were about forty ſail, having on board three thouſand land forces, and five hundred negroes raiſed by governor Trelawney, who attended the expedition in the rank of a colonel.

Admiral Vernon met with no oppoſition on entering the harbour of Porto Bello, though the governor of the place had three companies of Spaniſh ſoldiers with him, beſides two more of mulattoes and negroes. The governor, upon the firſt ſight of the Engliſh fleet ſtanding in for the harbour, quitted the town with great precipitation, with the three companies of ſoldiers, and moſt of the inhabitants were preparing to follow him; but the admiral having obſerved on his firſt landing that the whole place was in great confuſion, and that the town was on the point of being abandoned, diſpatched an officer and an interpreter directly, to deſire of the inhabitants to lay aſide their apprehenſions, and continue peaceably in their own poſſeſſions, promiſing them the fulleſt protection in their lives and properties. Encouraged by this indulgence, a deputation came on board the admiral from the magiſtrates, thanking him for his humanity, and readily putting themſelves under his protection; which was accordingly granted them by the unanimous reſolution of the council of war. It was likewiſe reſolved that a detachment ſhould be ſent up the river Caſcahal, in order to cut off the communication between Porto Bello and Panama, and take poſſeſſion of the Contaderio, or cuſtom-houſe, and ſecure it with a guard; which was immediately put into execution.

Three days after the arrival of the fleet at Porto Bello, lieutenant Lowther came in; and a council of war being thereupon called, he was examined as to the practicability of the attempt againſt Panama, when he gave it as his opinion, that the putting this ſcheme into execution could not at preſent be attempted with any hopes of ſucceſs, on account of the rainy ſeaſon of the year, and the ſickneſs that prevailed in conſequence thereof amongſt the troops. This opinion was adopted by all the land officers, with the general at their head; and as they out-numbered the ſea officers three to two, their opinions were always deciſive: in ſhort, a general council of war meeting afterwards on board the Boyne, admiral Vernon's own ſhip, it was thereat agreed to wood and water the ſhips, and return to Jamaica.

The general, however, thinking it neceſſary to offer ſome reaſon for thus ſuddenly deſerting an enterprize which he had before appeared ſo ſanguine for, ſent a paper to the admiral, containing the reaſons of the land officers for laying aſide the projected attempt upon Panama, which were as follow: "That, from having conſumed near three weeks in their paſſage, which was uſually made in eight days, the rainy ſeaſon was come upon them, which might not only incommode them in their march, but, by the ſudden riſing of the rivers, might cut off their communication: that from having, during their voyage, loſt near one thouſand men of thoſe who had embarked at Jamaica, and from the fleet being unable to ſupply them with more than ſix hundred, their numbers would fall almoſt one third ſhort of that required for the attempt on Panama: that from the want of one of the ſhips with negroes on board, their numbers were reduced ſo low as to diſable them from carrying a ſufficient quantity of proviſions: that from an omiſſion in executing one part of the ſcheme laid down for carrying on the enterprize, the governor of Porto Bello, with three companies of Spaniſh ſoldiers, and two of mulattoes and negroes, were retired to Panama; on the cutting off of whoſe retreat their ſucceſs in ſome meaſure depended, as the governor was an officer of merit and ſervice, in whom the Spaniards had great confidence: that there was lately good intelligence of a large reinforcement arrived at Panama from Lima, and of works being thrown up towards the land: and for theſe reaſons they thought it was for the ſervice to lay aſide that enterprize as impracticable."

Nothing could exceed the vexation of Mr. Vernon at finding this expedition likely to conclude ſo inglorioufly; for he was convinced that two thouſand men would have been more than ſufficient for the taking of Panama; and it is certain that the governor of that place was in deſpair about its preſervation.

PANAMA is the capital city of the province of Darien, or Terra Firma, properly in South America. Hither the treaſures of gold and ſilver, and other rich merchandizes of Peru, are brought, and depoſited in magazines till they are tranſported to Europe; and here the merchandize of Europe, ſent to America by the galleons, is lodged, till exported to the ſeveral cities of Peru, to which it is aſſigned. The reduction of this city would have made us entire maſters of the Iſthmus of Darien, and thereby, in effect, of all the treaſures of Peru. By this conqueſt we ſhould have always had in hand an equivalent for any conceſſions that the fate of war might have obliged us to make to either of the branches of the houſe of Bourbon. But from the circumſtances, it appears that the general had not for ſome time been in earneſt in the proſecution of this ſcheme; for he was amazingly dilatory in getting ready the troops after it had been agreed on; and even when they entered Porto Bello, he neglected the advice given by Mr. Vernon in a council of war, to ſend a detachment up the river Caſcahal, in order to intercept the

governor

governor of Porto Bello and his troops, which might in all probability have ſucceeded, or at leaſt they might have cut off the two companies of mulattoes and negroes, who did not leave the place till next morning. But, to conclude, the reſult of the whole was, that the fleet and tranſports quitted Porto Bello and ſet ſail for Jamaica, where they arrived on the fifteenth day of May; and the nation, inſtead of driving the Spaniards out of the Weſt Indies, as was fully expected, and for which purpoſe above a million of money had been expended, only purchaſed this melancholy leſſon, that as diſſenſion is the misfortune of a free ſtate, ſo it is the ruin of a military project.

After the return of the fleet from Porto Bello, nothing material was tranſacted in the Weſt Indies either by vice-admiral Vernon or general Wentworth, if we except the taking poſſeſſion of, and ſettling the little iſland of Rattan, in the bay of Honduras. On the twenty-third of September arrived captain Fowke, in the Gibraltar man of war, at Port-Royal in Jamaica, with letters from the duke of Newcaſtle, his majeſty's ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department, for admiral Vernon and general Wentworth to return to England; the vice-admiral to leave the command of the fleet to ſir Chaloner Ogle, and the general to ſupply the fleet with what number of ſoldiers ſhould be demanded to be under the aforeſaid admiral's command, the government being now fully ſenſible of the diſadvantage attending a command divided between the land and ſea officers. On the nineteenth of October vice-admiral Vernon, in the Boyne, ſet ſail from Port-Royal on his return to England, where he arrived ſafely in the month of December, as did general Wentworth ſome ſhort time after.

In the month of June the new colony of Georgia was invaded by an armament from St. Auguſtine, commanded by Don Manuel de Monteano, governor of that fortreſs. It conſiſted of thirty-ſix ſhips, from which three thouſand men were landed at St. Simon's fort, and began their march for Frederica, the principal town in the province: but general Oglethorpe, with a handful of men, took ſuch wiſe precautions for oppoſing their progreſs, and ſo harraſſed them in their march, that after ſeveral bloody rencounters, in which the Spaniards were always worſted, they retired to their ſhips and abandoned the enterprize.

After the departure of admiral Vernon from Jamaica, ſir Chaloner Ogle took all poſſible care for the ſecurity of the iſland and protection of the trade; but the Spaniſh ſquadron under admiral de Torres continuing ſtill at the Havannah, and being ſuperior to that under his command, was a check upon him in attempting any enterprize. However, the Spaniards were greatly diſturbed in their trade by the Britiſh cruizers and privateers in thoſe ſeas.

In England the parliament reſumed its ſeſſion on the ſixteenth day of November, when his majeſty acquainted the two houſes, that he had augmented the Britiſh troops in the Low countries with ſixteen thouſand Hanoverians and the Heſſian auxiliaries, in order to form ſuch a force, in conjunction with the Auſtrians, as might be of ſervice to the common cauſe in all events. He extolled the magnanimity and fortitude of the queen of Hungary, as well as the reſolute conduct of the king of Sardinia, and his ſtrict adherence to his engagements, though attacked in his own dominions. He mentioned the requiſition of Sweden for his good offices to bring about a peace between that nation and Ruſſia; the defenſive alliances which he had contracted with the czarina and with the king of Pruſſia, as events which could not have been expected, if Great Britain had not manifeſted a ſeaſonable ſpirit and vigour in the defence and aſſiſtance of her ancient allies, and in maintaining the liberties of Europe. He ſaid, the honour of his crown and kingdoms, the ſucceſs of the war with Spain, the re-eſtabliſhment of the balance and tranquillity of Europe, would greatly depend on the prudence and vigour of their reſolutions.

His majeſty alſo acquainted the houſe of commons in particular, that he had ordered the proper eſtimates for the ſervice of the enſuing year to be prepared and laid before them, and alſo the account of the expence of thoſe particular ſervices which he had already mentioned, and which they would find to have been concerted in as frugal a manner as the nature of them would admit. He was perſuaded, he ſaid, that they would readily grant him ſuch ſupplies as ſhould be found neceſſary for the ſecurity and welfare of the nation, requiſite for the ſupport of the common cauſe, and adequate to the common emergency.

The next day both houſes of parliament preſented very dutiful and loyal addreſſes to his majeſty, expreſſing their approbation of the meaſures he had taken for the ſupport of the queen of Hungary, and the reſtoration of the balance of power in Europe: but when the motions for theſe addreſſes were made, they met with a vigorous oppoſition before they paſſed in the affirmative. This was occaſioned by the influence of the diſguſted members, who had promoted another oppoſition to the new miniſtry. About this period a treaty of mutual defence and guarantee between his majeſty and the king of Pruſſia, was ſigned at Whitehall.

Notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous oppoſition to the new miniſtry, they carried moſt of their points. The committee of ſupplies ſat, for the firſt time, on the twenty-third of November, and continued by different adjournments to the ſecond of March, 1743, when the total of the grants amounted to five millions three hundred and fourteen thouſand one hundred pounds for the ſervice of the current year, and five hundred and ninety-eight thouſand three hundred and eighty-two pounds for a deficiency in the ſupplies granted for the preceding year, which made together the ſum of five millions nine hundred and twelve thouſand four hundred and eighty-two pounds. The committee of ways and means was eſtabliſhed on the twenty-fifth of November, and continued till the twenty-fourth of March, when they ſettled the ſum of ſix millions five hundred and ſixty-two thouſand four hundred and ninety-two pounds to anſwer the ſupplies, which was an exceeding of ſix hundred and fifty thouſand ten pounds. To raiſe this ſum the land-tax, at four ſhillings in the pound, was computed to furniſh two millions, the malt tax ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand; one million was taken from the ſinking fund; one million was to be borrowed at three per cent. and eight hundred thouſand pounds to be raiſed by a lottery; five hundred and eighteen thouſand ſix hundred pounds were to be borrowed by a loan on the exciſe bills, and four

hundred eighty-one thouſand four hundred pounds, being the deficiencies on the pot-duty; beſides twelve thouſand four hundred and ninety-two pounds overplus in the Exchequer. The amount of the national debt, on the thirty-firſt of December, was forty-eight millions nine hundred and fifteen thouſand forty-ſeven pounds ſixteen ſhillings and nine-pence half-penny, of which very near two millions had been increaſed ſince the thirty-firſt of December 1741; and though it was ſo conſiderable, moſt of the grants ſtipulated for the ſervice of the year 1743 met with little oppoſition, the diſcontented party being reſolved to reſerve all their ſtrength for a more important object.

On the firſt of December the motion was revived for appointing a committee to examine into the conduct of the earl of Orford during the laſt ten years of his adminiſtration, which was carried in the negative by two hundred and fifty-three voices againſt one hundred and eighty-ſix; and afforded an inſtance of the ſuperiority of the miniſterial party; becauſe many members who, in the former ſeſſion, had clamorouſly inſiſted on an enquiry, now appeared as openly on the other ſide, and voted againſt it. On the third of December a motion was made by Mr. Lyttleton, ſeconded by ſir Watkyn-Williams Wynn, for reviving the place and penſion bills; which met with the ſame fate as the former, being ſet aſide by two hundred and twenty-one againſt one hundred and ninety-ſix.

On the ſixteenth day of December, the houſe of commons being then in a grand committee of the ſupply, a motion was made to reſolve, that the ſum of two hundred and ſixty-five thouſand one hundred and ninety-one pounds ſix ſhillings and two pence farthing ſhould be granted to his majeſty for defraying the charge of five thouſand five hundred and twelve horſe, and ten thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-five foot, of the troops of Hanover, together with the general officers and the train of artillery in the pay of Great Britain, from the thirty-firſt day of Auguſt to the twenty-fifth day of December incluſive: that the ſum of three hundred and ninety-two thouſand ſix hundred and ſeven pounds eight ſhillings and three pence ſhould be granted to his majeſty for defraying the charge of the ſaid troops, from the twenty-ſixth day of December 1742, to the twenty-fifth day of December 1743: and that the ſum of one hundred and ſixty-one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeven pounds ſeventeen ſhillings and one penny halfpenny ſhould be granted to his majeſty for defraying the expence of one thouſand two hundred and ſixty horſe, and four thouſand nine hundred and eight foot, of the troops of his majeſty the king of Sweden, as elector of Heſſe-Caſſel, in the pay of Great Britain, from the twenty-firſt day of December 1742, to the twenty-fifth day of December 1743. This motion was oppoſed with the utmoſt vehemence; and the debates which happened thereon in both houſes were attended with reflections more perſonal and ſevere than could well have been expected in an aſſembly that owned the elector of Hanover for their ſovereign. It was aſſerted that the act of ſettlement, which provides againſt Great Britain ever being engaged in a war on account of the dominions belonging to her king on the continent, had been violated. It was farther pretended, that the whole of the bargain for the electoral troops was an impoſition upon the Engliſh nation, inaſmuch as thoſe troops durſt not act againſt the head of the empire without expoſing his majeſty in his electoral character to the ban; and of the juſtneſs of this reaſoning, the late neutrality for Hanover was urged as an irrefragable proof. The meaſure of ſending the Britiſh troops to the continent, before a promiſe had been obtained of the concurrence of the States-general, was ſeverely cenſured; and, in anſwer to that part of his majeſty's ſpeech, wherein it is ſaid, that this had been done in purſuance of the repeated advice of his parliament, it was alleged, that ſuch advice was given only upon the ſuppoſition that the States-general, or ſome other power in Europe, would have joined Great Britain in her endeavours to preſerve the houſe of Auſtria.

The miniſtry, towards the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion, had contracted for ſixteen thouſand Hanoverians to be taken into the Britiſh pay, without the concurrence of parliament, whoſe approbation was expected when they aſſembled the next ſeſſion. This procedure was now repreſented as highly unconſtitutional, and derogatory from the honour and dignity of that auguſt aſſembly. It was now publicly aſſerted by ſome of the leaders of the oppoſition, that the intereſts of Great Britain had been made ſubſervient to the aggrandizing and enriching of Hanover, ever ſince the acceſſion of the houſe of Brunſwic; and that it was the groſſeſt impoſition, to make ſo opulent a kingdom dependent on and regulated by the intereſt of that electorate. Laſtly, it was urged that no ſupply ought to be granted on ſo improper an occaſion as the preſent; and that it was contrary to the national intereſt to retain ſuch unſerviceable auxiliaries in the Britiſh pay. The miniſtry, on the other hand, laboured to prove, that the preſervation of Europe required that the crown of Great Britain ſhould aſſiſt the queen of Hungary; and that ſuch aſſiſtance could not be properly granted without this body of Hanoverians. The reſult was, that the houſe came to a reſolution agreeable to the terms of the motion.

Though the continuance of the Hanoverian forces in the Britiſh pay had thus gained the approbation of the houſe of commons, it was afterwards more vigorouſly oppoſed in the houſe of lords; for on the firſt of February, 1743, when their lordſhips took into conſideration the ſeveral eſtimates of the expence occaſioned by the forces in the pay of Great Britain, earl Stanhope roſe up; and, after obſerving that theſe troops were raiſed without the advice or conſent of parliament; that it was a new burthen laid upon the nation by the deſpotic will of the miniſters; and that the demands made for their ſupport might be ſaid to be a tax laid upon the people, not by the parliament, but by the court, his lordſhip moved, "That an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, to beſeech and adviſe him, that, conſidering the exceſſive and grievous expences incurred by the great number of foreign troops now in the pay of Great Britain; expences, increaſed by the extraordinary manner, as there was reaſon to apprehend, of making the eſtimates relating to them, and which did not appear to be conducive to the end propoſed; his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed, in compaſſion to his ſubjects, already loaded with ſuch numerous and heavy taxes, ſuch large and

growing debts, and greater annual expences than the nation at any time ever before ſuſtained, to exonerate his ſubjects of the charge and burden of thoſe mercenaries who were taken into the Britiſh ſervice laſt year, without the advice or conſent of parliament." This motion was ſeconded by the earl of Sandwich, who took occaſion to ſpeak with great contempt of Hanover, and even ſeemed to forget, in mentioning certain illuſtrious perſonages, that decorum the ſubject required. The intent of this motion was to prevail on his majeſty to diſband this body of Hanoverians; but though it was ſtrongly ſupported, after a long and warm debate it was rejected, by the determination of ninety lords againſt thirty-five, which occaſioned a proteſt, entered and ſigned by thoſe lords. The chief ſpeakers for the motion were, the duke of Bedford, the earls of Cheſterfield and Sandwich, viſcount Lonſdale, and lord Hervey, who were oppoſed by the lord-chancellor, the duke of Newcaſtle, the earls of Cholmondeley and Bath, lord Carteret, and lord Bathurſt.

The Britiſh nation had for a long time entertained a great jealouſy of Hanover: the frequent viſits of the late and reigning monarch to their electoral dominions, contrary to the original terms on which the crown was conferred on them, had inclined their Britiſh ſubjects to entertain a ſuſpicion that they had only the ſecond place in the affection of their ſovereign; and no attempt for many years had raiſed a greater heat of reſentment, or excited louder clamours of indignation among the people, than the hire of the electoral troops; not that they had any juſt reaſon to imagine that his majeſty would incur, either by contempt or neglect, the diſaffection of his ſubjects, but becauſe they apprehended the miniſtry, ever ſince the acceſſion, had, to gain the affections of their ſovereign, preferred the intereſt and advantage of his electoral before his royal dominions.

It was repreſented by the gentlemen in the oppoſition to the preſent miniſtry, that while Great Britain was exhauſting herſelf almoſt to ruin, in purſuance of ſchemes pretended to be founded on engagements to the queen of Hungary; the electorate of Hanover, though under the ſame engagements, as well as under the ſame prince, did not appear to contribute any thing, as an ally, to her aſſiſtance, but was paid by Great Britain for all the forces it had then in the field. The reſtoring the balance of power in Europe, by raiſing the houſe of Auſtria to its former condition of influence, dominion, and ſtrength, was repreſented as an object not attainable by the arms of Great Britain alone. If the queen of Hungary, however, was to be aſſiſted, the miniſtry, they ſaid, had entered into wrong meaſures for granting her the proper aſſiſtance, becauſe, from the ſituation of her affairs, and that of all Europe, as well as the particular intereſt and policy of Great Britain, ſhe would have been more effectually ſerved with a ſupply of money than with a reinforcement of men, as the thirty-eight thouſand troops in pay in her ſervice coſt the Britiſh nation near a million and an half of money; one half of which ſum, it was ſaid, would have enabled her to maintain a greater number of men, capable of acting wherever her affairs might require.

In anſwer to theſe arguments, uttered by ſome of the moſt eminent and diſtinguiſhed men in the nation, it was ſaid by the friends of the new miniſtry, that if it was really the intention of Great Britain to prevent the houſe of Auſtria from being cruſhed, it was certainly more eligible to ſupport it with men than money: by perpetually recruiting ſo conſiderable an army, the Auſtrian dominions, populous as they are, might in time become unable to oppoſe France: there is a natural ſuperiority confederated forces have over a ſingle nation, which was manifeſted in the laſt general war, by the advantage that the united powers had over France; for the loſs of men with the former falling more equally, was the leſs felt; while the whole loſs of the latter fell upon her own nation, from whence alone ſhe was able to recruit; which circumſtance muſt enable the queen of Hungary to ſuſtain the war longer, and with leſs inconvenience than the French: not only ſo, but there was another objection againſt furniſhing that princeſs with a pecuniary aid, becauſe it could not be leſs than a million; and ſo glaring a ſum might have tempted the Auſtrian miniſters to a miſapplication of a conſiderable part of it. Such was the ſubſtance of the principal arguments urged for and againſt this famous meaſure.

It has been proved by repeated experience, that leſs abilities are required to oppoſe than to conduct, or even to defend an adminiſtration in England. The diſtinguiſhed talents for which the gentlemen of the new miniſtry had been ſo idolized, while engaged in the late oppoſition, were all obſcured from the eyes of the public, the moment they attained to the direction of affairs. The truth is, the number of their friends was ſmall, and they had little or no intereſt; for though the remains of the late adminiſtration, who were ſtill very powerful, concurred with them in, and ſupported all their meaſures; yet was not that from any real regard they bore them, but, as they thought it a common cauſe, to prevent the progreſs and ſucceſs of a third party, which they equally dreaded: and what added to the unpopularity of the new miniſtry was, the diſgrace they had incurred by having changed their party and principles, without having acquired any real power, particularly in money affairs, which was all veſted in the members of the old adminiſtration.

The miniſter (ſo lord Carteret was now termed) exerted himſelf with equal ſpirit and ability in defending the meaſures which the government had embraced; but foreſeeing that if the oppoſition in parliament ſhould continue to gain ſtrength, it might be attended with fatal conſequences to the internal peace of the kingdom; and rightly conſidering that the opinions of the people are regulated in a great meaſure by the determinations of the parliament, he was not ſatisfied with the bare refuſal of the lords to cenſure the meaſure of taking the Hanoverian troops into pay, unleſs they alſo came to a reſolution which might imply a full and unlimited approbation of that meaſure; and therefore, by his procurement, a motion was made (after the concluſion of the debate upon earl Stanhope's motion) by the earl of Scarborough, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, importing, That in the unſettled and dangerous ſituation of affairs in Europe, the ſending a conſiderable body of Britiſh forces into the Auſtrian Netherlands, and augmenting the ſame with ſixteen thouſand of his majeſty's electoral troops, and the

the Heſſians in the Britiſh pay; and thereby, in conjunction with the queen of Hungary's troops in the Low Countries, forming a great army for the ſervice of the common cauſe; was a wiſe, uſeful, and neceſſary meaſure, tending to the ſupport and encouragement of his majeſty's allies, the real and effectual aſſiſtance of the queen of Hungary, and the reſtoring and maintaining the balance of power in Europe. This motion occaſioned a violent debate; but in the end it was carried by the court party, ſeventy-eight againſt thirty-five.

The miniſtry, however, had a very ſevere oppoſition to encounter, in their endeavours to carry a bill for repealing certain duties on ſpirituous liquors, and licences for retailing thoſe liquors, and impoſing others at an eaſier rate. This, it muſt be confeſſed, was a dangerous expedient; but the miniſtry could not at that time fall upon any other feaſible method of producing the ſums that had been granted to the government: beſides, experience had ſhewn that the public revenue had not been in the leaſt advantaged by the late impoſed ſevere duties, nor the health or morals of the people any wiſe mended. A motion was therefore made to reſolve, That the duty of twenty ſhillings per gallon upon ſpirituous liquors ſhould be diſcontinued; and that, towards raiſing the ſupplies granted to his majeſty, there ſhould be paid for every gallon of low wines, and ſpirits of the firſt extraction, made or drawn from any foreign or imported materials, ſix-pence over and above all other duties charged or chargeable on thoſe liquors. This bill made its way through the commons with very little oppoſition, but among the peers it produced the moſt obſtinate diſpute which had happened ſince the beginning of the parliament.

The lord Hervey had lately been diveſted of his poſt of privy-ſeal, which had been beſtowed upon lord Gower, and theſe two noblemen from that inſtant exchanged principles: the firſt commenced the ſplenetic patriot, oppoſing every meaſure indiſcriminately that was adopted by the miniſtry; the other as obſequiouſly falling in with and ſupporting them. Lord Hervey on this occaſion made a florid harangue upon the pernicious effects of that deſtructive liquor they were about to let looſe on their fellow-creatures. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, with ſeveral other prelates, expatiated on the ſame topic, who were joined by the duke of Bedford, the earls of Aylesford, Sandwich, and Cheſterfield, and the lords Lonſdale and Talbot. The duke of Newcaſtle, the earls of Ilay, Cholmondeley, and Bath, with the lords Carteret and Bathurſt, were numbered among its advocates, and ſhrewd arguments were advanced on both ſides of the queſtion; in the courſe of which there frequently appeared ſome brilliant ſallies of wit and humour. After very long, animated, and repeated debates, the bill paſſed without amendments, though the whole bench of biſhops voted againſt it. Experience has ſince ſhewn, that this meaſure has not been attended with the diſmal conſequences that were predicted by the lords in the oppoſition.

The minority in both houſes were now convinced that the miniſtry this ſeſſion had too much influence to be retarded in their meaſures. More provoked, however, than diſcouraged by their defeat, they reſolved to teaze thoſe in power with every motion they thought would prove moſt diſagreeable to them. The firſt was, to make an enquiry into the contract for the remittance of the money abroad neceſſary for the public ſervice; but this was over-ruled. The next was, to addreſs his majeſty to order the proper officer to lay before the houſe (of commons) copies of all the memorials, repreſentations, and declarations, together with the anſwers that had paſſed between the courts of London and Vienna, relating to the ſtate of the war in the empire, for the intereſt and ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria, from the firſt of September, 1741, to the ſixteenth of November, 1742.

The promoters and advocates of this motion urged in its favour, that nothing could be more reaſonable than that the parliament ſhould be made acquainted with all the particulars of an affair, for the ſupport of which they had granted ſuch immenſe ſums of money. To this the friends of the miniſter replied, with great appearance of juſtice, that if this motion ſhould paſs, no court in Europe could be ſafe in their political dealings with us. They affirmed, that the tranſactions between two courts might be, and generally were, of ſuch a nature, that were they to be publiſhed, the whole operations depending upon them might be defeated; and conſequently, that nothing could be more prejudicial to the queen of Hungary than the agreeing to ſuch a motion; and as ſucceſs was the beſt proof of prudence, the preſent criſis was ſo favourable to that princeſs, that it ought to entitle the miniſtry to the thanks of the houſe, rather than ſubject them to any invidious enquiry into their conduct. For theſe, and other reaſons of the like nature, the motion was rejected by a conſiderable majority.

The laſt motion was to addreſs his majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to communicate to the houſe copies of all the letters and memorials which had paſſed between the courts of London and Berlin, relating to any auxiliary or foreign forces entering into Germany in ſupport of the queen of Hungary.

This motion appears to have been founded upon very wiſe, reaſonable, and equitable conſiderations. The king of Pruſſia had expreſſed great uneaſineſs at the ſituation of affairs in Germany, where the emperor, he ſaid, was on the point of being dethroned. The queen of Hungary was miſtreſs of his dominions; and in all appearance a total revolution of the German ſyſtem was about to take place. His Pruſſian majeſty frankly declared, that notwithſtanding the treaty of Breſlaw, he could not be an indifferent ſpectator of ſuch cruel degradations of the imperial dignity, which, as an elector of the empire, he was bound to ſupport. He hinted at the ſame time, that, as a German ſovereign, he could wiſh that the government of England would not think of ſending their arms into Germany, becauſe he could not behold the introduction of foreign troops into that country without the greateſt jealouſy and diſguſt. The queſtion, however, upon a diviſion, was rejected by a majority of eighteen voices.

No other material tranſaction paſſed in either houſe this ſeſſion; for on the twenty-firſt day of April, 1743, his majeſty went to the houſe, where, after paſſing the ſeveral acts ready for the royal aſſent, he made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he

he obſerved, "That, to the end that the Britiſh nation and the common cauſe might reap the moſt beneficial fruits from the vigorous reſolutions of his parliament, he had, at the requiſition of the queen of Hungary, ordered his army, in conjunction with the Auſtrian troops, to paſs the Rhine, as auxiliaries to her Hungarian majeſty, to oppoſe any dangerous meaſures that might affect the balance and liberties of Europe, or hinder the re-eſtabliſhment of public tranquillity upon juſt and ſolid foundations: that he had continued a ſtrong ſquadron in the Mediterranean, and another in the Weſt Indies, in order to proſecute the great work of diſtreſſing his enemies the Spaniards, and compelling them to accept of ſafe and honourable terms of peace, as well as of maintaining the rights of navigation and commerce belonging to his ſubjects; adding, that from the former of theſe ſquadrons his allies in Italy had found, and ſtill continued to receive, a moſt uſeful and advantageous ſupport." The lord-chancellor then, by his majeſty's order, prorogued the parliament.

The affairs of Europe were at this time in a very perplexed and complicated ſituation. All the provinces, from the heart of Sileſia to the extremity of Italy, experienced different reverſes of fortune. Auſtria was at this time at open war only with Bavaria; the queen of Hungary depended for ſupport on the king of England; and Charles VII. upon his moſt Chriſtian majeſty: yet neither Great Britain nor France had hitherto acted as principals in the war. Her Hungarian majeſty and the king of Sardinia had mutual claims upon each other, which would ſoon have effected a rupture between them, had they not been bound together by their common dread of the houſe of Bourbon. Naples, Florence, Geneva, and Rome, were neuter. The people of the Milaneſe, of Mantua, of Parma, of Modena, and Guaſtalla, long accuſtomed to be the prey of the conqueror, without daring to vote either for or againſt him, beheld with an impotent concern the frequent ſhocks they were expoſed to. Spain, who was a principal in the war againſt England, riſqued every thing in order to procure a ſovereignty in the heart of Italy for the ſon of her ambitious queen. The court of Spain had demanded of the ſtates of Switzerland a paſſage through their territories for ſome troops they were going to ſend into Italy, and were refuſed. The Swiſs nation is ever ready to lend out its ſoldiers to any prince who is ready to hire them; but they will ſuffer the troops of no potentate to enter their territories: the government is pacific, and the people warriors: hence their neutrality is always reſpected. To give a proper weight to her's, Venice levied twenty thouſand men.

All Germany ſeemed to behold with indifference the quarrel between Auſtria and Bavaria: even the elector of Cologne did not dare to take the part of his brother, who was emperor, fearing the fate of the duke of Modena. If Hanover took part in the quarrel, it was only as a country ſubject to the king of England, and her ſoldiers were paid by that crown. The German princes themſelves, although their troops were let out as mercenaries, were yet regarded as neuters.

England was more urgent with Holland than ever to declare war, and France laboured hard to prevent it. The marquis de Fenelon, the French ambaſſador at the Hague, had employed all his addreſs in perſuading the Dutch to declare themſelves neuter: but the Engliſh, with the prince of Orange at their head, prevailed ſo far, that in July of the preceding year their High Mightineſſes were brought to agree to a propoſition of putting forty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe into a proper condition for marching on the firſt notice. This vigorous reſolution was in ſome meaſure owing to the ſpirited conduct of a young gentleman named Van Haren, one of the deputies, who exerted himſelf with great zeal and activity in ſupport of the common cauſe. He compoſed ſome allegorical pieces to animate his nation againſt the king of France. Theſe pieces were full of beautiful ſtrokes of writing: the author knew well how to enrich his language, and to give it an harmonious turn, which it greatly wanted. He compared the ancient ſtate of Greece to that of Holland, at this time overawed by the French, as the Greeks had been by the Perſians and Macedonians. His ſtile, though ſublime and allegorical, was adapted to the underſtandings of the people, becauſe it was natural, and the allegory clear. They were read by the Dutch of all denominations: they were recited publicly after divine ſervice in the moſt frequented parts of towns, and even in the little villages; and thoſe who read them in public were handſomely rewarded by the auditors, as had been formerly the caſe with thoſe who pronounced Homer's pieces in public: in fine, theſe writings excited ſuch a ſpirit among the people, that the States-general found themſelves under a neceſſity of adopting ſtill more reſolute meaſures. The friends of the houſe of Orange began to exert themſelves: the ſtates of Groningen and Weſt Frieſland proteſted in favour of the prince againſt the promotion of foreign generals which was made in conſequence of the reſolution of the States general to augment their forces by ſea and land; in the diſtribution of which promotions, they made the prince but a lieutenant-general, which he rejected with indignation.

The French court had expected to bring over the new empreſs of Ruſſia, Elizabeth, to their meaſures; but they found her not diſpoſed to liſten to their offers. She remitted a conſiderable ſum of money to the queen of Hungary, and at the ſame time congratulated the elector of Bavaria on his election to the imperial throne. She had declared her nephew, the duke of Holſtein-Gottorp, her ſucceſſor, by the title of grand prince of all the Ruſſias.

The king of Sweden being of an advanced age, the diet aſſembled in order to ſettle the ſucceſſion; and the duke of Holſtein-Gottorp, as grandſon to the eldeſt ſiſter of Charles XII. was declared next heir to the crown; but underſtanding that he had embraced the Greek religion, and had been acknowleged ſucceſſor to the throne of Ruſſia, they annulled his election for Sweden.

The king of Pruſſia, though ſurrounded by the tumults of war, was cultivating in his own dominions the arts of peace, but ſtill with ſuch vigilance and attention as kept him always prepared for action.

In this critical ſituation were all the European powers in the beginning of the year 1743, when cardinal de Fleury departed this life at the age of eighty-nine. In him France loſt an able miniſter, who had for many years managed the affairs of

that kingdom. He was always a friend to pacific meaſures: he endeavoured to accompliſh his purpoſes, by raiſing and fomenting intrigues at foreign courts; but the French to this day accuſe him of having been too neglectful of the military glory of France, and of having ſuffered her marine to be almoſt annihilated. No ſooner, however, were the cardinal's eyes cloſed, than Lewis XV. took the reins of government into his own hands, declaring he was ready to accept of an honourable peace, or to proſecute the war with vigour: and as he expected the allied army in Flanders would march into Germany, and act offenſively, he reſolved to aſſemble a numerous force to oppoſe them; and ordered the marſhal de Noailles, one of his beſt generals, to poſt himſelf on the banks of the Rhine with an army of eighty thouſand men, and on the approach of the Engliſh and their allies to march out againſt them.

His Britannic majeſty had repeatedly plighted his faith for the ſupport of the pragmatic ſanction. Urged by this conſideration, he reſolved in the courſe of the enſuing campaign to head his troops in perſon. Accordingly, immediately upon the prorogation of the parliament, he ſet out for Germany, accompanied by his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, the lord Carteret, and other perſons of diſtinction, and arrived at Hanover on the ſixth of May, his majeſty, before his departure from England, having thought proper to make a grand promotion of general officers, as alſo to appoint a regency for the government of the kingdom during his abſence, conſiſting of the following perſons; his grace the lord archbiſhop of Canterbury; the lord chancellor; the dukes of Grafton, Dorſet, Devon, Newcaſtle, Bolton, Montagu, and Richmond; the marquis of Tweedale, ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland; the earls of Harrington, Bath, Wilmington, Pembroke, Winchelſea, and Ilay; lord Gower, lord Carteret, and Henry Pelham, eſq.

At this period the queen of Hungary, who at the beginning of the laſt campaign ſeemed devoted to inevitable deſtruction, now appeared to triumph over all her enemies. The French were driven out of Bohemia and part of the Upper Palatinate; and the Bavarian and French forces being divided into too many ſeparate bodies, mouldered away by degrees. The mortality which got footing among the French troops in Bavaria was the beginning of their misfortunes. The French ſoldiers ſpent the latter end of the year 1742, and the beginning of 1743, crouded upon each other in German ſtoves, which alone deſtroyed them in great numbers; but that which was their greateſt bane, was a miſunderſtanding between marſhal Broglio and count Seckendorff, who then commanded the Bavarians: the latter, who acted under the emperor, was urgent with Broglio to ſend him reinforcements, which the marſhal conſtantly refuſed, alleging, that he had enough to do, with all the forces he could muſter, to make head againſt prince Lobkowitz, who having taken poſſeſſion of Prague, proceeded to Egra, which he immediately inveſted, though without ſucceſs.

By this time the campaign had been opened between the ſeveral parties engaged in the war. The emperor had exerted himſelf with great activity in recruiting his army; and having aſſembled a body of about twenty thouſand men, he pitched his camp at Lembatch, in the neighbourhood of Brenau; while prince Charles of Lorraine, aſſuming the command of the Auſtrian troops in Bavaria, advanced againſt his Imperial majeſty, and attacked him with great fury in his entrenchments. The Imperialiſts continued for ſome time to make a moſt deſperate reſiſtance; but about five thouſand of them being killed on the ſpot, and a great number taken priſoners, they were at laſt obliged to abandon the camp, with all their baggage and artillery, to the victors. The remains of the defeated army retired to Brenau, and all Bavaria was ſoon laid open to the incurſions of the Auſtrians, there being nothing now to oppoſe the progreſs of prince Charles, who took Dingelſing, Deckendorff, and Landſhut, upon the Iſſer, making a great number of priſoners every-where. The emperor ſaw himſelf once more forced to abandon his dominions, and ſhelter himſelf in Augſburg, an imperial town; but he did not remain there long, the approach of the famous partiſan Mentzel, at the head of a ſtrong body of Pandours, obliging him to retire for ſhelter to Franckfort. This rapid courſe of military events fell out in the months of May and June.

Prince Charles, flushed with victory and ſucceſs, advanced to the banks of the Danube, where the French marſhal Broglio was poſted, whom he obliged to quit his ſtrong camp at Pladling, and retire to Ratiſbon, and from thence to Ingoldſtadt. In this retreat the French ſuffered greatly from the Auſtrian huſſars and Irregulars, who hovered continually on their flanks and rear, cut off a great number of their men, and took a booty amounting to upwards of a million of florins.

Mean while, the campaign was equally vigorous and active in other quarters. As his Britannic majeſty had promiſed the queen of Hungary to order his troops into Germany, in purſuance of his engagement, the Britiſh forces commanded by field-marſhal earl of Stair began their march thither in the month of February, and on the nineteenth of May paſſed by the town of Aix-la-Chapelle, where they were were joined by the Hanoverians in the pay of England. They were likewiſe in expectation of being ſoon reinforced by another body of ſix thouſand troops belonging to that electorate, as well as by the Heſſians in the ſervice of Great Britain. As Franckfort was a neutral city, marſhal Stair, before he approached its neighbourhood, ſent a meſſage to the emperor, who then reſided in that city, to aſſure his Imperial majeſty, "That nothing farther was intended by the march of the Britiſh troops into Germany than to reſtore the public peace and tranquillity: that his Britannic majeſty, upon appointing him to the command of them, had expreſsly charged him to avoid every thing that might in the leaſt injure the dignity of the head of the empire: and that therefore his Imperial majeſty might aſſure himſelf, that the march of theſe troops ſhould be directed in ſuch a manner as not to diſturb his reſidence at Frankfort." At the ſame time, the marſhal cauſed it to be notified to the neighbouring princes and imperial towns, that he had no orders to act againſt the emperor, but only to oblige the French to leave Germany. In return, theſe ſeveral ſtates, and the regency of Frankfort in particular, expreſſed their intention to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. The emperor, however, thinking it ſomewhat unſafe to remain in a neutral

neutral city, retired to Munich, in company with the prince royal his ſon, and did not return till he was compelled to it, by the loſs of his hereditary dominions, as above related.

The Dutch having at length conſented to join the allied army with twenty thouſand men, believing alſo that now they could take ſuch a ſtep without any hazard, and that without declaring war againſt France, they might help to cruſh her; they ſent ſix thouſand men into Flanders to replace the Auſtrian garriſons, and propoſed to ſend an army of fourteen thouſand men into Germany; but they proceeded, in the true ſpirit of that republic, very ſlowly.

In the mean time, the army of the allies continued their march along the banks of the Rhine till the beginning of May, when they began to aſſemble near Hoechſt, on the borders of the Mayne, where proper ground was laid out for their encampment. The Auſtrians under the command of marſhal Neuperg and the duke d'Aremberg arrived about the ſame time, and encamped on the right, at a league diſtance from the Britiſh troops; and the Hanoverians under lieutenant-general Ilton coming up ſoon after, encamped on the left, marſhal Stair taking up his quarters at Hoechſt, which was about the center of the whole. The army of the allies, after making allowance for all deductions, was ſuppoſed to conſiſt of about thirty-ſeven thouſand men.

The court of Verſailles expected theſe motions of the allied army, and had been making preparations to obſtruct their junction with the Auſtrians in Bavaria. No ſooner, therefore, had the allies paſſed the Rhine, than marſhal Noailles, at the head of eighty thouſand men, entered the Palatinate; and after detaching count Segur to reinforce Broglio, advanced towards the Rhine, where he ſeized Spires, Worms, Oppenheim, and all the places on that ſide the river above Mentz, as alſo the city of Heidelberg on the Neckar; but was diſappointed in his attempt to ſurprize Hailbron, a well fortified town on the ſame river, by the vigilance of the garriſon. The French made no attempt to paſs the Rhine till the fourteenth of May, when they croſſed that river, and by a variety of marches and countermarches, reduced the allies to great ſtraits for want of proviſions: they even endeavoured to make themſelves maſters of Aſchaffenburgh, where there was a bridge over the Mayne; but the earl of Stair had the good fortune to prevent them in that enterprize.

On the nineteenth day of June his Britannic majeſty, attended by his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland and lord Carteret, arrived in the camp of the allies, where he was received with the moſt joyful acclamations by the army, which he reviewed the ſame afternoon, and that evening took up his head quarters at the palace of Aſchaffenburg, belonging to the elector of Mentz.

The French had poſſeſſed themſelves of all the upper poſts upon the Mayne: the boats below, obſtructed at once by the enemy's huſſars and the rapidity of the ſtream, were unable to come up with proviſions; and thus the allies, by a concurrence of untoward circumſtances, were ſurrounded on all hands by a ſuperior army, commanded by a cautious and vigilant general, who had taken his meaſures ſo wiſely, that nothing appeared left for the confederates but to ſurrender priſoners of war, or run the riſk of being cut in pieces in their retreat. While the allies were in this diſadvantageous ſituation, ſhort of proviſions, unable to procure forage, and almoſt ſurrounded by the French, couriers arrived from prince Charles, with intelligence of his ſucceſſes in Bavaria; and at the ſame time advice was brought, that the ſix thouſand Hanoverians and ſix thouſand Heſſians, which his Britannic majeſty furniſhed in his electoral capacity, and were now upon their route to reinforce the allied army, had effected a junction, and were within two days march of Hanover, under the command of prince George of Heſſe-Caſſel and general Druchleben, who wanted to know by what means they could conduct them to the confederates. As the French commanded the lower part of the Mayne, it was apprehended if the prince of Heſſe attempted to advance beyond Hanau, he might be intercepted; and as it was abſolutely neceſſary to accompliſh the junction between him and the main body of the confederates, his Britannic majeſty took a reſolution of marching the army back again to Hanau, and ſent orders to the prince of Heſſe to halt at that city; but in this caſe his majeſty found he muſt be expoſed to the fire of the batteries which the enemy had raiſed upon the Mayne. His rear was likewiſe in danger of being cut off by the French; for marſhal de Noailles had taken the precaution to throw bridges over the river between Dettingen and Aſchaffenburg, on the road to Hanau, which, by an unaccountable neglect, the allies had ſuffered him to do without interruption. On the twenty-ſixth of June the king cauſed his army to decamp before daylight without beat of drum, and ventured upon a moſt dangerous march, which indeed by no means could be avoided.

The road the allied army was to take was bounded by hills and woods on the right, and flanked on the left by the river Mayne, on the oppoſite ſide of which the French marſhal was encamped, who was no ſooner informed that our troops were in motion, than he declared they were marching to their deſtruction. He immediately cauſed thirty ſquadrons, conſiſting of the French houſhold troops, dragoons, and light horſe, to croſs the river, and advance towards the village of Dettingen, by which the Engliſh muſt neceſſarily paſs. Four brigades of infantry, with that of the French guards, were marched over two bridges, with orders to remain in the village of Dettingen, on one ſide of a hollow way, where they could not be perceived by our troops, of all whoſe motions marſhal Noailles had a clear view, and gave expreſs orders for his men not to fall upon the allies but at a certain advantage, as the very ſituation of the ground was a ſnare from which they could not eſcape. The enemy had before them a narrow paſs; the village of Dettingen was on their right, a wood on their left, and a moraſs in their center. M. Noailles earneſtly recommended to his nephew, the duke of Grammont, who commanded the troops ſent to oppoſe the march of the confederates, to wait in that poſition till the latter ſhould fall into his hands, which was unavoidable. In the mean time, he ſent five brigades to ſecure the poſt of Aſchaffenburg, which his Britannic majeſty had juſt quitted, who by this motion found himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides, and reduced to the melancholy alternative of ſubmitting at diſcretion, or fighting at very great diſadvantage.

All

All theſe wiſe diſpoſitions of the marſhal were, however, diſconcerted by the mad fierynes of temper of the duke de Grammont, who imagining that the firſt column of the allies had already paſſed, and that he had only to fall upon their rear, which could not withſtand him, quitted the very advantageous poſt he occupied, which he ought by all means to have kept, and advanced to give the confederates battle on an acceſſible ground, where his whole front was expoſed. The latter, who were filing off in order of battle, ſoon formed; and the French now fell into the very ſnare they had laid for the confederates, whom they attacked in diſorder, and with unequal force. The cannon which the enemy had planted on the other ſide of the Mayne raked us in flank, and killed a great number of our men, the Hanoverians eſpecially; but our batteries took the French in front. The advantage of cannon, which is very great, was ſoon overbalanced, the artillery on the oppoſite ſide of the river being rendered uſeleſs, as in the confuſion it muſt have annoyed the French themſelves, if it had been properly ſerved.

Marſhal Noailles, who had continued on the other ſide the river, that he might the better obſerve the diſpoſition of both armies, when he underſtood that the duke de Grammont had paſſed the defile, exclaimed in a violent paſſion, that he had ruined his whole ſcheme; and when he found the fatal event reſulting from the temerity of this officer, he paſſed over the Mayne to aſſiſt him; but it was too late: for the French having charged with a mad impetuoſity, which at firſt put ſome regiments of Britiſh cavalry into diſorder, continued running on with ſo little diſcipline and regularity, and the infantry of the allies behaved with ſo much intrepidity and deliberation, under the eye of their ſovereign, that the fate of the day was ſoon determined in favour of that army, which a few hours before ſeemed devoted to unavoidable deſtruction.

During the whole of the engagement, his Britannic majeſty rode up and down the ranks flouriſhing his ſword, and crying out to the Britiſh infantry, "Now boys! now for the honour of England! fire! advance boldly, and the French will ſt on run." The event fulfilled his prediction. The battle began about twelve o'clock, and about two in the afternoon the French gave way, and paſſed a rivulet which was behind them, where they again poſted themſelves in order of battle, upon an eminence commanding the plain: but notwithſtanding this advantageous diſpoſition, on a body of three thouſand Engliſh cavalry marching up towards them, they abandoned that poſt, and retreated over the Mayne with ſuch precipitation and confuſion, that ſeveral periſhed in the river, which they had ſo lately croſſed with all the pride of certain victory. It has been thought by ſeveral experienced commanders, that had the enemy been vigorouſly purſued, before they recollected themſelves from their firſt confuſion, it is more than probable they would have ſuſtained a total overthrow. The earl of Stair propoſed this meaſure, but his advice was over-ruled.

Thus ended this memorable engagement, in which the French loſt about five thouſand men, either killed, wounded, or taken priſoners, and amongſt them moſt of their generals and officers of diſtinction, as alſo ſix ſtandards. The loſs of the allies in this action amounted to near three thouſand: the chief officers killed on our ſide were lieutenant-general Clayton, who was ſhot by a random ball as the French were retreating; and major-general Monroy, of the Hanoverians. Among the wounded were the duke of Cumberland, who behaved very gallantly, and received a ſhot in the leg; the duke d'Aremberg, the earl of Albemarle, major-general Huſke, colonel Ligonier, and colonel Piers.

Immediately after the action, his majeſty continued his march to Hanau, where he was joined by the twelve thouſand Heſſians and Hanoverians. Before the allies left the field of battle, the earl of Stair ſent a trumpet to marſhal Noailles, recommending to his protection the wounded that were left behind: and it is but doing juſtice to the French general to obſerve, that he treated them with the utmoſt care and tenderneſs. A general thankſgiving was performed on the twenty-fourth of June by the whole confederate army at Hanau, on account of the late battle. The French alſo ſung Te Deum on the ſame occaſion; and aſſembling all their forces, afterwards removed their camp to Offenbach, a town on the ſouth ſide of the Mayne, at an equal diſtance between Hanau and Frankfort, and directly in ſight of the confederates.

While the two armies continued in this ſituation, prince Charles of Lorraine accompliſhed his work in Bavaria, and obliged marſhal Broglio to retire before him through Suabia, who repaſſed the Rhine on the borders of Alſace with much precipitation about the end of June, at the ſame time nearly that the emperor, believing himſelf no longer ſafe in Augſburg, had returned to take ſhelter in Frankfort, where he arrived the very evening of that day on which the battle of Dettingen was fought. As Frankfort was a neutral town, the officers of the French and allied armies repaired thither indiſcriminately after the action, and M. Noailles found the emperor infinitely chagrined, on account of marſhal Broglio's retreat; and to augment his misfortunes, he was without ſubſiſtence for himſelf and his family, in an imperial town, where no one would advance him any money, though the head of the empire. M. Noailles on this occaſion furniſhed him with forty thouſand crowns upon a letter of credit.

The two armies continued on different ſides of the river Mayne till the twelfth day of July, when M. Noailles, receiving intelligence that prince Charles of Lorraine was bending his march towards the confederate army, in order to put him between two fires, and that his highneſs was actually advanced as far as Heidelberg, the capital city of the elector-palatine, ſituate on the Neckar, and not above forty miles from Frankfort; he reſolved to prevent his deſign, by decamping on the twentieth at night, after ſetting fire to his magazines; and made ſo ſpeedy a retreat, that in four days the whole French army repaſſed the Rhine, between Worms and Oppenheim. His Britannic majeſty was viſited by prince Charles and count Khevenhuller at Hanau, where the future operations of the campaign were concerted.

In the mean time, his Imperial majeſty, wearied out with a deſtructive war, relenting for the calamities he had brought upon his electoral ſubjects, deprived of the means of ſupporting his auguſt

auguſt dignity; and above all, finding that he could expect no other aſſiſtance from the French, now made advances towards an accommodation with the queen of Hungary, and ordered his general count Seckendorf, to enter into a treaty of neutrality in his name with prince Charles of Lorraine. Accordingly, the general had an interview with count Khevenhuller, deputed from prince Charles, at the convent of Lower Sconfield, near Rain, where a convention was ſigned on the thirtieth of June, importing, that the emperor ſhould remain neuter during the continuance of the preſent war; and that his troops ſhould be quartered in Franconia: that the queen of Hungary ſhould keep poſſeſſion of Bavaria till the peace: that Brenau and Scharding ſhould be delivered up to the Auſtrians: that the French garriſon of Ingoldſtadt ſhould be permitted to withdraw, and be replaced by Bavarians; but that the Auſtrian general ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of all the artillery, magazines, and warlike ſtores, belonging to the French, which ſhould be found in the place.

When this treaty of Hanau was ſent to London for ratification, the lords juſtices thought proper to annul it, owing to the repreſentations of the queen of Hungary, who inſiſted that the elector of Bavaria could not be conſidered as a neutral party in his own cauſe, and that this treaty was only intended to deprive her of the aſſiſtance of her allies. His Imperial majeſty, ſtill panting after peace, offered to allow the ſtrong towns in Bavaria to be garriſoned by neutral troops, and to renounce all pretenſions to the Auſtrian ſucceſſion: nay, he even offered to give his daughter in marriage to the archduke, who was then three years of age, and to ſecure the imperial dignity in reverſion to the houſe of Auſtria, by procuring the young archduke to be elected king of the Romans; and that he would abide by the judgment of the maritime powers, on the ſingle condition of obtaining a reſtitution of his hereditary dominions, even with the mortifying reſtriction of leaving all the fortified towns in the poſſeſſion of neutral troops. But all theſe conſiderable offers, though not immediately rejected, terminated without any effect, being evaded by the excuſes of diſpatching couriers, and ſuch-like pretences, till the concluſion of the treaty of Worms in September following; after which not a ſingle ſtep was taken towards an accommodation, this laſt treaty eſtabliſhing the future violence of the war, in oppoſition to the pacific propoſitions made at Hanau, when the war in Germany might certainly have been as ſatisfactorily terminated to all the contending parties, as it was after the loſs of ſo many thouſands of lives. In fact, ſeveral princes of the Germanic body began to reſent the inflexibility of the queen of Hungary, and to be alarmed at the ſucceſs of the houſe of Auſtria, and pitied the deſperate ſituation of the emperor, who now experienced every poſſible ſtroke of ill fortune; for while the above treaty was agitating, Egra and Ingoldſtadt, the only towns that were left him after the retreat of Broglio, were reduced by the Auſtrians. In Ingoldſtadt they found all the emperor's domeſtic treaſure, plate, jewels, pictures, cabinets, and curioſities, with the archives of the houſe of Bavaria, the moſt valuable effects belonging to the nobility of that electorate, a prodigious train of artillery, and a vaſt quantity of proviſions, arms, and ammunition. To increaſe the mortifications of this wretched head of the empire, if they could be ſaid to admit of addition, his old friend the elector of Mentz was dead, and his ſucceſſor was an avowed ſupporter of the Auſtrian intereſts. Not contented with the inſults they had already offered him, the council of Auſtria preſented to the imperial diet, even in the town of Frankfort, a reſcript, wherein the election of Charles VII. was proteſted againſt as null and abſolutely void. The new elector of Mentz, in his quality of high-chancellor of the empire, to which dignity he had been advanced againſt the emperor's inclination, regiſtered this proteſt in the protocol or journal of the diet. Charles could only complain, which he did by written remonſtrances, that produced a warm diſpute among the members of the Germanic body.

The king of Pruſſia in particular, who had backed the imperial negociations with the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances, finding the treaty of Worms had aboliſhed all pacific ſentiments at the court of Vienna, and willing to ſhew his influence in Europe, had an interview on the thirtieth of September with general Seckendorff at Anſpach, and from thence proceeded privately to Frankfort, where he had a conference with the emperor. This tour at that time occaſioned various ſpeculations: however, the nature of theſe conferences may be eaſily conjectured, from his future conduct in oppoſing the queen of Hungary, and by his proteſting againſt the inveſtiture of the duchy of Saxe-Lawenburgh, claimed by the king of Great Britain as elector of Hanover, which afterwards gave riſe to a difference between them.

On the twenty-fourth day of Auguſt the allied army paſſed the Rhine at Mentz, and king George fixed his head-quarters in the epiſcopal palace of Worms; the French marſhal Noailles having retreated into Upper Alſace, where he took poſſeſſion of the lines of Lauterburg, formerly caſt up by the Germans to defend their frontiers. The allies continued encamped about Worms till the latter end of September, when they advanced to Spires, where they were joined by twenty thouſand Dutch auxiliaries from the Netherlands. Continuing their operations, they took poſſeſſion of Gimmerſheim, and demoliſhed the lines which the enemy had formed on the Queich: then they returned to Mentz, and in October were diſtributed into winter quarters. While the allies lay at Worms, colonel Mentzel, at the head of a large body of Croats and Pandours, belonging to the queen of Hungary, made an irruption into a part of Lorraine, which they ravaged without mercy.

In September prince Charles with the Auſtrian army entered the Briſgau, and attempted to paſs the Rhine; but marſhal Coigny, who commanded a French army in that neighbourhood, appearing on the oppoſite banks of the river, with a body of fifty thouſand men, he was obliged to deſiſt from his deſign; and returning into the Upper Palatinate, quartered his troops in that country, and in Bavaria.

By this time the earl of Stair had ſollicited and obtained leave to reſign his command. His lordſhip appears to have been diſguſted at a ſuppoſed preference which the king ſhewed to the foreign generals in the ſervice of Great Britain: and this report gained ſo much ground among the people of England, as greatly to leſſen the ſatisfaction

they would otherwiſe have received from the glorious action of Dettingen, and, perhaps, their demonſtrations of gratitude towards their ſovereign, who by his diſtinguiſhed bravery had been ſo eminently inſtrumental in the ſucceſs of that day. In the latter end of October the king of Great Britain returned to Hanover, and the army ſeparated; the troops in the Britiſh pay marched back to the Netherlands, the reſt took the route to their reſpective countries.

In the month of September a treaty had been concluded at Worms, between his Britannic majeſty, the king of Sardinia, and the queen of Hungary; by which the latter of theſe ſovereigns engaged to maintain thirty thouſand men in Italy. The king of Sardinia obliged himſelf to maintain forty thouſand infantry, and fifty thouſand horſe, on condition of his having the command of this combined army, and receiving an annual ſubſidy of two hundred thouſand pounds from Great Britain. As a further gratification, her Hungarian majeſty yielded to the king of Sardinia the city of Placentia, with ſeveral diſtricts in the duchy of Pavia, and in the Novareſe, and all her rights and pretenſions to Final, at preſent poſſeſſed by the republick of Genoa, which, they ſuppoſed, would make no difficulty to relinquiſh it, upon being repaid the purchaſe money, amounting to three hundred thouſand pounds. This ſum his Britannic majeſty promiſed to diſburſe; and, moreover, to maintain a ſtrong ſquadron in the Mediterranean, the commander of which ſhould be ordered to act in ſtrict concert with his Sardinian majeſty. Laſtly, the contracting powers agreed that Final ſhould be conſtituted a free port, like that of Leghorn.

This treaty, which was ratified by the regency at London, as ſoon as it could be tranſmitted thither, expoſed the Britiſh miniſter (lord Carteret) who conducted it, to great blame and cenſure. It was repreſented as a violation of common juſtice, ſince the Genoeſe were hereby negotiated out of their property, they having purchaſed the marquiſate of Final of the late emperor, for a valuable conſideration; and the purchaſe had been guarantied by Great Britain. Beſides, they were further injured by the condition of its being made a free port, which could not fail of prejudicing their commerce upon the Mediterranean. The Genoeſe themſelves ſeemed ſo ſenſible of the hard meaſure that had been dealt them by this latter article particularly, that they made ſtrong remonſtrances againſt it at the courts of London, Vienna, and Turin; and as little or no regard was paid to their repreſentations, they threw themſelves into the arms of Spain and France for protection.

The good underſtanding between the Czarina and the queen of Hungary was deſtroyed in the courſe of this year, in conſequence of a conſpiracy that had been detected by the court of Peterſburg, for removing the empreſs Elizabeth and recalling the princeſs Anne to the government; in which conſpiracy the marquis de Botta, who had reſided at the court of the Czarina, was ſuſpected of having been concerned. The empreſs demanded ſatisfaction of her Hungarian majeſty for the ill-conduct of her miniſter. The queen appointed commiſſioners to enquire into his conduct; by whom he was acquitted, to the great diſpleaſure of the empreſs of Ruſſia, who highly reſented that the court of Vienna ſhould require any other proof of the marquis's guilt than her aſſeveration. We muſt not forget, that a treaty of alliance was this year concluded between the Czarina and the king of Great Britain.

Let us now take a view of the campaign in Italy, which proved very unfavourable to the Spaniards.

His Sardinian majeſty on the cloſe of the laſt year had been diſpoſſeſſed of the whole duchy of Savoy, when the Spaniſh Infant took up his winter reſidence in Chamberry, while the king of Sardinia was obliged to retire to his Piedmonteſe dominions. During the ſeverity of the winter nothing was attempted on either ſide. In the ſpring of the year 1743, his Sardinian majeſty had aſſembled an army of forty thouſand men; but though he was greatly ſuperior to the Spaniards, he continued inactive; and the Spaniards in Savoy waited in expectation of a reinforcement from their court. But though the Spaniards were quiet on the ſide of Savoy, the Spaniſh queen, who lived only for the aggrandizement of her family, prevailed on her uxorious conſort, to ſend his general count de Gages a peremptory command, to attack without delay, the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe under count Traun and count Aſpremont, in the eccleſiaſtical territories. This was accordingly done, without attending to the prior repreſentations of the count, who had ſent repeated advices to the Spaniſh miniſtry, of his army having been ſo much reduced by ſickneſs, death, and deſertion, as not to muſter above twenty-eight thouſand men, out of forty thouſand men that the duke of Montemar had left when he reſigned his command to him.

The royal command, however, was too abſolute to leave de Gages aught but compliance. Accordingly, he privately paſſed the Panaro in the beginning of February, and made himſelf maſter of Campo Santo and Final. On the eighth of February the count offered the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe battle, which was accepted by them. The two armies were nearly equal, and a moſt obſtinate and bloody engagement enſued, which, however, was far from proving deciſive. The Spaniards loſt about four thouſand men, killed, wounded, and taken; among whom were the duke de Arcos, and three other generals. The confederates did not ſuffer quite ſo much; if we except the loſs of one of their principal generals, count de Aſpremont, who died of his wounds ſoon after the action. Some colours and cannon were taken on both ſides; and each ſung Te Deum for the victory.

Count de Gages, however, finding his army to diminiſh daily, and, having received advice that count Traun had been reinforced by ſeven thouſand men, repaſſed the Panaro, retreated ſuddenly out of the Bologneſe, and marched to Rimini, in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, where he fortified himſelf in a very advantageous camp. Before he quitted the Bologneſe, he had, by ſeveral different expreſſes, warmly ſollicited his Sicilian majeſty, to aſſiſt him with a body of Neapolitan forces; but that prince, though undoubtedly inclined to give aſſiſtance to the Spaniards, was ſo overawed by the proximity of the Britiſh fleet, that he durſt not venture on ſuch a ſtep.

After this engagement, the Auſtrians remained wholly inactive in the Modeneſe, till the month of September; when count Traun, whoſe age now

rendered him little able to ſupport the fatigues of a winter campaign, ſollicited, and obtained leave of her Hungarian majeſty to reſign the command, and prince Lobkowitz was ordered to ſucceed him. This general, immediately on his arrival at the army, determined to enter upon action: accordingly, on the twenty-fourth of September he ſuddenly decamped, and advanced towards count de Gages; who with his forces being reduced, by the united calamities of famine and deſertion, to not more than ſeven thouſand men, retreated precipitately to Fano, a ſea-port town in the gulph of Venice. Here, however, the Spaniſh general ſeemed determined to wait for the enemy; as ſuch precautions had been taken, that the Auſtrians could make but little uſe of their cavalry, in which their ſuperiority chiefly conſiſted. In the mean time, the count repoſſeſſed himſelf of Peſaro, and began to fortify all the paſſes of the Foglia, in order to diſpute the paſſage of that river: but prince Lobkowitz knowing that the Spaniards would venture any engagement, to extricate themſelves out of ſo miſerable a country; and that the ſeverity of the approaching winter muſt greatly diminiſh their numbers, when they would be obliged to fly before him, without hazarding a ſtroke; thought it moſt adviſeable to diſcontinue his purſuit for the preſent; and put his troops into winter quarters about the middle of October.

The ſeaſon was far advanced before the Spaniſh troops, commanded by Don Philip, entered upon action, the French court having ſpent the ſummer chiefly in negotiations to draw off the king of Sardinia from the alliance; but finding that expedient fail, they at length ſent the prince of Conti, at the head of twelve thouſand men, to reinforce the Spaniards in Savoy, and force a paſſage into Piedmont, which the marquis de las Minas had unſucceſsfully attempted, with the loſs of three thouſand men. A body of four thouſand Spaniards were alſo ſent from Catalonia to join the young infant's army. In the mean time, the king of Sardinia had entered Savoy with forty thouſand men; upon which the young Spaniſh prince and the marquis de las Minas abandoned Chamberry on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, and defiled through Dauphiné towards Briançon, thirty-ſix miles diſtant from Turin, where they were joined by the Spaniards and the French auxiliaries, when the whole army conſiſted of fifty-ſix thouſand men. Here they continued ſome time, to give the French army leiſure to recruit from the fatigue of their long march, as well as to concert the future operations of the campaign; and notwithſtanding the advanced ſeaſon, the prince de Conti, who was brave, fond of arms, and of an enterpriſing diſpoſition, perſuaded the marquis de las Minas to concur with him in a reſolution to attempt forcing the Piedmonteſe lines at Chateau-Dauphiné. This important poſt had been reinforced by the king of Sardinia and admiral Matthews; which latter had landed eight hundred men, and a great number of cannon, from his ſquadron at Villa Franca, to ſecure it as much as poſſible from the vigorous attack expected from the enemy.

The French and Spaniſh generals decamped from Briançon on the twenty-eighth of September, and arriving on the confines of Dauphiné early in the morning on the firſt of October, they made a warm attack upon the Piedmonteſe, who receiving them as warmly, obliged the aſſailants to retire with the loſs of eight hundred men. Nevertheleſs, they renewed the attack eight days ſucceſſively, but were always defeated, and at length obliged to quit their enterprize with very conſiderable loſs, and retire to Chamberry; but the French made good their winter quarters in Dauphiné and Provence, and the Spaniards maintained their footing in Savoy.

Our naval armaments in the Mediterranean continued in the ſame ſituation as at the concluſion of the preceding year, admiral Matthews continuing ſtill at the iſles of Hieres, to prevent the French and Spaniſh fleets from coming out of Toulon, which, as it was of the higheſt conſequence to their affairs in Italy, it was apprehended they would ſpeedily attempt. In fact, the Spaniards had for ſome time been particularly earneſt with the court of France to afford them a more effectual aſſiſtance than it had done for ſome time; and the French being at length determined to come to an open rupture with us, the courts of Verſailles and Madrid came to an agreement, that M. de Court, the French admiral, who was blocked up with admiral Navarro in Toulon, ſhould be now joined by the French ſhips that were fitting out in that harbour; that in the mean time a ſquadron ſhould be equipped at Breſt, to intercept the ſquadron which was on the point of ſailing for the Mediterranean to reinforce the Britiſh fleet there; and that at the ſame time orders ſhould be ſent to the combined fleets to put to ſea from Toulon, and fight Matthews. Of this deſign, however, the Britiſh admiral got intelligence, by intercepted letters, which he tranſmitted to the miniſtry in England, accompanied with the moſt preſſing ſollicitations to ſupply him with freſh ſhips, thoſe he had with him being ſo foul, and otherwiſe out of repair, that he apprehended he ſhould not be ſufficiently ſtrong to make head againſt the combined fleets with any proſpect of ſucceſs, ſhould they come out and attack him. In this ſituation were the Engliſh naval affairs at the cloſe of the year 1743.

In America they wore a more diſagreeable aſpect; for though ſir Chaloner Ogle, who had been left there, on the return of Vernon and Wentworth to England, in the double capacity of admiral of the fleet, and commander of the land forces on board, was an officer, in every reſpect, worthy of ſo important a truſt; yet he was deterred from perſonally attempting any material enterprize, becauſe the Spaniſh ſquadron, under admiral de Torres, which was ſtronger than that he commanded, ſtill continued at the Havannah. Sir Chaloner, however, determined to commence ſome attack againſt the Spaniards, which might not too greatly weaken his fleet. In the beginning of the year he ordered captain Knowles, commander of the Suffolk, a ſeventy-gun ſhip, who was well acquainted with the coaſt, to take under him the Burford, of ſeventy-guns, the Aſſiſtance, Norwich, and Advice, of fifty, and the Scarborough of twenty guns, and three ſloops, and to proceed to Antigua, where he was to be joined by the Eltham of forty guns, and the Lively of twenty; and with this ſquadron to make an attempt upon La Gueira and Porto Cavallo, on the Caracca coaſt; but the governor of the Caraccas having received intelligence of this expedition, had neglected nothing that tended to his ſecurity, by erecting new batte-

ries,

ries, and augmenting the garriſons with a numerous body of Indians, Mulattoes, and Negroes; beſides, he had prevailed on the Dutch governor of Curaçoa, an iſland of the Leſſer Antilles, to ſupply him with a conſiderable quantity of ammunition; ſo that when commodore Knowles made the attack upon the place, he met with ſo warm a reception, that he was compelled to abandon the enterprize, and made his beſt way for the Dutch iſland Curaçoa; where he repaired the damage he had ſuffered in the attack of La Gueira. We had one lieutenant and ninety-two men killed, and three hundred and eighty wounded: among the latter was captain Luſhington, a gallant and experienced ſea-officer, commander of the Burford, who had his thigh taken off by a cannon ſhot, and expired at Curaçoa two hours after he was carried aſhore. The Spaniards, however, had no great cauſe for exultation, as their town and fortifications were almoſt deſtroyed, and they loſt above ſeven hundred men.

Commodore Knowles, not diſcouraged by the repulſe he had lately ſuſtained, and determined not to part with the Spaniards till he had made them feel the effects of his viſit, had no ſooner refitted his ſquadron than he put to ſea, in order to make an attempt upon Porto Cavallo, off which place he came to an anchor on the fifteenth of April.

The commodore, taking a view of the ſituation of the Spaniards, ſaw twelve of their ſmalleſt ſhips, and three gallies, hauled up to the head of the harbour out of gun-ſhot, and two large ones, one of ſixty, and another of forty guns, moored cloſe over to the other ſhore, as there was not depth of water for them to go up the harbour: one ſhip was laid acroſs the channel in the mouth of the harbour ready to be ſunk, to prevent any entrance, with a chain from the caſtle to her ſtern, and another from her head to the main, where the Spaniards had lately erected three faſcine batteries, which extended a conſiderable length. On a low point, called Punta Brava, were two other new faſcine batteries, one of twelve guns, the other of ſeven: but commodore Knowles perceiving they were ill deſigned, and might eaſily be flanked, thought it would be no difficult matter to render himſelf maſter of them; and that if the attempt ſucceeded, the guns of both might be made uſe of againſt the caſtle. Accordingly, it was agreed at a general conſultation held the next morning, to ſend in two ſhips to cannonade thoſe batteries, which was done; and they being ſilenced, the forces, conſiſting of twelve hundred ſoldiers and ſailors, were landed in the evening under major Lucas; but being ſeized with an unaccountable ſudden panic, they fell into the greateſt confuſion, firing upon each other, and flying with the utmoſt precipitation to their ſhips. On the twenty-firſt a general conſultation of officers was held, when it appearing that moſt of the ſhips had ſpent the greateſt part of their ammunition, and were all miſerably ſhattered in their maſts and rigging; in fine, that the ſquadron was no longer in a condition to renew the attack, the commodore abandoned the enterprize, ſent away the ſquadron to their reſpective ſtations, and after an exchange of priſoners with the governor of Porto Cavallo, returned with the other ſhips to Jamaica.

On the continent of America the operations of the war were very languid. General Oglethorpe having received intelligence, that the Spaniards meditated another invaſion from St. Auguſtine, was determined to prevent them. Accordingly, in the beginning of the ſpring of this year, he began his march towards St. Auguſtine with a body of forces, conſiſting of Indians, and a part of his own regiments, together with the Highlanders and Rangers, and encamped for ſome time in the neighbourhood of the town by way of defiance: but the Spaniards did not think proper to venture on an engagement; and the Britiſh general being too weak to undertake a ſiege, he returned to Georgia, which he continued to put in ſo defenſible a condition, as to leave nothing to fear from any attempt of the enemy. Towards the cloſe of the ſummer he embarked for England, and arrived in London on the twenty-eighth of September, where he met with a moſt gracious reception from his royal maſter, by whom he was ſoon after promoted on the military liſt.

Let us now take a ſurvey of the moſt important domeſtic tranſactions of the year 1743.

The remains of the regiments lately in the Weſt Indies returned home, were ſcarce the ſhadow of thoſe who were ſent out. As an inſtance of which, general Blakeney's regiment, which went out eight hundred ſtrong, now conſiſted only of eight men. Soon after the departure of his majeſty for Germany, an affair happened which, tho' inconſiderable in itſelf, threw London into a great conſternation. The Scottiſh regiment of Highlanders, commanded by lord Semple, had greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves for their regularity, ſobriety, and military diſcipline. With theſe troops it was determined to replace thoſe lately arrived from the Weſt Indies. Accordingly, they were ordered up to London, and on the fourteenth of May reviewed by general Wade upon Finchley-common, and next day ordered to march to Graveſend. This they exclaimed loudly againſt, as a breach of the terms on which they had enliſted, namely, not to be ſent out of Great Britain; and on the ſeventeenth of the ſame month about one hundred and fifty of them mutinied, and marched off in a body towards their own country, but were ſoon overtaken, obliged to ſurrender, and brought priſoners to the Tower, where three of them were ſhot, and the reſt ſent to Jamaica and Georgia, and the main body of the regiment to Flanders, where they afterwards did excellent ſervice.

On the nineteenth of October her highneſs the princeſs Louiſa, his majeſty's youngeſt daughter, ſet out for Germany, in order to be married to the prince royal of Denmark. She was attended in her voyage by the counteſs of Albemarle, and baron Solenthall the Daniſh envoy, and arrived on the twenty-ninth at Hanover. From thence ſhe went to Altena, where ſhe was met by the prince royal, and married on the eighteenth of November; and on the eleventh of December the princely pair made their public entry into Copenhagen. It was rumoured that a croſs marriage between the ſame families was propoſed at the ſame time: it did not however take place.

A great conteſt happened this year amongſt the proprietors of the South-ſea company, relating to Mr. Knight, who had been their caſhier in the fatal year 1720, and had ever ſince lived in France as an exile: he had already procured his pardon

from the crown, owing to ſome favourable circumſtances that pleaded in his behalf; and he now offered the company ten thouſand pounds by way of compoſition for all their claims againſt him. This offer was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by a great number of the proprietors, who thought it would have the appearance of a moſt ſcandalous compoſition on the part of the company. Innumerable pamphlets and other writings flew about on the occaſion: however, upon a ballot, the offer of Mr. Knight was accepted, by a majority of four hundred and ten againſt two hundred and ſeventeen. This year died the celebrated John Campbel, duke of Argyll and Greenwich, ſo eminent for his ſhining talents in the field and ſenate. He was ſucceeded in his Scottiſh title by his brother Archibald, earl of Ilay. The title of Greenwich by his death became extinct.

During the receſs of parliament, every endeavour had been exerted by the anti-miniſterial writers, to poiſon the minds of the people of England with ſuſpicions of the worſt tendency, to raiſe in them a ſettled averſion to thoſe at the helm, and even to alienate their affections from their ſovereign. With this view, all the arts of calumny and miſrepreſentation were employed: the burdens of taxes were exaggerated; the intereſt of the nation was affirmed to be directly ſacrificed to views of aggrandizing a foreign electorate; and no pains was ſpared to increaſe the jealouſy and national quarrel between the Engliſh and Hanoverians. The better to anſwer this laſt purpoſe, a report was as confidently as ſucceſsfully propagated, that the king had on all occaſions, during the laſt campaign, given preference to the foreign over the Britiſh troops, and that it was on this account only that the earl of Stair had thrown up his commiſſion, being no longer able to ſupport the inſults the Britiſh troops ſuſtained from their own mercenaries: they even went ſo far as to affirm, that the ſovereign himſelf appeared at the battle of Dettingen in a yellow ſcarf (the Hanoverian colour) and that his electoral troops were ſo ſecurely poſted, as not only to be out of all danger, but alſo of little or no ſervice in that engagement. Theſe reports, though many of them manifeſtly falſe, wrought their whole effect, and the minds of the people were inflamed to the higheſt degree of diſcontent, when the parliament, after ſeveral prorogations, reſumed its ſeſſion on the firſt day of December.

His majeſty in his ſpeech told the members, That the dominions of the queen of Hungary had been evacuated by her enemies, and that the powerful armies which had marched to her aſſiſtance had retired out of the empire: that, in this conjuncture, it was with great pleaſure he could acquaint them, that he had been joined by a body of troops of his good friends and allies the States-general: that, in further proſecution of theſe meaſures, the definitive treaty between him, the queen of Hungary, and the king of Sardinia, had been happily concluded; a treaty which in time ſhould be laid before them: that the advantages which muſt reſult from this alliance to the common cauſe were ſufficiently apparent; and it would be particularly conducive to the intereſts of his kingdoms, by diſappointing the ambitious views of the crown of Spain, with which they were at preſent engaged in ſo juſt and neceſſary a war; that, as he made no doubt but they would proceed upon theſe foundations with firmneſs and conſtancy, they might reaſonably hope to ſee the public tranquillity ſoon reeſtabliſhed, and a ſafe and honourable peace ſpeedily obtained: that ſuch were the ends which he had in view, and to the attainment of which he ſhould bend his whole ſtudy and attention; but, in order the more thoroughly to accompliſh them, vigorous and reſolute meaſures were neceſſary; and to concert and carry on ſuch meaſures, he did, with a juſt confidence, rely on their zealous, chearful, and effectual ſupport.

In the upper houſe lord Sandwich moved for an addreſs, beſeeching his majeſty to diſcontinue the Hanoverian troops in the pay of Great Britain, in order to remove the popular diſcontent, and ſtop the murmurs of the Engliſh troops abroad. In ſupport of this motion it was alleged, that theſe Hanoverians, though in the pay, could hardly be ſaid to be in the ſervice of the Britiſh nation: that ſome of them refuſed to form in the firſt line at the battle of Dettingen, and retired to the ſecond: that others refuſed to obey the orders of lord Stair, the Britiſh general, to march in purſuit of the enemy after the battle; and the greateſt number of them who, together with ſome of the Britiſh guards, compoſed what was called the rear-guard, under the command of a Hanoverian lieutenant-general, took a different route from the reſt of the army in their march to Aſchaffenburgh: that this ſtep not only rendered them wholly uſeleſs to the army when attacked by the French in front, but would have rendered them equally uſeleſs if the French from Aſchaffenburg, where the paſſage was left open to them, had attacked the allies in the rear, in which it was pretended that theſe troops were left as in the poſt of honour: that not contented to avoid being of uſe either in the front or in the rear, but determined to be of no uſe in any ſtation, they halted as ſoon as they came within ſight and reach of the battle, though preſſed by the Britiſh officers, and invited by the ardour of the Britiſh troops to ſhare the glory and complete the victory (as they might have done) of the day: that as by theſe means the future co-operations of the national troops with theſe mercenaries had been rendered impracticable, and even their meeting dangerous, it ſeemed indiſpenſibly neceſſary to remove the object that occaſioned the many inſtances of partiality by which the Hanoverians have been unhappily diſtinguiſhed, and the Britiſh forces undeſervedly diſcouraged. Theſe, and many other aſſertions of the like tendency, boldly thrown out, and no leſs powerfully ſupported by thoſe in the oppoſition to the government, appeared to make a conſiderable impreſſion upon many of the peers, which lord Carteret, who had accompanied his majeſty abroad, and was on the field of battle, obſerving, he roſe up to anſwer and confute them.

"From all, ſaid his lordſhip, I could ſee, and from all I could hear, from gentlemen who were in the action, the Hanoverians ſhowed as much courage, and as much obedience to the command of their ſuperior officers, as any troops ever did: from whence I infer, that they could do as much ſervice as any troops whatever; and that they were willing to do us ſervice, and to march whitherſoever they were commanded by our generals." Some of the lords having, during the courſe of the debate, advanced, that the Hanoverian troops

durſt not fight againſt the emperor, becauſe he was their ſovereign, and elected with the concurrence of their maſter, his lordſhip obſerved, that this was a very miſtaken notion. "The emperor, my lords, continued he, neither began, nor does he now carry on the war againſt the queen of Hungary as emperor: he is engaged in war with her only as duke of Bavaria; and conſequently the members of the empire may aſſiſt either the one or the other, without committing any breach of any law of the empire. If our army did not attack the French, it was not to any backwardneſs in the Hanoverians, but to our not having an opportunity to attack them with any advantage."

In another paſſage of the ſame ſpeech (which made a great noiſe at this time) he obſerved, "that the noble lord (meaning the earl of Stair) who had the chief command, under his majeſty, of all the Britiſh troops, as well as the troops in Britiſh pay, is well known to moſt of your lordſhips; and any one who knows him muſt be convinced, that he would not tamely ſubmit to ſuch an affront as that of a diſobedience to his command. If he had reſented it, or if he had complained, I ſhould certainly have heard of it in the army; and as I never did, I muſt ſuppoſe there never was the leaſt occaſion for any ſuch complaints."

A great number of other members ſpoke both for and againſt the motion; the ſubſtance of whoſe arguments being in the main the ſame as already recited, ſhall not be here repeated. Upon a diviſion, the motion was rejected by a majority of 71 againſt 36 peers: but this occaſioned a very ſtinging proteſt, ſigned by about twenty-five peers. When the term for keeping the Hanoverians in Britiſh pay was nearly expired, and the eſtimates for their being continued the enſuing year were laid before the houſe, lord Sandwich renewed his motion; but the chancellor, as ſpeaker of the houſe, interpoſing, declared, that by their rules a queſtion once rejected could not be revived during the ſame ſeſſion. A debate enſued, and the ſecond motion was over-ruled.

The Hanoverian troops were voted in the houſe of commons. Nevertheleſs, the ſame nobleman moved in the upper houſe, "That the continuing ſixteen thouſand Hanoverians in Britiſh pay was prejudicial to his majeſty's true intereſt, uſeleſs to the common cauſe, and dangerous to the welfare and tranquillity of the nation." He was ſeconded by the duke of Marlborough, who had reſigned his commiſſion in diſguſt, and the propoſal gave riſe to another warm diſpute; but the minority, as formerly, were foiled in their attempts.

The miniſtry were no leſs warmly attacked in the houſe of commons. Mr. Grenville (the preſent earl Temple) moved for an addreſs to beſeech his majeſty, that he would not engage the Britiſh nation any farther in the war on the continent without the concurrence of the States-general, on certain ſtipulated proportions of force and expence, as in the late war. Another motion was made for laying a duty of eight ſhillings in the pound on places and penſions, and a third for repealing the ſeptennial act. Theſe propoſals were each of them productive of violent debates; but the court ſtill continued to maintain their ſuperiority. So great indeed was the credit and influence of the miniſtry, that although the national debt was increaſed by above ſix millions ſince the commencement of the war, the commons indulged them with a very large ſum for the expence of the enſuing year. The grants ſpecified in the votes amounted to ſix millions five hundred thouſand pounds. To this ſum were added three millions five hundred thouſand pounds, paid in perpetual taxes; ſo that the expence of the year aroſe to TEN MILLIONS; an amazing ſum! The funds eſtabliſhed for the annual charge were, the land-tax at two millions, the malt-tax at ſeven hundred fifty thouſand pounds, one million paid by the Eaſt India company for the renewal of their charter, one million two hundred thouſand pounds by annuities, one million from the ſinking fund, thirty-ſix thouſand pounds from the coinage, and ſix hundred thouſand pounds by a lottery.

The diſſenſions of the Britiſh parliament were ſuddenly ſuſpended in the beginning of the year 1744, by an event that ſeemed to call upon both parties to unite in their common defence. This was the intelligence of an intended invaſion in favour of the pretender, whoſe eldeſt ſon, Charles-Edward, had paſſed through Italy in December, in the diſguiſe of a Spaniſh courier, embarked at Final, landed at Antibes, and proſecuting his journey to Paris, had been indulged with a private audience of the French king; who thought, by the parliamentary diſputes and general diſſatisfaction of the people of Great Britain, that the whole nation was ripe for revolt, and therefore determined to make uſe of young Charles, who was a youth of promiſing talents, ſecret, brave, and enterpriſing, to effect the projected invaſion of this kingdom; which, ſhould it at laſt miſcarry, would, he foreſaw, make a conſiderable diverſion from the continent in favour of France, and embroil and embarraſs the king of England, who was the chief ſupport of the houſe of Auſtria and all its allies. The old pretender was perſuaded to ſuffer his ſon to try the experiment: the young man embraced the offer with the greateſt alacrity. The French miniſtry began to make preparations for carrying the ſcheme into immediate execution, and every thing was propoſed to be conducted with equal ſecrecy and diſpatch. The court of Spain, equally concerned in the ſucceſs of the project with that of Verſailles, undertook to furniſh the neceſſary ſums, which the exhauſted ſtate of the French finances would not ſuffer them to advance.

Count Saxe was appointed by the French king commander of the troops deſigned for this expedition, which amounted to fifteen thouſand. The count had been in England; and having obſerved the few number of ſtrong towns and fortreſſes in it, he had formed an idea that it might be eaſily over-run. Matters being at length compleatly ſettled, the troops began their march to Picardy, and a great number of veſſels were aſſembled for their embarkation at Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne, the young pretender himſelf repairing to thoſe places to ſuperintend the preparations.

In the mean time, the Britiſh miniſtry being appriſed of his arrival in France, were no longer at a loſs for the deſtination of the French armaments. Accordingly, orders were ſent to Mr. Thompſon, our reſident at Paris, to make the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances thereupon to the French miniſtry, but he received only evaſive anſwers.

It

It had been determined in the cabinet at Verſailles to land their troops in Kent, under a ſtrong convoy of men of war equipped at Breſt, and commanded by monſieur Roquefeuille, an officer of experience and capacity. This commander ſailed on the twenty-ſixth day of January from Breſt, directing his courſe up the Engliſh Channel with eighteen ſhips of the line. They were preſently deſcried by an Engliſh cruizer, who ran into Plymouth, and the intelligence was conveyed by land to the board of admiralty. As the French had been the greateſt part of laſt ſummer equipping a conſiderable armament at Breſt, a fleet of twelve men of war had been ordered to rendezvous at Spithead, under the command of ſir John Norris; but as no intelligence arrived that the French ſquadron was in readineſs for the ſea, ſir John did not take the command of theſe ſhips: but now that it was known for certain that the French fleet was at ſea, and perhaps in the Channel, he was immediately diſpatched down to the ſquadron, which he brought round to the Downs from Spithead; and being ſoon after joined by ſeven or eight ſhips of the line from Chatham, he found himſelf of ſuperior ſtrength to the enemy.

Every other poſſible precaution was taken by the government to guard againſt the impending danger: ſeveral regiments marched to the ſouthern coaſts of England; all governors and commanders were ordered to repair to their reſpective poſts; the forts at the mouth of the Thames and the Medway were put in a poſture of defence; and directions were given for raiſing the militia of Kent to defend the coaſt, if occaſion ſhould require. On the fifteenth day of February his majeſty in a meſſage informed both houſes of the French deſigns; in anſwer to which they jointly preſented a loyal addreſs, which was followed by others from the city of London, and moſt of the corporations in the kingdom, expreſſing their abhorrence of the French attempt, and promiſing to ſtand by his majeſty with their lives and fortunes. A proclamation was iſſued for putting the laws in execution againſt papiſts and nonjurors: the parliament alſo addreſſed his majeſty to augment his forces by ſea and land. And now it being known that the late diſſenſions among the great men in the army and ſtate had been the chief encouragement to the French to meditate their preſent ſcheme, the earl of Stair and the duke of Marlborough, in order to evince their loyalty to his majeſty, made him a voluntary tender of their ſervices in any ſtation which he ſhould think proper. Their offer was accepted: the earl of Stair was reinveſted with the chief command of all the forces in Great Britain: the duke of Montagu was permitted to raiſe a regiment of four hundred horſe at his own expence; and orders were ſent to bring over ſix thouſand of the Britiſh troops from Flanders, in caſe the invaſion ſhould actually take place.

Mean while, the French court proceeded with their preparations at Boulogne and Dunkirk, under the eye of the young pretender, and ſeven thouſand men were actually embarked; while Roquefeuille endeavoured to beat round the Channel, and take the tranſports under his convoy; but meeting with contrary winds and bad weather, it was the ſeventeenth of February before he got the length of the Iſle of Wight. Here he lay to, and ſent out a frigate for intelligence of what force was aſſembled at Spithead, which brought him information that no ſhips could be diſcovered in that road; upon which the French admiral, over haſtily concluding that the Engliſh, apprehenſive of an inſult from his ſuperior force, had withdrawn their ſhips into Portſmouth harbour, diſpatched M. de Barreil, his ſecond in command, with five men of war to Dunkirk, to haſten the arrival of the tranſports with the troops on board, while he himſelf, taking advantage of a ſpurt of fair wind, made ſail with the remainder of his fleet, and came to an anchor on the twenty-ſecond of February in the evening, off Dungeneſs, a ſteep promontory or head-land on the coaſt of Kent, about eighteen miles ſouth-weſt of Dover, and eight miles eaſt of Rye. While the French admiral lay here, ſir John Norris with his fleet, amounting to thirty ſail, the leaſt of which was of ſixty guns, weighed anchor from the Downs; and on the twenty-fourth in the forenoon M. de Roquefeuille, to his infinite ſurprize, ſaw the Britiſh fleet doubling the South Foreland and making towards him; and although the wind was againſt them, by the help of the tide gaining greatly upon him; but the tide of flood being ſpent, and the wind dying away, ſir John Norris found himſelf under the neceſſity of coming to an anchor, which he did about two leagues diſtance from the French. M. de Roquefeuille, finding that the Britiſh ſquadron was not only more numerous, and much ſuperior in force to that under his command, but that they had been likewiſe blocked up in a bay, from whence there appeared no poſſibility of eſcaping, ſummoned all his officers to a council, to demand their opinion how he ſhould act in this miſerable ſituation; when it was unanimouſly agreed to avoid an engagement, weigh anchor at ſun-ſet, and make the beſt of their way for their own coaſt. The council then broke up, and every officer returned to his ſhip to execute what had been reſolved upon. While they were weighing their anchors, a freſh gale of wind ſtarted up at eaſt north-eaſt, which increaſing every minute, ſoon became a ſtorm that hurried them down the Channel at the rate of ten miles an hour; ſo that next morning at day-break they were off Cape Barfleur: after which they were ſeparated by a thick fog, and arrived at Breſt in a very diſorderly manner, being greatly ſhattered by the ſtorm, to which however they owed their ſafety. A great number of their tranſports were driven aſhore and ſhattered to pieces, and the reſt were ſo much damaged, that they could not be repaired for a conſiderable time. The Engliſh remained maſters of the ſea, and kept the whole French coaſt in alarm. The deſigned invaſion was therefore quite laid aſide; the French generals returned to Paris, and the young pretender ſet out for the place of his former reſidence.

The Britiſh ſquadron was much damaged in the ſtorm; and ſir John Norris being thus diſappointed of attacking the French, and finding they had entirely effected their eſcape, thought proper to return to his ſtation in the Downs, where he arrived on the twenty-ſeventh of February, having before ſent away ſir Charles Hardy with all the three-decked ſhips to Portſmouth, where they could ride with greater ſecurity. On the ſecond of March the Habeas Corpus act was ſuſpended, and ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, among whom was the earl of Barrymore, of the kingdom of Ireland, were

apprehended on ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices; but every one of thoſe ſuſpected perſons were afterwards admitted to bail, and diſcharged as ſoon as all fears of an invaſion were over. By virtue of the perpetual defenſive league between England and Holland, ſigned the third of March, 1678, and renewed and confirmed by the laſt treaty, which their High Mightineſſes concluded in the year 1728, with his reigning majeſty, the Dutch were obliged to furniſh, as auxiliaries to the Britiſh nation, a ſuccour of ſix thouſand troops and twenty men of war, to be employed in the ſervice of that crown, whenever demanded: the requiſition was made by our reſident at the Hague as ſoon as ever the deſigns of the French became apparent; and their High Mightineſſes immediately gave orders for the tranſportation of ſix battalions, of five hundred men each, into England as ſoon as poſſible. Theſe arrived at Graveſend on the eighteenth of March, and were followed ſoon after by three thouſand men more.

When Lewis found himſelf entirely diſappointed in his hoſtile ſchemes againſt the Britiſh nation, either to gratify his own reſentment, or to ſooth the anger of the court of Madrid, in which large ſums had been thus uſeleſsly ſquandered, he reſolved no longer to preſerve any meaſures with the Engliſh nation. Accordingly, Mr. Thompſon, our reſident at Paris, was given to underſtand, that a declaration of war muſt enſue; and this was actually publiſhed at Paris on the twentieth day of March, 1744, wherein the French king charged his Britannic majeſty with having diſſuaded the court of Vienna from entertaining any thoughts of an accommodation; with having infringed the convention of Hanover; with having exerciſed piracy upon the ſubjects of France; and even blocked up his moſt Catholic majeſty's fleet in his harbour of Toulon. In anſwer to this his Britannic majeſty, on the thirty-firſt of March, publiſhed a counter-declaration of war againſt France, to the great joy of the nation, which had long reflected with indignation upon the many inſults we had received from that faithleſs people. The Dutch, who upon ſuch an event were to ſupply us with twenty ſhips of war, did vouchſafe to ſend five or ſix, which, for any ſervice they were of, might as well have ſtaid at home. The elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe refuſed their ſtipulated ſuccours till we had an army formed in Hanover ſufficient to protect them. The Ruſſians alleged it was too late in the year to give us the aſſiſtance we had a right to demand. The king of Pruſſia inſiſted we were the aggreſſors, and therefore would ſend us no ſuccours. In April the French alſo declared war againſt the queen of Hungary, who returned a like declaration againſt France in the ſucceeding month; and thus all Europe was lighted up in flames.

On the third of April his Britannic majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and made a ſpeech to his parliament, in which he acquainted them with the French king's having declared war againſt him on the moſt ill-grounded and injurious pretences: that he had on his part alſo declared war againſt the French king, and had made the proper requiſitions to the States general for performing their engagements on this important occaſion. His majeſty then declared, that in the proſecution of his juſt cauſe, he relied on the divine protection, and the vigorous ſupport of his parliament, aſſuring them that he would do his part: that he had no intereſt at heart but theirs; and that common intereſt conjured them all to unite. To this pathetic ſpeech both houſes returned the moſt affectionate and loyal addreſſes, promiſing effectually to ſtand by and aſſiſt his majeſty in proſecuting the war againſt France with the greateſt vigour, and to furniſh whatever expences ſhould be found neceſſary for the ſame, as became a free and grateful people in defence of their liberties. The commons alſo, more evidently to demonſtrate their loyalty, brought in a bill for inflicting penalties of high-treaſon upon thoſe who ſhould maintain correſpondence with the ſons of the pretender. This bill was ſent up to the lords on the twenty-ſeventh of April, when lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, moved that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted for continuing the penalty of treaſon upon the poſterity of thoſe who ſhould be convicted of holding ſuch correſpondence, during the life of the two ſons of the pretender to the crown. This motion was ſupported by the duke of Newcaſtle, lord Carteret, and the whole ſtrength of the miniſtry, and oppoſed by the duke of Bedford, the earl of Cheſterfield, lord Talbot, and lord Hervey, who argued againſt it in the moſt pathetic manner, as an illiberal expedient, contrary to the dictates of humanity, the law of nations, the rules of common juſtice, and the precept of religion; as tending to involve the innocent with the guilty; and meant only to augment the miniſterial power, to plunder the nation, and enable courtiers to grow rich by public calamities. The lords who defended the motion aſcribed this propoſal purely to motives of preſerving their conſtitution and liberties, and of defeating the ſchemes which had been formed for diſpoſſeſſing the preſent royal family of the throne. After a long and violent debate the queſtion was carried in the affirmative, though not without occaſioning a proteſt, ſigned by eighteen lords. When the bill was returned with the amendment to the commons, the amendment was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by lord Strange, lord Guernſey, Mr. W. Pitt, and other members by whom the original bill had been countenanced: but the miniſterial party here, as in the upper houſe, carried their point: the bill was approved by the majority, and ſoon after received the royal aſſent.

On the fifteenth day of May his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he returned both houſes "his hearty thanks for the many demonſtrations they had given him during the courſe of it, of their good affections, and of their zeal for the ſupport of his government. He obſerved, that the great preparations made by France on the ſide of the Auſtrian Netherlands, muſt convince all Europe of the ambitious and deſtructive views of that crown in beginning the preſent war: that it ſhould be his care, in conjunction with his allies, to purſue the moſt proper meaſures to diſappoint theſe deſigns, and to proſecute the war in ſuch a manner as might be moſt effectual for obtaining a ſafe and honourable peace: that his good friends the States-general had already, in purſuance of his requiſition, agreed to furniſh the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaties, and had given the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their ſenſe, not only of the common danger, but alſo of the inſeparable connection of their intereſts with thoſe of Great Britain; a diſpoſition which he would not

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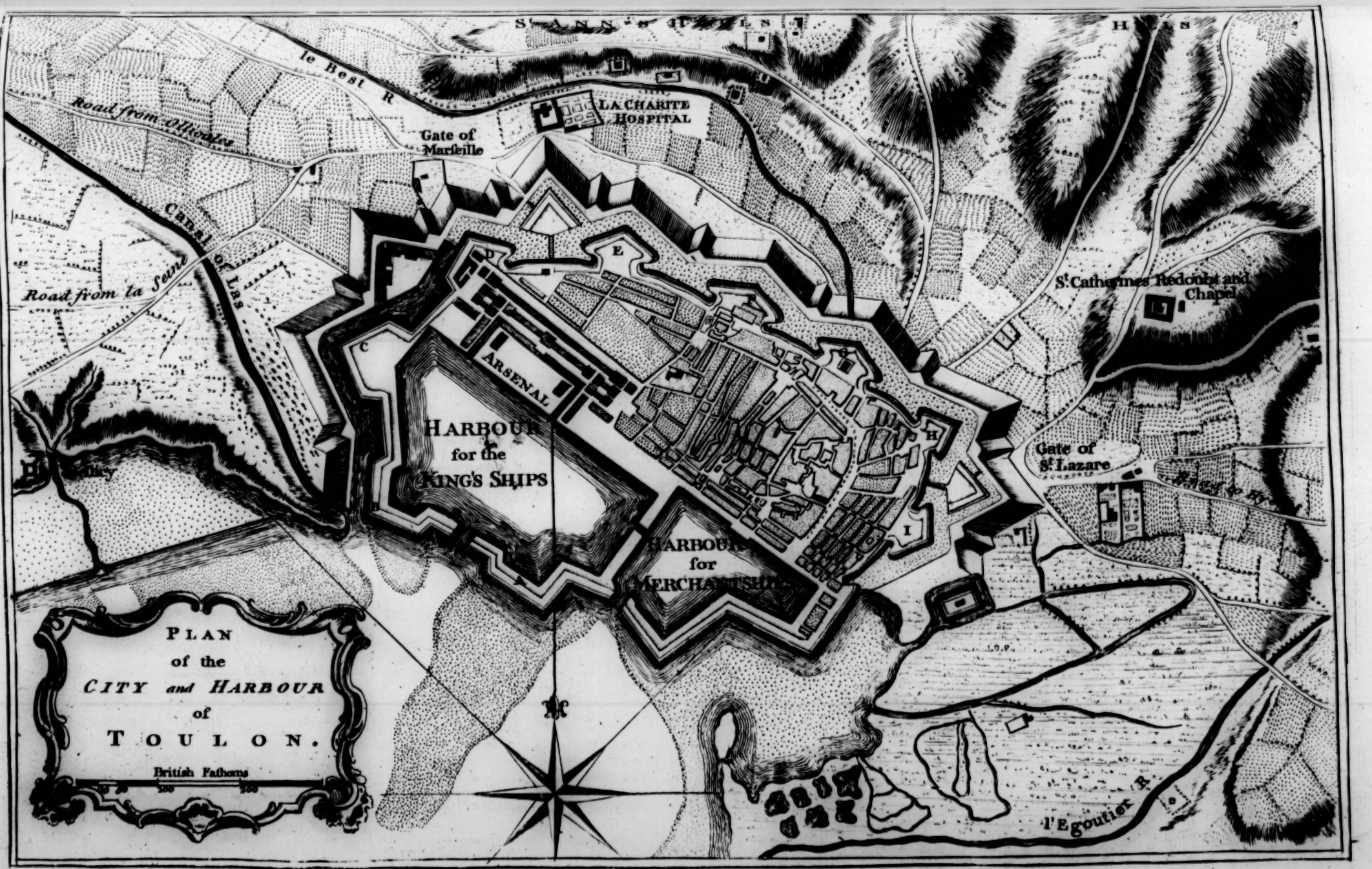
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le Best R
Road from Hyeres
LA CHARITE HOSPITAL
Gate of Marseille
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HARBOUR for the KING'S SHIPS
HARBOUR for MERCHANTSHIPS
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St. Catherines Redoubt and Chapel
Gate of St. Lazare
PLAN of the CITY and HARBOUR of TOULON.
British Fathoms
l'Egoutier R.

fail to improve to the general good of the common cauſe: that he hoped the members of both houſes, upon their return to their reſpective counties, would be particularly careful to preſerve the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom, eſpecially at this critical conjuncture, when they were called upon by every motive of duty and intereſt, to cheriſh a more than ordinary zeal for the maintenance and defence of their religion and liberty, againſt the malicious deſigns of their enemies."

The late projected invaſion was replete with many ills againſt England, and its timely detection and prevention was conſequently a moſt fortunate circumſtance for her. The ſcheme had been laid with ſuch deep art and ſecrecy, that the commanders of the French fleet did not know the place of their deſtination till the moment they were to ſet ſail: it was, moreover, cloſely connected with another which, had it proved ſucceſsful, muſt have given the French the entire dominion of the ſea. The queen of Spain, impatient of the difficulties which retarded her ſon Don Philip in his progreſs in Italy, and enraged at the detention of the French and Spaniſh ſquadrons in the harbour of Toulon, had, by promiſing to ſuſtain all the loſs that might be ſuffered in ſuch an attempt, prevailed on the court of Verſailles to agree that the combined fleets ſhould ſail out of the harbour and attack that of England; after which, ſhould they gain the victory, they were to repair into the Engliſh Channel, in order to aſſiſt in the projected deſcent.

Accordingly, orders were diſpatched to the united fleets to put to ſea with all expedition, and dare the utmoſt hazards of an engagement. Admiral Matthews had by this time been reinforced from England, ſo that he had the ſuperiority of the French and Spaniards; and on the eleventh of January this year found himſelf at the head of forty ſail, of which twenty-eight were of the line *, having on board two thouſand four hundred and ninety guns, fifteen thouſand ſeamen, and eight hundred ſoldiers from Minorca; ſo that it is more than probable the enemy would have gladly avoided an engagement, had not their orders from their reſpective courts been ſo peremptory. Their whole force conſiſted of twenty-eight ſhips of the line; one of them, the Spaniſh admiral's, named the Royal Philip, mounted one hundred and fourteen guns: they had likewiſe ſix frigates; but all their ſhips were clean, and completely manned.

On the ninth of February, 1744, in the morning, the combined fleet came out of the harbour; and Matthews, who lay in the bay, and had intelligence of their deſign, made the proper diſpoſitions to engage them. He immediately got under ſail with his whole fleet; but the wind dying away, he was obliged to come to an anchor again in the bay. According to the diſpoſition of the line of battle made by the Britiſh admiral, the van was conducted by Mr. Rowley, rear-admiral of the white; the center by Mr. Matthews himſelf, lately made admiral of the blue; and the rear by Leſtock, who had been promoted to be vice-admiral of the blue. The next day, a ſmall breeze ſpringing up at eaſt, the two fleets neared each other; but it was night before Matthews could get near enough to the enemy, who ſeemed to decline the line of battle. By this time, however, vice-admiral Leſtock and his ſquadron was full five miles aſtern of the admiral; and the Spaniſh ſhips were aſtern of De Court, the French admiral, who ſtill avoided to engage with the Engliſh van under Rowley. Matthews, finding that the combined fleets kept aloof, and fearing that they might, by a change of wind, be enabled to elude the engagement, determined to break the form of a line of battle, which he had hitherto ſtudiouſly endeavoured to preſerve, and about twelve o'clock, on the eleventh, he made the ſignal for engaging: himſelf began the attack upon the Spaniſh admiral, Don Navarro, in the Real; rear-admiral Rowley ſingled out M. de Court, who commanded the French ſquadron; but Leſtock ſtill remained a great way aſtern. During the engagement, the captains Cornwall, Oſborne, Hawke, and Forbes, exhibited the moſt exemplary courage; but ſeveral other captains, who were immediately under the eye of Matthews, behaved in the moſt daſtardly and puſillanimous manner. Mr. Matthews, however, by the aſſiſtance of the Marlborough, reduced the Real to a perfect wreck; but the Marlborough, driving too near the admiral, in the very heat of the action, obliged him to fill his ſail and ſhoot a-head, to prevent her being on board of him, which, as there was very little wind, and a heavy ſwell, might have proved fatal to both of them. The Marlborough was now left alone to contend with the greateſt ſhip in the world. The brave captain Cornwall, her commander, after performing wonders, loſt both his legs and his life by a chain-ſhot. The firſt lieutenant taking the command, continued to fight with equal bravery; but being at length utterly diſabled, ſhe was about five o'clock towed out of the line of battle. The Royal Philip, however, was in as miſerable a condition, lying like a mere hulk upon the water; which admiral Matthews perceiving, he made a ſignal for the Anne galley fireſhip to go down and burn her. Theſe kind of veſſels are filled with gun-powder, and every other kind of combuſtible, and they faſten upon an enemy's ſhip with grappling-irons fixed at their yards, arms, and at booms, ſpread out in different places for that purpoſe. The moment the fire-ſhip is faſtened to her object, a match is ſet to the train of powder, while the crew hurry into a boat that waits a-ſtern for them. The captain is the laſt who enters it. In the mean time, the train catching, the fire-ſhip is inſtantly all in flames, and is blown up, together with the veſſel to which it is grappled. It is always cuſtomary to order a large ſhip to go down with this machine, to cover it from the fire of the enemy. Matthews took this precaution; but the ſhip he ordered to this ſervice did not obey his ſignal: nevertheleſs, the brave captain Mackay, who commanded this engine of deſtruction, continued advancing. By this time four Spaniſh ſhips had paſſed by Leſtock, and haſtened to the protection of their admiral: they poured their broadſides into the poor defenceleſs, and undefended Anne galley, which had by this time got within her own length of the Real; but unable to ſuſtain ſo terrible a

* Viz. four ſhips of ninety guns, eight of eighty, eleven of ſeventy, and five of ſixty.

ſalute, was now on the point of ſinking; which the captain perceiving, and ſeeing his own deſtruction inevitable, determined at leaſt to avenge himſelf in the hour of his death: he ſet fire to the train, hoping he might yet be able to get alongſide of the Spaniſh admiral, and blow her up along with himſelf; but it was too late: his veſſel was in an inſtant on fire, and blew up within a few feet of the Royal Philip, whoſe deck was covered with the wreck, but without receiving any damage from this dreadful exploſion.

The four ſhips which had paſſed Mr. Leſtock now directing their whole fury againſt the Namur, Mr. Matthews' ſhip (who ſtill lay within muſket-ſhot of the Real, with his maſts and rigging terribly diſabled) raked him fore and aft for ſome time. About five o'clock Mr. Matthews made the ſignal for the line a-head, and wore round; but he was only followed by the Dorſetſhire, Eſſex, Rupert, and Royal Oak, which were a-ſtern of him: theſe however formed the line with the admiral, and engaged the Royal Philip, and ſix other ſhips which had got into a cloſe line with their admiral. One ſhip of the Spaniſh line, named the Poder, ſtruck to captain Hawke of the Berwick, who ſent a lieutenant to take poſſeſſion of her: ſhe was afterwards retaken by the French ſquadron; but was found ſo diſabled that they left her deſerted, and ſhe was next day burned by order of admiral Matthews.

It is agreed that the Spaniſh diviſion muſt have been entirely deſtroyed, had it not been for M. de Court, the French admiral, who continued ſo cloſely to engage rear-admiral Rowley as to prevent his going down to the aſſiſtance of Mr. Matthews. About five o'clock the French admiral made the ſignal for the van to tack, with an intention to put admiral Matthews between two fires. This obliged Rowley to tack likewiſe, to join the center of our fleet, which was threatened with the moſt imminent danger by the above manœuvre of the French admiral, Leſtock not having, during all this time, brought up his diviſion to reinforce it; which was the more extraordinary, as four Spaniſh ſhips had actually paſſed him, and arrived to ſave their admiral, Navarro, in the Real. Night coming on, the firing ceaſed on both ſides, and the combined fleets took that opportunity of towing all the crippled ſhips before the wind, and making the beſt of their way from the Britiſh fleet, who loſt ſight of them about ten o'clock; and there being but little wind, Matthews brought to, that Leſtock and the ſternmoſt ſhips might get up to him. Next day the enemy appeared to leeward, and the admiral gave chace till night. They were obſerved again on the thirteenth at a conſiderable diſtance, and purſued till evening. On the morning of the fourteenth a great number of the ſhips of the combined fleets were ſeen diſtinctly from the maſt-head; and a freſh gale ſpringing up, Leſtock gave chace to, and had gained on them conſiderably by noon: but juſt as he was in full view of coming up with them, Matthews threw out his ſignal to leave off chace, and afterwards bore away for Port-Mahon to refit; while the enemy, continuing their courſe towards the coaſt of Spain, M. de Court, with his diviſion, anchored in the road of Alicant, and Don Navarro ſailed into the harbour of Carthagena.

Admiral Matthews, on his arrival at Minorca, accuſed Mr. Leſtock of having miſbehaved in the action, ſuſpended him from his command, and ſent him priſoner to England. This action off Toulon was, notwithſtanding the ſuperior force of the Engliſh, rendered indeciſive, or rather fruitleſs, by the mutual averſion the two commanders had for each other. Whether Leſtock would have willingly deprived Matthews of the glory of a victory, or whether Matthews did not chuſe to ſhare with him that glory, is a queſtion we cannot here decide. This much is certain, that the only fruits of our vaſt expence, and preparations of both us and the enemy in the Mediterranean, was the ſlaughter of a great number of men, and the diſabling many veſſels. There were complaints on all ſides; and the ſame diſguſt appears to have prevailed between the Spaniſh and French admirals as between the two Britiſh commanders. The Spaniards accuſed the French of having ſacrificed them to the whole fire of the Britiſh fleet; and though it was plain that De Court had ſaved them from deſtruction, yet, to gratify the Spaniards, the French commandant was diſgraced, though he was afterwards reſtored to his command with circumſtances that reflected double honour upon him.

It may eaſily be ſuppoſed that the conduct of our fleet on this important occaſion, would become the ſubject of a parliamentary enquiry in England. The trial of the delinquents came before a committee of the houſe of commons in the March following, when Leſtock exhibited a countercharge againſt Matthews, who had reſigned his command to rear-admiral Rowley, and had arrived in England. The houſe, however, not finding itſelf able to determine in this intricate affair, in which ſo many points of ſeamanſhip and naval manœuvres continually ſtarted up, preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, deſiring that a court-martial might be appointed to try the delinquents.

The court-martial was accordingly conſtituted and appointed, and proceeded to trial; but by reaſon of the many delays and obſtructions thrown in by both parties, did not paſs ſentence till the latter end of the year 1746, when ſeveral captains of Matthews' diviſion were caſhiered, vice-admiral Leſtock was honourably acquitted, and admiral Matthews rendered incapable of ſerving for the future in his majeſty's navy. The iſſue of this court-martial was thought to be the more extraordinary, as the admiral, who had diſplayed the greateſt courage and ſpirit, poſſibly not ſufficiently tempered with conduct, ſcarce eſcaped ſuffering an ignominious death for cowardice; while the vice-admiral, who had kept aloof during the whole engagement, and hazarded the deſtruction of his ſuperior and half of the fleet, by diſobeying, or pretending not to underſtand his ſignals, was acquitted with honour. Unhappily, deciſions of this kind are too frequently the reſult of intereſt and prejudice, rather than of a due attention to reaſon, or the merits of the cauſe.

Proper regard, however, was in other inſtances paid to real merit: a noble monument was erected to the memory of captain Cornwall in Weſtminſter-abbey, by a vote of the Britiſh parliament, and at the public expence; an honour to which, by his gallant behaviour in this and in ſeveral former actions, this commander was univerſally allowed to be juſtly entitled. The captains Forbes, Oſborne, and Hawke, had afterwards diſtinguiſhed honours and rewards beſtowed upon them ſuitable to their

ſpirit, courage, and conduct, as had rear-admiral Rowley: in fine, nothing can be more probable than that, had all the commanders of the Britiſh fleet during the engagement off Toulon, done their duties equally well, the Spaniſh ſquadron, if not the French likewiſe, might have been totally deſtroyed, and a glorious end put at once to the war.

The conſequence however proved, that the advantage in the Toulon engagement was on the ſide of France and Spain. The Mediterranean was left open at leaſt for ſome time, and Don Philip was eaſily ſupplied with proviſions, which he much wanted, from the coaſt of Provence; but neither the French nor Spaniſh ſquadrons were able to make head againſt Matthews when he returned to his ſtation, after having refitted his ſhips. France and Spain being under a neceſſity of always ſupporting very numerous land armies, have not that continual fund of ſeamen, which are the reſource of Great Britain's power. It was now more evident than ever of how great importance the poſſeſſion of Minorca was to us, and the great prejudice Spain had ſuſtained in the loſs of that place.

In the beginning of this year, 1744, Don Philip in Lombardy, with the marquis de las Minas under him, found himſelf, by the arrival of an augmentation from Spain, and the junction of twenty thouſand French under the prince de Conti, at the head of ſixty thouſand men; with which his highneſs was adviſed, after the retreat of the Britiſh fleet to Minorca, to enter Dauphiné, paſs the Var, and renew his attempts to penetrate into Piedmont on the ſide of Nice, where his Sardinian majeſty could not immediately collect an army ſufficient to make any formidable reſiſtance, becauſe he could expect little ſupport from prince Lobkowitz, on account of his Sicilian majeſty having determined to aſſiſt the Spaniards in Italy. It was a bold reſolution of the enemy to attempt penetrating into a country, where a ſingle battalion may ſtop a whole army; where you are every inſtant obliged to fight amongſt rocks and torrents; and where all theſe obſtacles are heightened by the difficulty of getting proviſions. All the paſſages into Piedmont were defended with ſuch ſecurity as to deny any entrance on the ſide of Savoy, and an army of thirty thouſand Piedmonteſe was aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Villa Franca, where his Sardinian majeſty fortified his camp with ſtrong entrenchments, which were rendered more inacceſſible by the mountainous ſituation of the country; and his majeſty continued in this camp, to prevent the incurſions of the confederate forces, who were expected to make their attempt on the ſide of Nice.

The confederate army of French and Spaniards having quitted their cantonments, paſſed thro' Dauphiné, and made the neceſſary preparations for repulſing the Piedmonteſe troops from the paſſage on the ſide of Nice. About the latter end of March the infant Don Philip and the prince of Conti paſſed the Var, a river which falls from the Alps, and empties itſelf into the ſea of Genoa, below Nice: that city, with the whole country to which it gives name, being incapable of making any defence, quickly ſurrendered. The confederates then paſſed the river Paglioni, with an intent to encamp between Nice and Montalban, and ſeize on the fortified poſts which encompaſſed the king of Sardinia's camp; but before they could advance any farther, they were under a neceſſity of attacking the intrenchments near Villa Franca, and thoſe of the fortreſs of Montalban, in the midſt of rocks which form a long chain of inacceſſible ramparts. There was no poſſibility of marching but through narrow defiles, and over frightful precipices, expoſed to the enemy's artillery. Full in the front of this, they were obliged to climb up from rock to rock; and even on the Alps they had as great difficulties to encounter. Admiral Matthews having careened his ſhips, was returned to reaſſume the empire of the Mediterranean ſea. He landed a body of men at Villa Franca, who joined the Piedmonteſe, and ſome Engliſh gunners whom he lent them from his fleet did great ſervice: but the two young princes, who commanded an army of veteran troops who were every way fit for ſuch an expedition, and into whom they infuſed freſh ardour by their own example, concerted their meaſures ſo well, that they ſurmounted all obſtacles. The marquis de Biſſy, at the head of a detachment of French, and the marquis de Campo Santo at the head of another of Spaniards, ſoon made themſelves maſters of the enemy's batteries which flanked the paſſage of Villa Franca. Every thing was ſo well planned, ſo quick and ſo vigorouſly puſhed on the ſide of the confederates, and they made ſuch prodigious efforts, that this chief paſs of Villa Franca, the rampart of Piedmont, which was above the height of two hundred fathoms from the level, and defended by five thouſand troops, and which the king of Sardinia imagined to be quite inacceſſible, was carried by the French and Spaniards, though with the loſs of near ſix thouſand men, while that of the Piedmonteſe, who defended it, was about three thouſand killed and taken priſoners. Amongſt them was the marquis de Suze, natural brother to his Sardinian majeſty, who commanded the troops that defended the entrenchments. The confederates then purſuing their advantage, advanced from poſt to poſt, from rock to rock, carrying every thing before them.

In the mean while, another large detachment had made a furious aſſault upon the intrenchments of Montalban, commanded by general Sinzan, with five thouſand men. Twice were the enemy at the very top of theſe intrenchments: they had even made themſelves maſters of two batteries of cannon, but were obliged to abandon them, and to retire, with the loſs of four hundred men killed and as many wounded, beſides a great number of priſoners, among whom were a major-general, a brigadier general, a lieutenant-colonel, nine captains, and thirty-three ſubalterns. The Piedmonteſe defended themſelves ſo well as to have only one hundred men killed, ſixty wounded, and one hundred and forty made priſoners. Sinzan, however, finding that the marquis de Suze had been defeated, and that the French would now have it in their power to cut off the communication with Villa Franca, he held a council of war, in which it was agreed to abandon the entrenchments. This was done on the twelfth of April, three days after thoſe of Villa Franca had been forced; and a garriſon of three hundred and forty men being put into the citadel of Villa Franca, and ſixty into the fortreſs of Montalban, the Piedmonteſe troops, to the number of four hundred and fifty, with all the ammunition, proviſion, and artillery, embarked on board the

Engliſh

Engliſh men of war for Oneglia, a port town in the territory of Genoa, but ſubject to his Sardinian majeſty, ſeven miles ſouth-weſt of Genoa, and forty-eight ſouth-eaſt of Coni, where they arrived on the twentieth of April, after a tedious and ſtormy paſſage.

The French immediately entered Villa Franca and Montalban, and a detachment of ten thouſand Spaniards was ſent under the duke d'Arcos, one of the Spaniſh generals, to attack the Piedmonteſe in Oneglia. Mean while, his Sardinian majeſty quitted his encampment, and retired towards Coni. The Spaniſh general having croſſed the territory of Genoa, arrived on the tenth of May before Oneglia, from whence general Sinzan retreated to Gareſſio, where he fortified himſelf among the eminences in ſo advantageous a ſituation, that he deterred the Spaniards from attempting to diſpoſſeſs him from his poſt. The duke d'Arcos then received orders to penetrate through the territories of Genoa into the Milaneſe, whither he was to be followed by the whole combined army: but admiral Matthews, who was then off the Genoeſe coaſt, acquainted the republic, "That if the ſenate permitted the combined army to paſs through their dominions, his Britannic majeſty ſhould regard it as a breach of their neutrality." This intimidated the doge and ſenate: they immediately intreated the confederate generals to abandon their deſigns, and had the happineſs of procuring a compliance.

In fact, notwithſtanding the ſucceſſes of Don Philip and the prince of Conti, the ſcaling of thoſe mountains at Villa Franca and Montalban, and the victories obtained among theſe precipices, they had not as yet been able to open a paſſage on that ſide: they could not advance for want of ſubſiſtence through thoſe defiles, and over thoſe rocks, where they were obliged to have the cannon dragged by ſoldiers, the forage carried on the backs of mules, and to march in ſeveral places on the declivity of a mountain, the foot of which was waſhed by the ſea, and where they were expoſed to the artillery of an Engliſh ſquadron ſtationed there to annoy them: they had moreover loſt above twelve thouſand men ſince the paſſage of the Var. The prince of Conti duly weighing all theſe conſiderations, propoſed to the infant and the marquis de las Minas to return into Dauphiné, and endeavour to force a paſſage on the ſide of Demont, which was readily aſſented to. The Spaniſh troops who had poſſeſſed themſelves of Oneglia were recalled; and having joined the marquis de las Minas at Nice, the confederate army, on the firſt of June, repaſſed the Var, and defiled towards the Upper Dauphiné. On the ninth of July they arrived near the paſſes of Chateau-Dauphiné, and encamped about Briançon, Guilleſtre, and Tournous, to be in readineſs to force their way into Piedmont, by Demont; and the adjacent paſſes were ſtrongly fortified by his Sardinian majeſty, who had removed from Coni for their protection.

The confederate forces having made the proper diſpoſitions, on the eighteenth of July, early in the morning, began the execution of their projected attacks. M. du Bois de Givry, a French lieutenant-general, and the bailli (or bailiff) of the great croſs of Malta, led nine French battalions of the regiments of Poitou, Conti, Salis, Provence, and Brie, betwixt two mountains: the count de Campo Santo followed him at the head of three Spaniſh battalions through another defile on the mountains of Traverſiera. The bailli de Givry having made good his paſſage, came and drew up on the ſide of a ſummit which terminated at the redoubt of Monte Cavallo, and was defended by a detachment of twelve hundred Piedmonteſe. The aſſailants had no artillery, and were expoſed to their enemy's cannon. Givry was wounded in the beginning of the action; and the marquis de Villemur being informed that a paſſage of equal importance had been juſt then luckily diſcovered, ſent orders for a retreat. Givry obeyed, and prepared to draw off his men; but both the officers and ſoldiers were too greatly animated to obey his directions. The lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Poitou was the firſt who leaped into the Piedmonteſe entrenchments; the French grenadiers darted themſelves one upon another; and by the favour of a fog, which prevented the Piedmonteſe from taking any object for their fire, made themſelves maſters of the covered way; and the chevalier de Caſtagnola, who commanded the works, being wounded, and only four hundred and ſixty men remaining of the twelve hundred in the redoubt, which was extremely harraſſed, the commandant thought proper to retire with the troops which had ſuſtained the garriſon, leaving the French to take poſſeſſion of the redoubt, which was of the greateſt importance, as it opened them a paſſage into Piedmont; though this advantage was dearly purchaſed, the French having loſt one hundred and forty-three officers, and upwards of three thouſand five hundred men.

His Sardinian majeſty perceiving the loſs of theſe advantageous poſts, drew his troops from the frontiers, ſent his heavy cannon off before him, and afterwards marched to prepare for the ſecurity of Turin, by defending the village of Varita and the Po, according to the motions of the confederates. While theſe latter were taking Chateau-Dauphiné, they were obliged to take the place known by the name of the Barricades: this is a paſs of about three fathoms wide, between two mountains which rear their heads to the ſky. The king of Sardinia had turned the river Stura, which waters the adjacent valley, into this precipice. The poſt on the other ſide of the river was defended by three entrenchments and a covered way. This was the laſt paſſage that was forced: and ſuch was the conſternation of the Piedmonteſe, that, impregnable as it was thought, it was carried by the French and Spaniards with very little loſs. This advantage gained, the confederates left the Piedmonteſe army on the left, and inveſted Demont, a ſtrong fortreſs at the foot of the mountains, in the road to Coni. This fortreſs had been built, at an immenſe expence, on the top of a rock that ſtood by itſelf in the midſt of the valley of Stura, and was defended by a garriſon of fifteen hundred men, provided with fifty-eight braſs cannon, fourteen mortars, and a great quantity of ammunition and powder; and on account of its great ſtrength, it was expected that it would have made a vigorous defence. The trenches were opened on the fourteenth of Auguſt, when the beſiegers began to play; and on the eighteenth, having accidentally thrown a red-hot bullet into a place near the great magazine, general Vialetti, the governor, being afraid that he and all his garriſon ſhould be blown

up, called for the aſſiſtance of the beſiegers to extinguiſh the flames: and thus the allies, with the loſs of only five men, got poſſeſſion of a fortreſs in four days, that otherwiſe would have coſt them ſeveral weeks ſiege, with the loſs of many thouſands of lives. By the reduction of Demont, the French and Spaniſh powers became maſters of the flat country of Piedmont, which they laid under heavy contributions. His Sardinian majeſty, diſpirited with his loſſes, and thinking it improper to venture a battle in the plain againſt a ſuperior army, flushed with the moſt extraordinary ſucceſſes, retired to Saluzzo, ſeventeen miles ſouth from Turin, to cover that metropolis, where he continued in expectation of a reinforcement of eight thouſand Auſtrians under general Pallavicini, from Mantua and the Milaneſe.

The princes were now determined to inveſt Coni, a ſtrong town and caſtle, ſeated upon a hill at the confluence of the rivers Shira and Gueſſa, thirty-two miles ſouth of Turin, and thirty-five north of Nice. Coni was garriſoned by twelve hundred men, commanded by baron Leutrum, who made the neceſſary meaſures for an obſtinate reſiſtance. The prince of Conti on the eighth of September appeared before the town, and opened his trenches on the thirteenth. On the fifteenth his Sardinian majeſty had the ſatisfaction of being joined by general Pallavicini with his reinforcement, when his army conſiſted of thirty-ſix thouſand men, which was ſuperior to the French and Spaniards, who were now reduced to thirty-three thouſand: they however had the ſuperiority in cavalry.

His Sardinian majeſty now reſolved to hazard a battle, ſenſible that this was one of thoſe occaſions in which ſuch an attempt is warranted by all the rules of ſound policy. If he won the day, the confederates had few reſources, and their retreat would have been attended with great difficulty: if he loſt it, the town was ſtill able to hold out in this advanced ſeaſon, and he had a ſafe retreat. Nothing could be more judicious than this prince's diſpoſition of his army; for having leſs cavalry than the beſiegers, and more infantry, he made his attack in ſuch a manner as to give his infantry the whole advantage of the ground, and ſecure his cavalry from any danger of a defeat.

The prince of Conti, informed of his Sardinian majeſty's intention to attack the confederates in their lines, took every neceſſary meaſure, in conjunction with the royal infant and the Spaniſh generals, for giving the Piedmonteſe a proper reception; and drew the army out of their intrenchments to meet the king of Sardinia, who arrived in the plain near Madonne de l'Olmo, in ſight of Coni, on the twenty-third of September. On the twenty-fourth the two armies engaged. His Sardinian majeſty maintained the fight till night, without flinching; when finding it impracticable to force the enemy's intrenchments, he retired in good order to a camp at Muraſſo. He afterwards found means to throw a reinforcement of men and a ſupply of proviſions into Coni, which enabled baron Leutrum, the governor, to hold out the place till the middle of October, when the marquis d'Ormea, who was poſted with a detachment of five hundred Piedmonteſe on the eaſtern ſide of the town, found an opportunity of getting count Soto, with ſix hundred men, into the garriſon. The beſiegers, diſcouraged by this augmentation of the garriſon, the advanced ſeaſon of the year, the heavy ſnows and rains, the over-flowings of the rivers, and the conſiderable and perpetual loſſes they ſuſtained by the fate of war and ſickneſs, whereby their army was almoſt one half diminiſhed, thought it moſt adviſeable to abandon the ſiege and make a retreat. Accordingly, in the beginning of November they quitted their trenches, and marched back to Demont, leaving their ſick and wounded, to the number of two thouſand, to the mercy of the Piedmonteſe. Having deſtroyed the fortifications of this place, they continued their retreat with great precipitation to Dauphiné, dreadfully harraſſed by the Vaudois and light troops in the ſervice of his Sardinian majeſty, who once more recovered poſſeſſion of Piedmont.

Thus terminated the campaign in Lombardy, which proved a moſt expenſive and fatal one to the Spaniards, whoſe miniſtry, to gratify the clamours of a diſcontented populace, cauſed the marquis de las Minas to be diſgraced and ſent into exile, to keep company with the duke de Montemar. The conduct of the prince of Conti, however, was univerſally applauded; and indeed with great juſtice; for during this whole campaign he had on every occaſion commanded like an experienced general, and fought like a valiant ſoldier. The French now took up their quarters in Dauphiné, the Spaniards reſumed theirs in Savoy; and his Sardinian majeſty cantoned his troops in Piedmont, returning himſelf to paſs the remainder of the winter at Turin.

Prince Lobkowitz continued to command in Italy, againſt the Spaniards and Neapolitans under the duke of Modena and count de Gages, who, with the remainder of their enfeebled army, conſiſting of only ten thouſand men, had taken up their winter-quarters in the neighbourhood of Fano, while the Auſtrians poſted themſelves at Rimini. The queen of Hungary had been perſuaded by the biſhop of Gurek, her ambaſſador at Rome, to attempt the conqueſt of Naples and Sicily, as the only means of indemnifying herſelf for the ceſſions ſhe had made by the treaty of Worms; and ſhe had actually declared war againſt the king of thoſe countries, who having renounced his neutrality, openly eſpouſed the cauſe of his father, ordered twenty-five thouſand of his own troops, under the duke de Vieuville, to join them; and, after ſending his queen and family to Gaieta, he ſet out to command them in chief himſelf. He then publiſhed a manifeſto in vindication of his conduct; in which he obſerved, that his moderation had not been properly valued by the courts of Vienna and London; that his frontiers were threatened with the calamities of war; and that the queen of Hungary had even formed a deſign to invade his dominions. This charge appears to have but too good foundation; the emiſſaries of the houſe of Auſtria had endeavoured to raiſe a rebellion in Naples, which prince Lobkowitz was ordered to favour by an invaſion. This general had quitted his cantonments at Rimini early in the ſpring, and began his march towards the Spaniards, who on his approach retired from their fortified paſſes on the Foglia, and departed from Peſaro in their retreat to the Neapolitan dominions. The Spaniſh general continued his retreat by Semigallia, and paſſed the river Tronto, which divides Naples from the Eccleſiaſtical State, taking poſt under

under the cannon of Peſcara, a port-town in the province of Abruzzo, ſituate on the gulph of Venice, ninety miles north of Naples. Prince Lobkowitz did not immediately continue to purſue the Spaniards to the Neapolitan territories; but having received poſitive orders to penetrate into thoſe dominions, he proſecuted his march towards the Eccleſiaſtical State, and on the thirteenth of May the Auſtrian army arrived at Narni, within forty miles of Rome; and by the fifteenth was at Civita Caſtellana, within twenty-five miles of that city.

The army under count Gages was, by the juncture of the Neapolitans, become ſuperior to that of the Auſtrians; whereupon it was reſolved by his Sicilian majeſty, the duke of Modena, and the count, to advance to the neighbourhood of Rome, and check the progreſs of prince Lobkowitz. In purſuance of this determination, the combined army arrived in the Campagna di Roma, and on the twenty-ſecond of May poſted themſelves in an advantageous camp, on the eminences in the neighbourhood of Velletri, a town twenty miles eaſt of Rome, where they threw up entrenchments. Prince Lobkowitz, on his ſide, ſeized upon the riſing grounds oppoſite to the confederate camp, where he alſo entrenched himſelf; and both armies lay in ſight of each other for ſome time, without coming to any conſiderable action.

In the mean while, prince Lobkowitz detached a large body of forces under count Brown, who made an irruption into the province of Abruzzo, where he diſperſed a manifeſto, in which the queen of Hungary exhorted the Neapolitans to ſhake off the Spaniſh yoke, and return to their allegiance to the houſe of Auſtria. This ſtep, however, produced very little effect; and the Auſtrian detachment retired, at the approach of the duke of Vieuville with a ſuperior number of forces.

Prince Lobkowitz having received intelligence, on the tenth of Auguſt, that the flank of the Spaniſh camp, lying next to the plain, was negligently guarded, it incited him to form a deſign of ſurpriſing it, together with the town of Velletri, where the enemy had their head-quarters. Night being come, the Auſtrian general divided his army into three bodies, with which he intended to ſurround Velletri, and carry off his Sicilian majeſty and the duke of Modena. The better to cover his deſign, he ordered ſeveral falſe attacks to be made, in order to amuſe the enemy, and divert their attention from the place he had choſen for the important ſcene of action. Every thing ſucceeded to his wiſh. About midnight count Brown, at the head of ſix thouſand Auſtrians, having ſurpriſed and beaten the grand guard of the enemy behind Velletri, forced one of the gates and entered the town. The main guard were ſlain: thoſe who reſiſted were cut in pieces; and thoſe who made no reſiſtance were taken priſoners: in ſhort, terror and alarm were ſpread every-where. The king of Naples and the duke of Modena were very near being taken: the marquis de l'Hoſpital, ambaſſador from France to the court of Naples, had juſt time to awaken the king and the duke, who found an opportunity of eſcaping through the gardens to the village of Juliano, juſt before their apartments were entirely ſurrounded. The fire and the noiſe having rouſed the reſt of the Spaniſh and Neapolitan forces who were in Velletri, they flew to arms; an obſtinate engagement enſued; and count Brown, finding that his Sicilian majeſty and the duke of Modena had eſcaped, and were returning with count Gages and a ſtrong reinforcement to prevent his retreat, thought it moſt proper to retire, which he did in good order, taking with him all the baggage, plate, and furniture of his Sicilian majeſty and the duke of Modena, the French ambaſſador, and ſeveral other noblemen and officers of diſtinction: an immenſe booty! In their retreat the Auſtrians burnt the tents of the confederate camp behind Velletri. In this action the Spaniards are ſaid to have loſt two thouſand men, with eight hundred taken priſoners, together with ſome ſtandards and colours. The Auſtrians loſt about ſix hundred men; and general Novati, the ſecond in command, fell into the hands of the enemy: but the exploit was attended with no conſequence of importance.

The heats of the autumn proved ſo fatal to the Auſtrians, that prince Lobkowitz ſaw his army mouldering away, without any poſſibility of being recruited: the country, moreover, was ſo exhauſted, that he could with the utmoſt difficulty procure even common ſubſiſtence for his remaining troops. Theſe conſiderations determined him to think of a retreat. Accordingly, on the thirty-firſt of October he decamped ſuddenly to croſs the Tiber at Ponte Molle. Count de Gages was no ſooner informed that the Auſtrians were retreated, than he marched out with his whole army in purſuit of them. The Auſtrians marched under the walls of Rome, and on the 2d of November croſſed the Tiber, and broke down the bridges, though not ſo expeditiouſly but the confederate forces came up and attempted to do the ſame, which occaſioned a warm action, in which the Auſtrians loſt one hundred and twenty men, and the Spaniards about double that number. Seven hundred of the Auſtrian rear-guard were taken, with count Soto, who commanded them at Nocera; and the army of prince Lobkowitz ſuffered greatly by deſertion. Nevertheleſs, he continued his retreat in a very maſterly manner, croſſed the mountains of Gobbio, and arrived in the eſtates of Bologna and Romagna, when his highneſs was informed of the expulſion of the French and Spaniards out of the Piedmonteſe dominions, which occaſioned him to put his army in cantonments, and to fix his head-quarters at Imola, one hundred and eighty-two miles north-weſt of Rome; while count de Gages ſettled his in Terni, forty-ſix miles north-eaſt of Rome, and quartered his troops as far as Viterbo, determined to renew the next campaign with all poſſible vigour, and effect a junction with Don Philip.

The war in Germany, which had been almoſt extinguiſhed in the laſt campaign, began to revive, and raged with redoubled violence. All the conceſſions the emperor had offered to make were rejected; and the treaty of Worms diſpelled all hope of accommodation. The inflexibility of the houſe of Auſtria, however, proved in the end ſerviceable to the emperor. The forlorn condition of this unfortunate prince excited the compaſſion of divers princes: they could not behold without indignation the head of the empire ſtripped of his dominions, and reduced to live upon a precarious penſion, which was furniſhed him by France, and which was hardly ſufficient to procure him the neceſſaries of life. Theſe conſiderations, added to

the intrigues of the court of Verſailles, brought about a German confederacy againſt the queen of Hungary; and on the eleventh of May a treaty of alliance and union was concluded at Frankfort between his Imperial majeſty, the king of Pruſſia, the elector-palatine, and the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Heſſe, reciting, that as in regard to the Auſtrian ſucceſſion things had been puſhed to ſuch an extremity as to endanger the total ſubverſion of the German empire; therefore the contracting parties, animated by a paternal affection for their dear country, as well as for the firm ſupport of the ſyſtem of the empire, had made between them an act for a binding and conſtant union, to the following purport:

"They agreed to employ their good offices, either to perſuade or compel the queen of Hungary to recognize the emperor's title, or reſtore his hereditary (Bavarian) dominions, and to give up the archives of the empire which were in her poſſeſſion. They guarantied to each other their reſpective territories; the diſputes about the ſucceſſion of the late emperor they referred to the deciſion of the ſtates of the empire: they promiſed to aſſiſt one another, in caſe of being attacked; and they invited the king of Poland, the elector of Cologne, and the biſhop of Liege, to accede to this convention." So far the treaty of Frankfort had a harmleſs tendency; and theſe were all the articles ever publiſhed by the contracting parties: but the court of Vienna afterwards publiſhed another ſeparate article, which they aſſerted was annexed to this treaty, and contained the great ſecret of this alliance. It imported, "That as there was but too good reaſon to believe, that the queen of Hungary could not be perſuaded by gentle means to conſent to a peace, according to the intent of the treaty, his majeſty the king of Pruſſia thought it indiſpenſibly neceſſary to have recourſe to ſtronger and more effectual methods; and as he was always deſirous of co-operating towards the pacification of Germany, he was, after the moſt mature reflection, firmly of opinion, that a ſhorter and more deciſive expedient could not be employed, than for him to promiſe and engage, as he did by the preſent article, to make an expedition towards conquering all Bohemia; to put his Imperial majeſty in poſſeſſion of that crown; and to guaranty it to him, his heirs, and ſucceſſors for ever: that, in return, his Imperial majeſty, touched with the moſt lively gratitude, did, for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, give up to his Pruſſian majeſty, irrevocably and for ever, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt authentic manner, the right which he had to the circle and town of Konigſgratz, and the circle of Buntzlau and Leutmeritz, ſo that the country ſituated between Sileſia and the river Elbe, and running from the town and circle of Konigſgratz to the confines of Saxony, ſhould belong to the king of Pruſſia, and that the courſe of the Elbe ſhould be the barrier of the two ſtates; but that the country which was ſituated on the other ſide of that river within Bohemia, ſhould remain to his Imperial majeſty, although it ſhould be appendant to the circles ceded to his Pruſſian majeſty, excepting the lordſhip and town of Partuwitz, and the town of Collin, which his Imperial majeſty did from that time give up to the king of Pruſſia. The two contracting parties farther agreed, that, after each ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of the reſpective territories mentioned in the article, they ſhould mutually guaranty them to each other for themſelves, their heirs, and ſucceſſors, for ever."

His Imperial majeſty publicly denied that there was ſuch, or any ſeparate article to the treaty of Frankfort; but the ſubſequent conduct of his Pruſſian majeſty, and the other confederating powers, ſhewed the queen of Hungary to be right in her aſſertion. The great object of this prince ſeems to have been to reconcile his conduct to his good underſtanding with his Britannic majeſty: with this view he publiſhed a manifeſto, which was extremely conciſe and well drawn up, and which was printed in the London Gazette, July 30, and was in ſubſtance as follows:

"That he could no longer remain an idle ſpectator of the troubles in Germany, but found himſelf obliged to make uſe of the force God had given him to reſtore the power of the laws, and the authority of the empire: that the queen of Hungary had treated the emperor's hereditary dominions with inexpreſſible cruelty: that Germany had been over-run with foreign troops, which had marched through neutral countries without making the uſual requiſitions: that the emperor's troops had been attacked under neutral fortreſſes, and obliged to abandon the empire, whereof their maſter was the head: that the imperial dignity had been treated with indecency by the Hungarian troops: that the queen, declaring the election of the emperor void, and the diet of Frankfort illegal, had not only violated the imperial dignity, but injured all the princes who had the right of election: that he had no particular quarrel with the queen of Hungary, and that he deſired nothing for himſelf, and only engaged in the war as an auxiliary for the liberties of Germany: that the emperor had offered to yield his pretenſions to the dominions of Auſtria, on condition that his hereditary countries ſhould be reſtored to him: that this propoſal had been made to the king of England at Hanau, and rejected in ſuch a manner as ſhewed the king of England had no intention to reſtore peace, but rather to make his advantage of the troubles: that the mediation of the Dutch had been deſired; but they had declined to interpoſe, knowing the inflexibility of the Engliſh and Auſtrian courts: that the ſame terms had been offered again at Vienna, and again rejected; and that therefore the queen muſt impute it to her own council that her enemies find new allies: that he was not fighting for any intereſt of his own: that he aſked nothing for himſelf, but was determined to exert all his power in defence of the emperor, in vindication of the rights of election, and in ſupport of the liberties of Germany, which the queen of Hungary would enſlave."

Such was the ſubſtance of this famous manifeſto, which was calculated with a view to induce the people and parliament of England to withdraw their aſſiſtance from her Hungarian majeſty: that this was the king of Pruſſia's intention, appeared more plainly from a reſcript which he ſent to M. Andrie, his ambaſſador at London; whereby he was ordered to declare to the Britiſh miniſtry the motives which obliged his maſter to ſupply the emperor with auxiliaries. This alſo was publiſhed in our news-papers; and the compoſition of

of it plainly ſhews that his Pruſſian majeſty had acquired a perfect knowlege of the ſtate of parties in England.

In one part of it he expreſſes himſelf thus: "I hope, however, that no judicious Engliſhman, nor any Briton who is zealous for the conſtitution of his country, can poſſibly entertain the leaſt doubt with regard to the equity of my reſolution, of which he may eaſily convince himſelf, by barely tranſporting on the theatre of England what now paſſes on that of Germany: that as every true Engliſh patriot would look with indignation upon all ſuch intrigues as ſhould be carried on in his country towards making the now reigning family deſcend from the throne, in order to advance the pretender to it, and would oppoſe all ſuch practices to the utmoſt of his power; in like manner, there is no patriot or powerful prince of the empire, that can behold with indifference the preſent ſtate of the country, or can cooly ſuffer another member of the empire, ſuch as the queen of Hungary, to endeavour to ſpoil of his dignity and authority the emperor lawfully elected, in order to inveſt with that rank a candidate deſtitute of the qualifications which are moſt eſſential to fill the imperial throne. As, in conſequence of the ſame principle, no German prince has a right to meddle with the internal policy of Great Britain, nor the conſtitution of its government, I have ſome reaſon to hope that the Engliſh nation will not meddle with the affairs of the empire; and I entertain thoſe hopes the more confidently, becauſe England has no reaſon to interfere in this quarrel from any conſiderations of her trade or commerce: and although ſhe may have more regard for one German court than for another, yet I imagine ſhe will not pretend that ſuch powerful and reſpectable princes as thoſe of the empire ſhould be obliged to regulate their conduct according to the inclinations of thoſe among the Engliſh, who ſtrive to make their countrymen enter into foreign quarrels; in which England can have no manner of concern."

The emperor's health was at this time in a very declining condition, and the court of Vienna had formed a deſign, in the event of his death, of raiſing the grand duke, her Hungarian majeſty's conſort, to the imperial throne. The electors of Saxony, Mentz, and Cologn, ſeemed very well inclined to favour ſuch a project. Of all the princes of the empire, the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, was the moſt capable of affording aſſiſtance to her Hungarian majeſty. This prince, who at firſt had joined the king of Pruſſia againſt her, was now inclined to enter into an alliance with this princeſs againſt Pruſſia. In purſuing this meaſure, he did not intend to declare war againſt Frederic, but only to aſſiſt the queen in the ſame manner the States-general had joined with her againſt France, without declaring war againſt that crown. It did not appear that the elector of Saxony could have any great intereſt in making the queen of Hungary and the new houſe of Auſtria more powerful: nay, it rather ſeemed ſtrange that he ſhould chuſe to aggrandize that houſe than to raiſe himſelf upon its ruins: but a private pique betwixt him and the king of Pruſſia, the powerful negociations of England, the apprehenſion of the riſing grandeur of the houſe of Brandenburg, and the expectation of humbling it, produced a total alteration of maxims in the court of Dreſden.

As ſoon therefore as the king of Pruſſia had ſet his hand to the treaty of Frankfort with France and the emperor, the king of Poland ſigned an agreement privately with the queen of Hungary in the month of May, by which he promiſed to aſſiſt her with thirty thouſand men; and the queen yielded to him a part of Sileſia, which ſhe hoped to recover, and to which that prince pretended ſome ancient rights, as all the German princes have ſome pretenſions or other to the territories of their neighbours. On this occaſion, however, his Poliſh majeſty demanded a conſiderable ſubſidy; but it was thought unreaſonable that Great Britain ſhould load herſelf with the whole of the expence. Application was made to the States-general, who promiſed to contribute one third of the ſum; but the proportion was deemed too ſmall, and it was judged more equitable that the States ſhould pay two thirds of the ſubſidy.

While theſe tranſactions were in agitation, the king of France, ſecured of his influence in Germany by the potent confederacy he had brought about between the emperor, the king of Pruſſia, the elector Palatine, and the landgrave of Heſſe, no longer wore the mark of an auxiliary to the emperor, but having ſigned a declaration of war againſt the queen of Hungary, determined to make his firſt campaign in perſon in the Netherlands, where he had aſſembled a formidable army. He had appointed marſhal Coigni to defend the paſſage of the Rhine with ſixty-one battalions and one hundred ſquadrons; the Bavarian troops, conſiſting of near twelve thouſand men, and paid by France, were commanded by count Seckendorff, an officer in whom they at that time had the greateſt dependence. Marſhal Noailles was general of the army in Flanders, which conſiſted of ſixty-eight battalions and ninety-ſeven ſquadrons complete. Count Saxe was made marſhal of France, and commanded a ſeparate corps, compoſed of thirty-two battalions and fifty-two ſquadrons, alſo complete; thus the whole French army in Flanders amounted to above one hundred and twenty thouſand fighting men. The ſituation of the French, eſpecially in Flanders, was very different from what it had been the preceding year: the Engliſh might then have attacked the French frontiers with advantage, but now it was too late; and the Dutch, who refuſed to engage with us when the enterprize was eaſy, now took a ſhare in it, when it was become in a manner impracticable.

Lewis choſe rather to make his firſt campaign in Flanders than in Alſace, ſuppoſing that on the Rhine the war would only be defenſive; whereas every thing was diſpoſed for making it offenſive in the Auſtrian Netherlands. His army intended for this expedition aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Liſle, the capital of the French Netherlands, where the French monarch arrived on the firſt of May, attended by marſhal Noailles, count Saxe, count Clermont, and many other officers of diſtinction. On the fourth his majeſty reviewed his forces, and made ſome new regulations for the eſtabliſhment of military diſcipline; a thing difficult to maintain, and at that time greatly wanted.

Two days after the arrival of the French king at Liſle, the confederate army took the field, amounting to twenty-two thouſand Engliſh, ſixteen

thouſand Hanoverians, eighteen thouſand Auſtrians, and twenty thouſand Dutch; in all, ſeventy-ſix thouſand men, if the reſpective quotas, which were greatly deficient, had been complete: theſe troops formed an encampment in the neighbourhood of Bruſſels. The Engliſh and Hanoverians were commanded by general Wade, an old officer, who had been bred up under the great duke of Marlborough, and was well acquainted with every part of Flanders, where he had ſerved a great many campaigns. The duke of Aremberg, of the houſe of Ligue, governor of Mons, and grand bailiff of Hainault, had the command of the queen of Hungary's troops: he was trained up under prince Eugene, had ſerved againſt the Turks and French, and was not a little inſtrumental to the ſucceſs of the battles of Belgrade and Dettingen; in both which he was wounded at the head of his troops. Count Maurice of Naſſau, who commanded the Dutch, was a deſcendant of the celebrated prince Maurice of Naſſau, one of the three brothers to whom the United Provinces were indebted for their liberty and greatneſs.

Theſe three generals certainly had it in their power to oppoſe the deſigns of Lewis; but the Dutch were, as uſual, temporizing and negociating. On the one hand, they were ſtrongly preſſed by the Engliſh to fulfil the treaty of alliance concluded between them in 1678, by which they are mutually bound to declare war within the ſpace of two months againſt any power that ſhould attack either of the two nations. On the other hand, they flattered themſelves with keeping the appearances of neutrality, even in the midſt of war itſelf, and were arming againſt France at the very time they were afraid of provoking that crown. In this dilemma, they deputed count de Waſſenaer to Lewis, expreſſing their apprehenſions at the warlike preparations his majeſty was making in the neighbourhood of their ſtates, and intreating him to deſiſt from any deſign of attacking their barrier. Their remonſtrances, however, produced no effect, and their requeſt was diſregarded. The French king told the Dutch miniſter, that as his moderation had hitherto ſerved to no other purpoſe than that of rendering his enemies more untractable, he was determined to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour.

Accordingly, on the eighteenth of May he made himſelf maſter of Courtray, a ſmall town, which had an Auſtrian garriſon. The day following the Dutch ambaſſador ſaw him inveſt Menin, one of their barrier towns, defended by the troops of the republic, to the number of fifteen hundred men, commanded by the baron d'Echteren. Menin, though one of the moſt regular and moſt tenable fortreſſes in the Netherlands, being one of the celebrated Vauban's maſterpieces, was compelled to ſurrender in four days, the French loſing forty men only in the reduction; whereas the ſame place had coſt the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene nineteen days, and at leaſt four thouſand men. Before the ſurrender of Menin, a detachment of thirty thouſand French, commanded by count Clermont, grandſon of the great Condé, had inveſted Ypres, where the prince of Heſſe-Philipſthal commanded a garriſon of two thouſand five hundred men. The trenches were opened on the firſt of June, when the king and marſhal Noailles arrived in the camp. The garriſon made a gallant defence; but upon the twelfth, at night, the French carried the covered way; upon which the lower town was abandoned, and on the fourteenth Ypres capitulated. In the ſeveral attacks the beſiegers loſt about three thouſand ſix hundred men, and the garriſon had about three hundred killed and wounded. This conqueſt, however, was cheaply purchaſed on the ſide of the French, as it brought them into poſſeſſion of the whole chatellany, comprehending the towns of Mont Caſſel, Baileul, Rouſſelaer, Poperingen, Warneton, Commines, and Houaric.

Every moment was now improved; for whilſt the French king's troops were taking poſſeſſion of Ypres, the duke of Boufflers reduced fort Knock, where baron de Hompeſch commanded a Dutch garriſon of one thouſand men, who ſurrendered on the ſeventeenth of June upon honourable conditions. On the twenty-eighth count Clermont laid ſiege to Furnes, which capitulated the fifth day after opening the trenches.

The allied army beheld the progreſs of the French without being able to oppoſe it. Marſhal Saxe, with an army of obſervation, conſiſting of twenty battalions and twenty-eight ſquadrons, lay poſted behind the Lys, between Ghent and Courtray, in ſo advantageous a manner as to be able to prevent any attempt of the confederates, and to facilitate the operations of the beſiegers; while the duke d'Harcourt commanded a flying camp of ſix thouſand men on the one ſide of Maubeuge, in the province of Hainault. While Furnes was inveſted, the French monarch made his public entry into Dunkirk, where he continued for ſome time, highly elated with the ſucceſs of this his firſt campaign. He had taken ſuch precautions for the ſecurity of Alſace, which was defended by Coigni and Seckendorff, with two conſiderable armies under their command, that he thought he had nothing to fear from the Auſtrians in that quarter: beſides, he had by this time received intelligence that the king of Pruſſia had made an irruption into Bohemia, ſo that he reſolved to proſecute his conqueſts in the Netherlands.

All theſe towering projects, however, were on a ſudden diſconcerted, by advice that prince Charles of Lorraine, after joining the Auſtrian army aſſembled under count Traun, near Hailbron, in the circle of Suabia, had paſſed the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Spire, within ſight of the French and Bavarians; that Alſace was invaded, and the frontiers of Lorraine. At firſt this intelligence met with no credit; but nothing was more certain. Prince Charles, by alarming the French in ſeveral places, and making different attempts at one and the ſame time, at length ſucceeded on the ſide where count Seckendorff was poſted, who commanded the Bavarians, Palatines, and Heſſians. Thus the Auſtrian army, conſiſting of ſeventy-two thouſand effective men, entered Alſace without the leaſt oppoſition: they immediately made themſelves maſters of Lautemberg, a poſt of no great ſtrength, but of the utmoſt importance. This paſſage of the Rhine, which did ſuch honour to prince Charles, was entirely owing to his diligence, and the negligence of the general of the Bavarian troops, whom marſhal Coigni was obliged to intruſt to guard the banks of the river towards Gemerſheim and Roſanbeau. Seckendorff under-

took to defend them; and this was the very place where prince Charles effected his paſſage in the latter end of June.

Marſhal Coigni, whoſe army extended along the Rhine, now ſaw, with equal ſurprize and indignation, that his communication with France was cut off; that Alſace, the country of Metz and Lorraine, were on the point of falling a prey to the Auſtrians: in fine, that there was no other reſource left but to cut his way through the enemy, in order to re-enter Alſace, and cover the country. Having reſolved upon this meaſure, he inſtantly ſet out with the greateſt part of his army for Weiſſemberg, of which an advanced body of the enemy, under general Nadaſti, had taken poſſeſſion. After a bloody engagement, the French retook Weiſſemberg and the lines; but they were ſoon obliged, upon the arrival of prince Charles with his whole army, to retire towards Haguenau, which they were likewiſe forced to abandon. Flying parties of the enemy laid all the country of Lower Alſace under contribution, and ſpread terror even to the borders of Lorraine, and king Staniſlaus was obliged to quit that country with his whole court.

When the French king received this news at Dunkirk, he did not heſitate a moment concerning the part he had to take: he reſolved to interrupt the courſe of his victories in Flanders; and leaving marſhal Saxe with forty thouſand men to preſerve his new acquiſitions, to fly himſelf to the aſſiſtance of Alſace. After having cauſed M. Noailles to ſet out before him, he ſent the duke de Harcourt with a body of troops to guard the paſs of Phalſburg, and prepared to march himſelf for the Rhine, at the head of twenty-ſix battalions and thirty three ſquadrons. He ſet out from Dunkirk on the nineteenth of July, and on the fourth of Auguſt arrived at Metz, the capital of Lorraine, where he made a magnificent entry. Here he received tidings of an event which changed the whole face of affairs, obliged prince Charles to repaſs the Rhine, reſtored the emperor to his dominions, and reduced the queen of Hungary to a more dangerous ſituation, if poſſible, than any ſhe had yet been in.

The king of Pruſſia thinking his manifeſtos and reſcripts had given a ſufficient ſanction for the renovation of hoſtilities on his part, reſolved to make an irruption into Bohemia, conformable to the propoſitions of the court of Verſailles, whenever prince Charles ſhould appear too formidable on the Rhine. Although there were then in Saxony no leſs than forty thouſand regular forces, yet his Pruſſian majeſty ſeems to have had ſo contemptible an opinion of their valour or diſcipline, that he choſe to make his invaſion of Bohemia through that electorate, which he entered at the head of eighty-four thouſand men in the month of July, attended by a formidable train of artillery, having under him in the command the prince of Anhalt-Deſſau and marſhal Schwerin. The Saxons ſuffered him to march unmoleſted. At the ſame time general Marwitz, with a ſeparate body of twenty thouſand Pruſſians, advanced thro' Sileſia into Moravia; and though the Auſtrians had taken all poſſible care to retard the progreſs of both armies, by deſtroying the roads, bridges, and proviſions, the Pruſſians ſoon made themſelves maſters of Pardubitz and Podiebrad.

The two armies having joined on the frontiers of Bohemia, his Pruſſian majeſty entered that kingdom on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt; and having taken up his head-quarters at Peterſwald, he publiſhed a proclamation, which was diſperſed through the country, importing, "That he had entered that kingdom as an auxiliary to the emperor, and with a view to reſtore the authority of that prince, the conſtitution of the empire, and the peace of Germany. He promiſed protection to all the Bohemians who ſhould behave quietly and inoffenſively, and deliver up their arms; but threatened thoſe who ſhould reſiſt his army, which he affected to call the imperial auxiliary army, with all the rigours of military execution."

The king of Pruſſia, after the diſperſing of this proclamation, continued his march, and made ſuch rapid progreſs, that on the ſecond of September he inveſted Prague, though his heavy artillery was not yet come up, and actually made himſelf maſter of ſome of the advanced poſts. His artillery was, in the mean time, attacked by a detachment of Auſtrians, commanded by count Bathiani, who defeated the convoy; but the king having detached a party to recover it, the Auſtrians fled, and left them maſters of the cannon. The next ſtep his majeſty took was to cut off all communication between the city and count Bathiani's army, which was effected after a bloody ſkirmiſh, wherein the Pruſſians gained the advantage. The outworks of Prague were now attacked, and carried without much oppoſition: in a word, after the new and old towns, and the Jews town, were partly reduced to aſhes, general Ogilvy the governor once more ſurrendered the city (on the tenth day of its ſiege) with fifteen thouſand men in the garriſon, who were taken priſoners of war. Prince Frederic-William, the king's couſin, was killed at the firſt general attack, which was made in four different places.

As ſoon as the king had made himſelf maſter of Prague, wherein he put a garriſon of ſix thouſand men, he marched to Tabor, and took the towns of Budweis and Teyn, with the caſtle of Frauenberg, wherein was a conſiderable garriſon, who were made priſoners of war. There was now nothing to oppoſe him in Bohemia. Moravia was at the ſame time invaded: one French army was returning into Germany, whilſt another was victorious in Italy. Every one now imagined the king of Pruſſia would march to Vienna, preſcribe laws to the queen of Hungary, and terminate the war by a diviſion of the Auſtrian dominions.

But the victor found it more eaſy to make conqueſts than to retain them. The court of Vienna, immediately upon the irruption of the Pruſſians into Bohemia, had ſent expreſs orders to prince Charles to repaſs the Rhine, and haſten to the ſuccour of that diſtreſſed country. The marſhals Noailles and Belleiſle had been ſucceſſively ſent by the French king to reinforce marſhal Coigni, who thereby became ſuperior to the Auſtrians under prince Charles. A dangerous fever which ſeized the French king ſoon after his arrival at Metz, and which brought him to death's door, had prevented him from conducting his troops in perſon; and marſhal Noailles, to whom the command in Alſace now devolved in right of ſeniority, ſuffered prince Charles to repaſs the Rhine with very little moleſtation, although much ſuperior to

him in numbers. He then marched to the Danube, laid the Upper Palatinate under contribution, and entering Bohemia, joined the troops under Bathiani. The king of Pruſſia complained moſt bitterly againſt the French generals for letting an enemy eſcape who was coming to wreak his vengeance upon one of their allies. By this time alſo the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, had openly declared in favour of her Hungarian majeſty; and prince Charles of Lorraine had the ſatisfaction to find himſelf reinforced by twenty thouſand Saxon troops, under the command of the duke of Saxe-Weiſſenfels, by which he was rendered ſuperior to his Pruſſian majeſty, whom he determined to attack. That monarch, however, retired before him, and the Pruſſians ſucceſſively evacuated the different poſts which conducted to Prague, and were in the end forced to evacuate that capital itſelf. After having diſputed the paſſage of the Elbe, the king gave orders for the garriſon, compoſed of eleven thouſand men, to quit the town, which they did on the nineteenth of November, leaving behind them their magazines and heavy artillery, among which were ſeven remarkable fine pieces of cannon, called the Seven Electors. The Pruſſians carried with them their field artillery, and a great number of waggons laden with ſtores and contributions; but the Auſtrians and Saxons harraſſing them in their march, great part of them fell into their hands, ſo that the king's troops were almoſt naked, and in great want of proviſions and neceſſaries. At length, having gained Sileſia, his Pruſſian majeſty diſtributed his army into winter quarters, and he himſelf returned to Berlin, extremely mortified at the iſſue of the campaign.

During theſe tranſactions, count Seckendoff advanced into Bavaria at the head of a ſtrong army, compelled the Auſtrians under general Bernklau to abandon that electorate, and the emperor once more entered his capital city of Munich on the 22d day of October. His Imperial majeſty on the third of November appeared before Paſſau, and ſummoned cardinal Lamberg, the biſhop, to admit a neutral garriſon; but the prelate anſwered, that as the Auſtrians were in poſſeſſion, it was not in his power to accede to the propoſal: therefore his Imperial majeſty, finding the ſeaſon too far advanced to think of beſieging ſuch ſtrong places as Paſſau and Ingoldſtadt, and that general Bernklau had received a ſtrong reinforcement out of Bohemia, diſperſed his troops into winter-quarters as far as the Upper Palatinate, and returned to Munich on the ſeventeenth of December, with the ſatisfaction of ſeeing himſelf ſecurely reinſtated in his electoral dominions; a ſatisfaction, however, which he did not long live to enjoy.

General Bernklau did not follow the example of the Imperialiſts in retiring into winter-quarters; but being joined by general Thungen with a large reinforcement from Bohemia, he ſuddenly changed the face of affairs in Bavaria, ſeizing upon the greateſt part of the Upper Palatinate. He alſo fortified and ſtrongly garriſoned Stadt-am-hoff, a place of great importance for ſecuring his quarters along the Danube. This general alſo, on the twentieth of December, inveſted Newmarck in the Upper Palatinate, where was a garriſon of two thouſand French and Imperialiſts, commanded by the marquis de Cruſſol, who, after a little reſiſtance, ſurrendered the town, and his men priſoners of war. Hemen and Amberg next capitulated, by which the Auſtrians were now in poſſeſſion of the whole Palatinate, where they remained quiet till the approaching ſpring again enabled them to reſume their operations.

While count Seckendorff was on his march in Bavaria, the French marſhals Noailles, Belleiſle, and Coigni, at the head of eighty thouſand men, entered the Auſtrian dominions in the circle of Suabia, where moſt of the places belonging to the queen of Hungary ſubmitted, and on the twenty-firſt of September the French inveſted the ſtrong and important city of Friburg, for which they had made the moſt formidable preparations. This city is capital of the territory of Briſgau, oppoſite to the Upper Alſace, ſituate twenty-eight miles ſouth of Straſburg, and the ſame diſtance north from Baſil, and was taken by marſhal Villars in 1712, without any conſiderable reſiſtance; but the French at this time expected an obſtinate ſiege, from the known valour and abilities of general Damnitz, who commanded in the place with a garriſon of five thouſand veteran troops, well provided with every thing for maintaining a vigorous defence. The French monarch having recovered from his illneſs, which had ſo long confined him at Metz in Lorraine, ſet out from thence in the beginning of October; and having in his way made a public entry into Straſburg, where his reception was one of the moſt magnificent ever beheld, he arrived in the camp before Friburg on the eleventh, where his majeſty was attended by the marſhals Noailles, Maillebois, Coigni, and Belleiſle, marſhal Schmettan the Pruſſian envoy, and the Saxon and Palatine miniſters. Some little time before his arrival, Lewis had the good fortune to engage in his ſervice, as a lieutenant-general, as great a genius in the art of beſieging fortifications, as any that modern times have produced. This was the famous count Lowendahl, to whoſe intrepidity and ſkill the taking of the place was chiefly owing. General Damnitz made a gallant defence, diſputing every inch of ground; and by his continual fire, frequent ſallies, and the ſpringing a great number of mines, made a terrible havock among the beſiegers, who now, animated by the preſence of their ſovereign, redoubled their efforts with incredible fury; and their bombs, of which they had thrown no leſs than eleven thouſand into the city, having reduced it to one common heap of ruins, the brave Damnitz was at length obliged to think of capitulating; and on the ſixth day of November hung out a white flag, and went in perſon to the French camp, to treat with the king about the ſurrender of the city, and had liberty to retire to the caſtles, the governors of which were to have a reaſonable time for knowing the ſentiments of her Hungarian majeſty, whether they ſhould capitulate likewiſe, or hold out. The anſwer was for the latter; in conſequence of which a freſh ſiege was begun, which continued till the twenty-eighth of November, when the garriſon were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. In this remarkable ſiege, which, to ſay the truth, demonſtrated the French to be inferior to no nation in the world for power and courage, they loſt upwards of eighteen thouſand men. They found in the city and forts two hundred braſs and one hundred iron cannon, ſeventy field-pieces, two hundred

hundred mortars, and all other military ſtores in proportion. This conqueſt terminated the campaign in Germany. The French army was cantoned along the banks of the Rhine, under the command of marſhal Maillebois, and Lewis returned to Verſailles, where he was received by his people with a degree of joy and homage approaching to adoration.

I have already obſerved, that the ſituation of the French army in the Netherlands had for ſome time prevented the confederates from undertaking any thing of importance; but after the departure of the French troops for Alſace, count Saxe had only fifty-eight thouſand men in the field, and twenty-two thouſand in the garriſons, while the allies were augmented to ninety-four thouſand men. The confederate generals finding their ſuperiority, quitted their encampment, paſſed the Schelde on the twentieth, and advanced to Helchin, with an intention to draw count Saxe to an engagement; who, inſtead of accepting the offer, kept cloſe in the ſtrong entrenchments he had thrown up behind the Lys. The allies finding that they could not, with any proſpect of ſucceſs, attempt to attack him in this ſituation, filed off in ſight of Tournay, and on the eighth of Auguſt encamped within four miles of Liſle, where they foraged unmoleſted for ſeveral days, and laid the open country under contribution; but they made no attempt upon Liſle itſelf, which in all probability would have ſubmitted at the firſt ſummons, had they attacked it immediately on their approach, for then it had no other garriſon than two or three battalions of militia; but count Saxe ſoon threw in ſo conſiderable a reinforcement as effectually to ſecure this important place. The conduct of the confederate generals was ſeverely cenſured in England, and ſerved as a matter of ridicule to the enemy. The truth is, that the Engliſh general, Wade, was ſuperannuated; his partner in command, the duke of Aremberg, is ſaid to have been unwilling to give umbrage to the French king, great part of his fortune lying within the territory of Liſle, where they were now encamped; the Dutch were averſe to any bold enterprize; and the train of artillery was by ſome fatality retarded, and lay at Oſtend. Add to this, that Wade and Aremberg were divided in their opinions, entertained an inveterate hatred and animoſity againſt each other, and ſtudiouſly avoided all manner of intercourſe. In fine, after having remained ſome time in ſight of Liſle, the confederates returned to their former camp on the Schelde, from whence they went into winter-quarters in the month of October; and count Saxe followed their example, having firſt abandoned Courtray, where he had demoliſhed the fortifications. He afterwards ſent a numerous body of his troops to aſſiſt in repairing the fortifications of Dunkirk, and alſo to fortify the ſluice at Mardyke.

After the engagement off Toulon, nothing of importance was performed by the Britiſh ſquadron in the Mediterranean; and indeed the naval power of Great Britain was, during this ſummer, altogether inactive. We ſhall therefore attend a naval operation of the Engliſh in the other hemiſphere, which is perhaps the moſt ſingular of any that hiſtory can produce. Mention has already been made of commodore Anſon's deſtination with a ſmall ſquadron in the autumn of the year 1740 to the South Seas, in order to diſtreſs the enemy there; and we conducted him as far as Port St. Julian, on the coaſt of Patagonia, where he arrived in the month of January 1741 *, reſerving the narrative of the reſt of his atchievements to this year, in which, on the fifteenth day of June, he returned from his voyage of three years and nine months, after having made the circuit of the terraqueous globe.

The ſecret of this expedition to the South Seas appears to have been ſo ill kept, that the Spaniards were appriſed of all the particulars concerning it, long before it ſailed from England; and had fitted out a ſquadron of five ſail of the line and two frigates, under the command of admiral Don Joſeph Pizarro, on purpoſe to defeat it. Had this fleet, which was every way ſuperior to Mr. Anſon, been able to have performed its voyage, the ſucceſs of that officer might have been very indifferent; but by various accidents, the whole of the Spaniſh armament was reduced to one ſixty-ſix gun ſhip, which was at length obliged to return to Europe.

While the commodore was in the bay of St. Julian he held a council of war, wherein he fixed the plan of his future operations; and after having coaſted along the cold and deſart country of Patagonia, he entered the Streights of Le Maire about the end of February 1741: but here the commodore loſt ſight of the Pearl and Severn, two of his great ſhips, and never ſaw them more during his voyage; they having been unable to weather Cape Horn, returned to Europe, having firſt been refitted at Rio de Janeiro in Brazil: in ſhort, the commodore now ſaw his whole ſtrength reduced (to uſe the words of the relator of the voyage) to a couple of ſhattered, half-manned cruizers, and a ſloop, ſo far diſabled, that in many climates they ſcarcely durſt have put to ſea. It was the thirtieth of November before the commodore completed his paſſage round Cape Horn, after ſurmounting difficulties which affect us with horror in the very relation. Upon doubling the Cape, his little ſquadron was again ſhattered and diſperſed by violent tempeſts; one half of the men periſhed aboard by an inveterate ſcurvy; the commodore's ſhip being ſeparated from the reſt, put into the iſland of Juan Fernandez † on the ninth of June, where they were afterwards joined by the Trial ſloop and the Glouceſter, three of his own ſhips being yet miſſing: the Anna Pink came in about the middle of Auguſt, and Mr. Anſon ſent the Trial ſloop to Mala Fuera, about twenty-two leagues to the weſt of Juan Fernandez, in queſt of the miſſing ſhips, but to no purpoſe. In the mean time, the people who were landed on the iſland recovered ſurprizingly; and nothing was omitted by the commodore that could contribute to their health, ſecurity,

* See page 397 of this volume.

† Fernandez, or Juan Fernandez, is a ſmall uninhabited iſland of Chili, in South America, lying in the Pacific Ocean, three hundred miles weſt of St. Jago, viſited by all European ſhips that go into the South Seas, on account of its harbour, the fruits, herbs, and other proviſions to be met with on it. The editor of Lord Anſon's Voyage places this iſland in the latitude of 33 degrees 40 minutes ſouth, and 110 leagues weſt from the continent of Chili.

or accommodation for the future part of their voyage.

We have already obſerved that the Severn and Pearl were parted from the ſquadron; the Wager, a twenty gun ſhip, captain Cheap, had come with the commodore into the South Seas, but had been ſeparated from him in one of thoſe dreadful ſtorms the ſquadron had encountered, and was unfortunately wrecked on the deſolate iſland of Socoro; but the crew, to the number of one hundred, were all of them ſaved. Imagining, however, that the authority of their officers had determined with the loſs of the ſhip, they began to mutiny; and having confined the captain, and converted the long-boat into a ſchooner, eighty of them actually ſet ſail for Rio Grande on the coaſt of Brazil, where, after their number had been more than one half diminiſhed by ſickneſs, they at laſt arrived, in the month of January 1742. Cheap, with the ſmall number who remained behind, found means to be conveyed to Chiloe, from thence to Valparaiſo, and afterwards to St. Jago, the capital of Chili: there they continued upwards of a year, till at length a cartel being ſettled between the two nations, they were permitted to return to their own country.

Mr. Anſon had now with him the Centurion, the Glouceſter, the Trial ſloop, and the Anna Pink, which latter was loaded with proviſions; and the ſurviving hands being perfectly recovered, he put to ſea on the eighth of September, and took ſeveral conſiderable prizes in cruiſing near the iſland of Fernandez: but having ſoon after advanced towards the equator, he ventured to attack the city of Paita, upon the ſame coaſt of America, where he had learned from the priſoners taken on board one of his prizes, that a large ſum of money was at that very time lodged in the cuſtom-houſe, belonging to the Spaniſh merchants, and intended to be ſhipped on board a veſſel then in that port. In executing this bold and hazardous enterprize, he neither made uſe of his ſhips nor of the land forces on board them, but ſent no more than fifty-eight of his own ſeamen, commanded by his lieutenant, Mr. (ſince ſir Piercy) Brett. Theſe were ordered into boats, and taking advantage of the night, landed unperceived. The ſudden ſurprize, the confuſion, and the darkneſs, added to the ſhout the ſailors ſet up on entering the town, ſpread univerſal terror through the inhabitants, who, with their governor, abandoned the place with the utmoſt precipitation, thinking a whole army was at their heels. In the mean time the Engliſh, without being moleſted, carried off the treaſures which they found in the cuſtom-houſe and private dwellings. Mr. Anſon then cauſed the town to be ſet on fire, which was quickly conſumed. The loſs which the Spaniards ſuſtained by this expedition was much greater than the advantage the Engliſh made, for it amounted to about a million and an half of dollars; but the booty of the Engliſh did not exceed forty thouſand pounds.

Having thus plundered the Spaniards with as much eaſe as they in paſt ages had plundered the Americans, the commodore now prepared to ſail with all expedition to the ſouthern parts of California, or to the adjacent coaſt of Mexico, there to cruize for the Manilla galleon, which he knew was then at ſea, bound for the port of Acapulco, there to convert her lading into treaſure. It was then about the middle of November, and the galleon did not uſually arrive at Acapulco till the end of January. By croſs winds and bad weather it was the nineteenth of February, 1742, before the Engliſh ſquadron arrived off Acapulco, which lies at the beach of Mexico. The court of Madrid was not then aware of the riſk it ran of loſing that vaſt region of the world. Had admiral Vernon, who beſieged Carthagena upon the oppoſite ſea, ſucceeded, he might have aſſiſted Mr. Anſon, which was eaſy to be done over the Iſthmus of Darien. Thus Panama would have been taken by the Engliſh both upon the right and left, and the Spaniards deprived of the very center of their American dominions.

The commodore, on his arrival off Acapulco, had the diſagreeable intelligence that the Manilla ſhip had anchored in that harbour on the ninth day of January; that ſhe had converted her cargo into money, and was to have ſailed again on the fourteenth of March; but that, upon his ſquadron having been diſcovered by the Spaniards, the governor of Acapulco had countermanded her departure for that ſeaſon.

The commodore had now a moſt unfortunate proſpect; the rainy ſeaſon approached, and he had nothing left but to croſs the vaſt Pacific Ocean for the river Canton in China. The Trial was now grown ſo leaky that ſhe was no longer able to ſwim, and was therefore ſcuttled and ſunk, as were the prizes which had been taken, and the crews were put on board the Glouceſter and Centurion. With theſe two only remaining ſhips (the Anne ſtore-ſhip having been diſcharged and ſent home) the commodore ſtretched away for the river Canton, which he was in hopes of reaching in about two months; but the elements ſtill continued his implacable adverſaries. To add to his diſtreſs, the Glouceſter ſprung an irreparable leak at ſea, and the commodore was obliged to take her crew into the Centurion, and burn her. This laſt named ſhip was now the only one that was left of his whole ſquadron, and ſhe was in a moſt ſhattered condition. Incredible were the miſeries and hardſhips Mr. Anſon and his crew ſuffered from the leakineſs of their veſſel, and the ſcorbutic diſorder which raged amongſt them with the moſt alarming violence. At laſt, towards the end of Auguſt, they fortunately made one of the Marian or Ladrone iſlands *, called Tinian, which was at that time quite uninhabited. Not long before, it con-

* Theſe iſlands, ſituate in the Pacific Ocean or South Sea, were firſt diſcovered by Ferdinand Magellan, a Portugueze, whom the emperor Charles V. and the king of Spain employed to diſcover a weſtern paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, on the ſixth of March, 1520; when touching at the iſle of Guam, one of the moſt ſoutherly of theſe iſlands, for water and freſh proviſions, the natives pilfered ſome of his goods, whence he called them the Ladrones, or Thieviſh Iſlands. Guam lying in the tract to the Philippines and Eaſt Indies, is ſtill the moſt frequented by the European nations; and here the Spaniards have a little fort, with a garriſon of thirty men. It is about forty miles in length, and ten in breadth.

tained no leſs than thirty thouſand ſouls; but the greateſt part of the inhabitants had been ſwept away by an epidemic diſeaſe, and the ſurvivors had been removed to Guam, another iſland, by the Spaniards. Here, upon muſtering the whole of their able hands, including ſome negroes and Indian priſoners, they amounted to no more than ſeventy-one.

The whole crew owed its preſervation to this iſland, which, according to the account publiſhed in Mr. Anſon's Voyage, was the moſt delicious ſpot imagination can form. It ſurpaſſed Juan Fernandez in fertility, abounded on all ſides with woods, ſprings, and rivulets, tame animals, fruits, pulſe, and every thing neceſſary for food, the conveniences of life, and for refitting the veſſel: but the moſt extraordinary thing found there was a ſort of tree, the taſte of whoſe fruit reſembled that of the beſt bread: a real treaſure to perſons in their condition!

It was the middle of October before the commodore was in a condition to put to ſea again; and on the 12th of November, after a great variety of other adventures, too numerous to be inſerted here, he arrived at Macao, which is a Portugueze ſettlement, ſituate in an iſland at the entrance of the river of Canton, but entirely under the power of the Chineſe. Here he had an opportunity of maintaining the honour of his country, by refuſing to pay the impoſts exacted by the emperor of China from all foreign ſhips. He inſiſted that no Britiſh ſhip of war was ſubject to them. His coolneſs and intrepidity ſtaggered the Chineſe. The viceroy of Canton granted him an audience, to which he was conducted through two ranks of ſoldiers, to the number of ten thouſand; after which the viceroy gave orders for his ſhip to be hove down, refitted, and furniſhed with proviſions and ſtores, to enable him to proceed to England.

By the fifteenth of April, 1743, his ſhip was in a condition to put to ſea; and having taken on board ſome Laſcars, or Indian ſailors, and ſome Dutch, whom he thought might be uſeful to him, he ſet ſail with a full determination to go in ſearch of the Manila ſhip or ſhips, which he had reaſon to believe were at this ſeaſon of the year returning from Acapulco. By the laſt of May the Centurion arrived off Cape Eſpiritu Santo, on the iſland of Samal, in the direct tract of the Manila ſhip. At length, upon the twentieth of June, the ſo much wiſhed-for veſſel was deſcried. This ſhip, called the Noſtra Senhora de Cabadonga, was mounted with forty guns; and the treaſure, with other effects on board, amounted to three hundred and thirteen thouſand pounds ſterling. The Centurion, though mounting ſixty guns, had but two hundred and twenty-ſeven men on board. The captain of the galleon choſe rather to venture the loſs of the treaſure than forfeit his reputation by flying from an enemy. Accordingly, an engagement enſued, in which the reſolution and ſkill of the Engliſh overbalanced all the ſuperiority of the Spaniards; and the galleon ſtruck, and ſurrendered into the commodore's hands, after having ſixty-ſeven men killed and eighty-four wounded; while the Centurion loſt only two men, and had one lieutenant and ſixteen hands wounded. The conqueror returned with this rich prize to Canton, where, after having refitted his ſhip, and ſupplied himſelf with all the neceſſaries of which he ſtood in need, he prepared to return to his native country, to taſte the ſweet reward of all his toils and labour. Before his departure from Canton, he ſold the hulk of the galleon to the merchants of Macao. On the eleventh of March, 1744, he arrived at the Cape of Good Hope; and having, by favour of a fog, unknown to himſelf, run through a fleet of French ſhips, he arrived ſafely at Spithead in the month of June, from whence his treaſure was brought up in great triumph to London, attended by thoſe brave ſeamen who had ſo well merited, by their unparalleled ſufferings and perſeverance, the ſhare they were entitled to in it.

There yet remain to be noticed ſome other naval tranſactions of the year 1744. The Mediterranean fleet being in the utmoſt neceſſity for ſtores and proviſions, a conſiderable number of veſſels, laden with theſe articles, were ordered to be convoyed thither by ſir Charles Hardy, vice-admiral of the red, with a ſquadron of eleven ſhips of the line, and one bomb-ketch. The vice-admiral, with the ſtore ſhips, ſet ſail from St. Helen's on the eighteenth of April, and conducted his convoy to Liſbon, where he was detained a conſiderable time by a ſquadron of fourteen ſail of the line and ſix frigates, ſent from Breſt for that purpoſe, commandmanded by M. Rochambault, who cruized off the Rock of Liſbon to intercept ſir Charles, in caſe he ſhould attempt to put to ſea. As ſoon as this was known to the Britiſh miniſtry, they ordered ſir John Balchen, who commanded a large fleet at Spithead, having under him vice-admiral Martin and vice-admiral Stewart, to ſail with the firſt favourable wind, and proceed in queſt of the Breſt ſquadron, to diſengage ſir Charles Hardy from his detention at Liſbon. While ſir John was putting himſelf in a condition to obey theſe orders, he was reinforced by the Dutch ſquadron of twenty men of war, commanded by admiral Bacchereſt, which their High Mightineſſes had at length conſented to ſend, in conſequence of his Britannic majeſty's repeated requiſition, and agreeable to the treaty of 1697. On the ſeventh of Auguſt the combined fleets ſailed from Spithead, to the number of twenty-one ſail of the line (a proper number being left behind for the Channel and port ſervice) and on the ninth of September caſt anchor off the Rock of Liſbon. Monſieur Rochambault, the French commandant, upon receiving intelligence that the combined fleets were arrived on the coaſt, and were ſo much ſuperior to him in force, thought proper to retire, and leave the ſea entirely open to them. By this means ſir Charles Hardy was at liberty to proceed according to his deſtination; but admiral Balchen, after having thus performed the duty he was ſent upon, and being upon his return home, was, on the third of October, overtaken in the Bay of Biſcay with a violent ſtorm of wind, in which his own ſhip, the Victory, of one hundred and ten guns, and eſteemed the fineſt firſt-rate in Europe, foundered on the Caſkets, a large and dangerous reef of rocks off Alderney; and this brave commander periſhed, with all his officers and crew, amounting to between eleven and twelve hundred choice ſeamen: among theſe were fifty gentlemen volunteers, of ſome of the beſt families in England. The reſt of the fleet with great difficulty eſcaped from the fury of the tempeſt, and got ſafe into Spithead.

On the fifth of May this year commodore Barnet, with a ſquadron of two ſhips of ſixty guns, one of fifty, and one of twenty, was diſpatched to the Eaſt Indies, to protect the Britiſh trade and ſettlements there. On his arrival there, he made prize of ſeveral French ſhips richly laden, and otherwiſe greatly annoyed the enemy.

The naval war in America produced nothing material between the Britiſh and Spaniſh ſquadrons, under the command of ſir Chaloner Ogle and admiral de Torres, whoſe ſquadrons were much of an equality, and continued in their former ſituation; the firſt remaining at Port Royal in Jamaica, and the other lying before the walls of the Havannah: but towards the end of this year the Spaniſh admiral made amends for this inactivity, by bringing under his convoy to Spain a moſt immenſe treaſure, leaving at the Havannah ſeven men of war for its defence and the protection of the Spaniſh trade.

Commodore Warren, who was ſtationed with a ſquadron for the protection of the Leeward Iſlands, took ſeveral valuable prizes from the French, and cut off ſeveral ſhips bound with proviſions to Martinico, whereby that iſland was reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs. In the month of July deputy-governor Hodge, of the iſland of Anguilla, one of the Caribbees, drove the French out of their half of the iſland of St. Martin's; and the inhabitants of St. Bartholomew, another of thoſe iſlands, declared themſelves his Britannic majeſty's ſubjects. In North America the French took and burnt our fort of Canſo in Nova Scotia, after making the garriſon priſoners of war.

On the twentieth of October this year the iſland of Jamaica was viſited by a moſt dreadful hurricane, which proved very fatal to the ſhipping there, as well as to the iſland in general. Six men of war were loſt, and upwards of ninety merchant ſhips. Fortunately ſir Chaloner Ogle, with ſome of the largeſt ſhips under his command, was at the time of the hurricane upon a cruize.

A very great number of rich French and Spaniſh prizes were taken this year by our fleets and cruizers; ſo that at the concluſion thereof, the balance from Spain, ſince the commencement of the war with that crown, was one million nine hundred and thirty thouſand pounds in our favour: and for this year, the firſt of the war with France, there remained a ſurplus on our ſide of ſeven hundred and ſeventy-three thouſand pounds; and it was computed we had above eleven thouſand French ſeamen priſoners in England. Many of our ſhips, however, were taken; and the Britiſh navy in particular ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs, by the capture and wrecking of ſeveral of its fine ſhips, particularly the Northumberland man of war of ſeventy guns, which was taken by three French ſhips of war and carried into Breſt, after her commander, captain Watſon, two of his lieutenants, and ſeveral of his men, had fallen in the engagement. The fatal loſs of the Victory was followed by that of the Colcheſter of fifty guns, which was wrecked upon the Sands, between the Long Sands and the Kentiſh Knock, and forty of her crew periſhed, the captain and the reſt being ſaved by boats from Harwich.

Let me now recapitulate the other tranſactions of this buſy year. On the twentieth of June a penſion of four thouſand pounds per annum was granted to Robert earl of Orford (late ſir Robert Walpole) in conſideration of his long and faithful ſervices. He did not, however, long enjoy this mark of his royal maſter's eſteem, dying in the March following. Though he had for ſuch a length of time directed the application of the public treaſure, his circumſtances were not affluent. He was liberal in his diſpoſition, and had many dependants to gratify; ſo that little was left for his own private occaſions. The reader has already ſeen his character as a miniſter: as a private man, he was univerſally beloved and eſteemed; and tho' he reſigned his places, he never loſt a friend. In his retirement he gave a noble proof of his gratitude and loyalty, by uſing all his intereſt to promote the ſervice of his majeſty, and never engaging in any oppoſition that could embarraſs it.

This year was alſo diſtinguiſhed by the deaths of ſeveral remarkable perſons, particularly, of Sarah, ducheſs-dowager of Marlborough, relict of the famous John duke of Marlborough, who, if we except Catherine empreſs of Ruſſia, was the greateſt female favourite of fortune that her age produced; but the moſt extraordinary thing relating to her was, that though the more than princely eſtate ſhe left was acquired wholly by the power of the Whigs, with whom both the duke and herſelf were conſtantly and cloſely connected, ſhe was, to the day of her death, in her heart attached to the family of the late king James; and ſhe had even brought her huſband, in king William's time, under ſome difficulties on that account.

Street robberies were arrived to an enormous height towards the cloſe of this year: the robbers marched in bands, armed with piſtols, cutlaſſes, and bludgeons; and were ſo daring as even to plunder and maim people in broad day-light, till, by proper rewards and vigorous meaſures, a ſtop was put to ſuch notorious villanies.

On the fourth day of December the marſhal duke of Belleiſle, and his brother the chevalier, happened, in their way to the imperial court, to ſtop at the village of Elbingrode, dependent on the electorate of Hanover, but which they, from miſinformation, ſuppoſed to be in the territories of his Pruſſian majeſty. There they were arreſted by the bailiff of that place, and conducted as priſoners of war to Oſterode, from whence they were removed to Stadt on the Elbe, and thence brought over to England, where they arrived on the ninth of December. They reſided at Windſor till the ſummer of the enſuing year, when they were allowed the benefit of the cartel, which had been ſettled between Great Britain and France at Frankfort, and releaſed accordingly.

A ſimilar accident happened this year to the earl of Holderneſſe, who had been lately ſent ambaſſador to the republic of Venice. His Excellency taking the route of Franconia, was ſtopped in the month of September by a party of Imperialiſts, within two poſts of Nuremberg: upon which the earl wrote to the count de St. Germain, who commanded a large detachment of imperial troops at ſome leagues diſtance, complaining of the inſult that had been offered to his character, by a power with whom his maſter was not at war. The French general replied, that his Excellency was at full liberty to proceed on his journey, provided he would give a letter of reverſal, promiſing to return and ſubmit to his arreſt, in caſe the imperial court

ſhould

ſhould adjudge him to be a priſoner of war. The earl agreed to the propoſal; but the emperor, as ſoon as he was informed of the affair, ordered his letter of reverſal to be returned, and the officer who ſtopped his Excellency to aſk his pardon.

The Britiſh cabinet continued ſtill to be agitated by violent diſſenſions among the members who compoſed it. The great influence which lord Carteret, the prime miniſter, enjoyed with his ſovereign, raiſed the jealouſy of thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed by the name of patriots; and the obſequious attention he manifeſted on all occaſions to the views of the court, had ruined him in the good opinion of the populace. The duke of N..... and his brother Mr. P....., who were poſſeſſed of a very powerful intereſt in parliament, engaged in a political alliance with the leading men in the oppoſition, againſt the prime miniſter. This coalition, in compliance probably with the prevailing taſte of the Engliſh, who are remarkably fond of diſtinguiſhing party epithets, was named "The Broad Bottom," to expreſs its being eſtabliſhed on a true conſtitutional baſis, comprehending perſons of all parties indiſcriminately, whoſe talents and integrity ſeemed to fit them for the ſervice of the public. This appellation, however, like moſt others of the ſame kind, was afterwards converted into a term of deriſion. Lord Carteret, who was by this time become earl of Granville, in conſequence of his mother's death, foreſeeing that his continuance in the miniſtry would only tend to the embarraſſment of his majeſty's ſervice and his own continual diſquiet, very prudently made a voluntary reſignation of his employments. The ſeals of ſecretary of ſtate were then given to the earl of Harrington. The duke of Bedford was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury; and the earl of Cheſterfield, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and ambaſſador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States-general. Mr. Doddington was made treaſurer of the navy; the privy-ſeal was returned to lord Gower: even ſir John Hynde Cotton was favoured with a place at court, being made treaſurer of the chamber. Mr. Lyttleton was admitted into the treaſury; and ſir John Phillips to the board of trade and plantations, though he ſoon after reſigned this employment. The duke of Devonſhire was made lord-ſteward of the houſhold, in the room of the duke of Dorſet, who ſucceeded the earl of Harrington as preſident of the council, on that nobleman's being made ſecretary of ſtate. It was not till Chriſtmas that theſe alterations were publicly known; and the nation quickly perceived it to be a change of men rather than of meaſures. The ſovereign, however, found his eaſe and advantage in it, his views being no longer thwarted by an oppoſition in parliament.

In the mean while, the parliament aſſembling on the twenty-eighth day of November, his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he recapitulated the tranſactions and events of the current year, ſuch as have been already related. "He applauded the conſtancy and reſolution of her Hungarian majeſty, and the firmneſs and magnanimity of the king of Sardinia. At the ſame time he acknowleged, that the event of the laſt campaign had not entirely anſwered his wiſhes. Nevertheleſs, he declared himſelf determined, in conjunction with his allies, and with their effectual ſupport, and the aſſiſtance of his parliament, to carry on the war in ſuch a manner as might be moſt conducive to a ſafe and honourable peace: and concluded with obſerving, that towards accompliſhing the ſalutary purpoſes he had in view, nothing could be more effectual than the unanimity and diſpatch of his parliament in conducting the public buſineſs."

The plan of removals and promotions being now fixed, there was the moſt perfect harmony in both houſes, and there was ſcarcely a diviſion heard of during the ſeſſion. The uſual patriot bills (as they were called) for the repeal of ſeptennial parliaments, the purging the parliament of placemen, the remiſſion of the moſt unpopular taxes, and the like, were indeed moved for, but met with their uſual fate of being rejected; and nothing was wanting on the part of the new miniſtry to convince his majeſty that they were in earneſt to carry on the war. New levies for land and ſea were ordered, and the commons voted ſix millions and an half for the ſervice of the year 1745, to be raiſed by the land, the malt, and ſalt taxes, the ſinking fund, and an additional duty on foreign wines.

In the beginning of the year 1745, the earl of Cheſterfield ſet out on his embaſſy to the States-general, having in charge to perſuade that phlegmatic people, if poſſible, to engage heartily in the war; a point in which his lordſhip almoſt deſpaired of ſucceeding; yet his eloquence and addreſs was not wholly loſt: for though he could not bring them to become principals in the quarrel about the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, he brought them to ſettle their quota of troops, fleets, and ſubſidies.

The new miniſtry having agreed upon the expediency of carrying on the war in favour of the queen of Hungary, thought it was requiſite to proſecute it in the moſt vigorous manner; and that for this purpoſe a general ought to be employed, who might be above all dread of miniſterial power, and poſſeſſed of ſufficient authority to direct the allies in their operations. On this occaſion they caſt their eyes on the duke of Cumberland, who had given unqueſtionable proofs not only of his courage, but likewiſe of his knowlege in the military art. Accordingly, on the twelfth day of March, his royal highneſs was conſtituted captain-general and commander in chief of all his majeſty's forces.

Some little time before his majeſty had acquainted his parliament of his having concluded a treaty of quadruple alliance, in conjunction with the queen of Hungary and the States-general. By this treaty, which was ſigned at Warſaw on the eighth of January, "the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, confirmed and renewed the guaranty of the pragmatic ſanction, and promiſed to ſupport it with all his forces. It was further ſtipulated, that, as the kingdom of Bohemia was actually attacked, his Poliſh majeſty ſhould ſend to its defence an army of thirty thouſand auxiliary troops; that his Britannic majeſty and the States-general ſhould pay to that prince an annual ſubſidy of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling; two thirds to be furniſhed by Great Britain, and one third by the United Provinces: that as ſoon as Bohemia and Saxony ſhould be free from danger, his Poliſh majeſty ſhould march ten thouſand men to the Netherlands, or to any other place within the empire, which the king of Great Britain

and the States-general ſhould think moſt proper: for which a ſubſidy of ninety thouſand pounds ſhould be continued to be paid, according to the former proportions: that if, in conſequence of theſe meaſures, his Poliſh majeſty ſhould draw a war upon himſelf, he ſhould be ſupported by all his allies: that no peace ſhould be made without his conſent, and without procuring for him proper ſatisfaction; and that the empreſs of Ruſſia, the republic of Poland, and all the other powers of Europe, ſhould be invited to accede to this treaty, which was to continue after the war was concluded."

A great alteration was expected in the European ſyſtem by the demiſe of the emperor Charles VII. which happened on the ninth of January. This occaſioned his Britannic majeſty to take a reſolution of ſpeedily viſiting his German dominions, as his preſence might contribute to the tranquillity of Europe, and re-eſtabliſh the imperial dignity in the houſe of Auſtria. The parliamentary buſineſs being diſpatched, his majeſty on the ſecond of May went to the houſe of peers, and concluded the ſeſſion with a gracious ſpeech from the throne, acquainting the two houſes with his intention of going out of the kingdom for a ſhort time.

Many excellent bills for the internal good of Great Britain paſſed this ſeſſion, particularly, a bill to prevent exceſſive and deceitful gaming, and to reſtrain and prevent the exceſſive increaſe of horſe races; another, to prevent the pernicious practice of ſmuggling, which of late years was arrived to ſuch a height as bid defiance to all government; another for encouraging the Britiſh linen-manufactory; and another to prevent the importation of cambrics and French lawns. His majeſty the ſame day nominated a regency to adminiſter the affairs of government during his abſence, and the day following (May 3) embarked at Graveſend on board the Caroline yacht for Holland, where he was convoyed by a ſquadron under the command of Mr. Anſon, now created a rear-admiral, and landed at Helvoetſluys on the twelfth, from whence his majeſty proceeded directly for Hanover.

In the mean time, in order to give an additional effect to the negociation of the earl of Cheſterfield at the Hague, and to quicken the reſolution of the States-general in favour of the common cauſe, his majeſty was pleaſed to order the baron Schwigeldt, his Hanoverian miniſter at the Hague, to declare in his name, that he was willing to be conſidered as a principal in the war as elector of Hanover, and to furniſh thereto his contingent of German troops, independent of the other ſuccours he, as king of Great Britain, intended to give to the queen of Hungary.

This declaration of his Britannic majeſty was the more magnanimous, as the events of the laſt campaign had proved ſo unfavourable to the houſe of Auſtria. Maillebois was ſtill in Germany, at the head of a numerous army, with which he overawed the neutral princes, and oppreſſed the friends of her Hungarian majeſty. The revenues of that princeſs were greatly exhauſted, by the expence ſhe had incurred by maintaining her forces. Her loſs of territories in Sileſia and Flanders was far from being compenſated by the few advantages, and the ſubſidies ſhe received from Great Britain were altogether unequal to her neceſſities. On the other hand, France increaſed in power, in proportion as her difficulties increaſed: the money they had received from Spain, and the funds they had invented for increaſing the royal revenue, had enabled them to make great preparations for continuing the war another campaign: but notwithſtanding theſe favourable circumſtances, the death of Charles VII. entirely diſconcerted their plan of politics, and diſſolved the league of Frankfort, which had hitherto ſerved them, as an excellent pretext for proſecuting their ambitious purpoſes, under the mark of ſupporting the imperial dignity.

Upon the death of the emperor it was believed, that as the cauſe of the war no longer ſubſiſted, peace would be reſtored to Europe. They could not offer the empire to the young elector of Bavaria, ſon of the deceaſed Charles VII. as he was then but ſeventeen years of age. However, the court of France continued to pay the ſubſidy to his electoral highneſs. The princes of Germany flattered themſelves that the queen of Hungary would ſeek for peace, as the ſureſt means of placing her huſband, the grand duke of Tuſcany, upon the imperial throne: but her majeſty was determined, that her endeavours to procure the dignity for her conſort ſhould in no wiſe retard the military operations, which ſhe was reſolved to continue. The Engliſh miniſtry, who gave the law to their allies, by being the general pay-maſters, thought they ſhould be loſers by a peace, and gainers by protracting the war. The king of France, on the other hand, would not abandon his ſon-in-law the infant Don Philip, in Italy, the young elector of Bavaria in Germany, or the king of Pruſſia, who was returned to his old alliance. Thus the general war continued, though the object of it was no longer the ſame.

The court of France now caſt an eye upon the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, as a proper perſon for the imperial crown. He was not only qualified to aſpire to this dignity, but he might likewiſe render it ſubſervient to the enriching his family with a part of the Auſtrian inheritance, which he had at firſt attempted to acquire by the ſword: at leaſt, by detaching him from his new alliance with that houſe, there was a probability of ſtrengthening the king of Pruſſia, and of compelling her Hungarian majeſty to accept of terms of peace: but that able miniſter, count Bruhl, who now managed the affairs of Saxony, clearly ſeeing thro' the deluſive propoſals of the French court, perſuaded his maſter, the king of Poland, that he would find it very difficult, if not impoſſible, to keep the crown of Poland, if he accepted of the empire, as the republic of Poland would be afraid of having in him too powerful a chief; and his majeſty would thereby run the riſk of loſing a throne which he might ſecure to his poſterity; and that, after all, he was not ſure of carrying his point in competition with the grand duke of Tuſcany. In ſhort, whether his Poliſh majeſty thought himſelf not ſtrong enough, or whether he was reſtrained by the treaties of Vienna, Dreſden, and Warſaw, which had connected him with England and the queen of Hungary; or, laſtly, whether he was convinced by the arguments of his miniſter, and terrified by the example of the late

elector of Bavaria, who was a tragical inſtance, that a grandeur not founded on intrinſic ſtrength, is oftentimes rather a humiliation; inſtead of making any pretenſions to the empire, he entered into a more intimate union with the queen of Hungary, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to place the imperial crown on her huſband's head.

France, diſappointed on this quarter, would willingly have held out the imperial bait to his Pruſſian majeſty, had ſhe not been convinced of having irremediably incurred his reſentment and indignation, by ſuffering prince Charles to repaſs the Rhine, and deprive him of all his conqueſts in Bohemia: ſhe therefore, on the emperor's death, declared, that as the treaty of Frankfort was now diſſolved, ſhe was ready to agree to propoſals for a general pacification, and not to intermeddle in the election of an emperor. But her Hungarian majeſty, who ſtill imagined ſhe ſhould be able at laſt to dethrone the king of Naples, to recover Sileſia, and to beat the French in Flanders, would liſten to no terms of accommodation; in which reſolution ſhe was not a little confirmed, by the inclination the Engliſh diſcovered for trying the event of another campaign, and the firm attachment their monarch ſhewed to her intereſts. The French had now no other reſource left but in arms, and to await the iſſue of the different fluctuating intereſts which kept Europe in continual alarms.

Lewis XV. had taken the reſolution to act upon the defenſive in Germany, and upon the offenſive in Flanders and Italy; and accordingly he undertook in perſon to finiſh the conqueſts in the Auſtrian Netherlands, in which he had been interrupted during the preceding year. In the month of February this year he married his eldeſt ſon, the dauphin, to the ſecond infanta of Spain, in order to cement his connections with that crown: and this young prince, who had not yet completed his ſixteenth year, prepared to ſet out in the beginning of May along with his father. Before the king's departure, marſhal Saxe went to take upon him the command of the army in Flanders, which was to conſiſt of one hundred and ſix battalions, and one hundred and ſeventy-two ſquadrons, with ſeventeen independent companies; ſo that the whole army, had every thing been complete, would have amounted to ninety-eight thouſand men; but as they were greatly deficient, the total amount did not exceed ſeventy-ſix thouſand men. This army was provided with a train of one hundred and ſixty pieces of heavy artillery.

Marſhal Saxe, who commanded this army till the arrival of the ſovereign, was the eldeſt of the natural children of the late Auguſtus II. king of Poland, by Aurora counteſs of Konigſmark, one of the moſt celebrated beauties of her age. The marſhal had entirely devoted himſelf to the uſe of arms: he entered early into the ſervice of France; and by his diſtinguiſhed bravery juſtly attained to the higheſt ſtep of military preferment. The reputation of this general, and the reſolution of their monarch to make this campaign, invited the flower of the French nobility to take the field; ſo that the marſhal found himſelf joined by the dukes de Chartres and Penthievre, the prince de Dombes, count de Clermont, and count d'Eu; all five princes of the blood royal of France. He alſo found himſelf at the head of twenty-two lieutenant-generals and forty-five major-generals, of the moſt diſtinguiſhed rank, fortune, and reputation, eager to ſignalize themſelves, being filled with the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs, from their great ſuperiority over the allies, whoſe united forces amounted to no more than fifty-three thouſand men.

The duke of Cumberland, as commander in chief, arrived at the Hague on the ſeventh day of April; and after holding a conference with the States, he poſted to Bruſſels, where he found prince Waldeck, commander of the Dutch troops, and marſhal count Konigſegg, the general of the Auſtrians. William duke of Cumberland was now entering into the twenty-fourth year of his age: he was by nature, brave; and by a cloſe application to the ſtudy of the military art, had acquired thoſe lights which others gain only by experience: endowed with ſentiments worthy of his high birth, and bleſſed with the happy talent of conciliating alike the love and eſteem of both officers and private men, the allies with pleaſure inveſted him with the extenſion of the chief command over the whole confederate army. Full of that vivacity ſo natural to his years, his royal highneſs diſdained the boaſted ſuperiority of the French, whoſe advantage indeed principally lay in the ſagacity and experience of their commanders more than in their numbers.

Marſhal Saxe having made ſeveral feigned marches, which kept the allies in ſuſpence, and ſeemed ſometimes to threaten Aeth, and ſometimes Mons, all on a ſudden ſat down, on the twenty-fourth day of April, before Tournay, on the river Schelde, which was defended by a Dutch garriſon of eight thouſand men, commanded by baron Dorth. Tournay was one of the maſterpieces of the great Vauban, and ſuppoſed to be one of the ſtrongeſt places of the Dutch barrier. The raiſing of this ſiege, therefore, appeared to the confederates a point of the higheſt importance. Accordingly, his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland marched immediately from Bruſſels to Soignies, in the province of Hainault, within twelve miles of Tournay; and continuing his route, encamped on the twenty-ninth of April at Bruſſoel, with his right at Bougnies, and his left at Montbray, within little more than muſket-ſhot of the advanced poſts of the French. Marſhal Saxe had foreſeen the intention of the allies, and had made the moſt excellent diſpoſitions by entrenchments and batteries, in which he was greatly aſſiſted by the nature of the ground.

The two armies were ſeparated only by a rivulet, which lay on the left of the allies, and by copſes and hedges on the right, which the French had lined with their Graſſins, ſupported by ſeveral ſquadrons drawn up on a plain, that roſe by a gentle aſcent to their camp, which extended on the brow of the eminence from the village of St. Antoin towards the wood of Barri, which lay on their left; and was ſecured by lines filled with light troops. At St. Antoin they had erected a moſt dreadful battery; in their center was another battery; and between them lay the village of Fontenoy intrenched, and moſt formidably fortified: this latter village is ſituated about three miles S. E. of Tournay. The French monarch accompanied by the Dauphin, arrived in the camp before Tournay on the 28th of April.

The French king took his ſtation at the bridge of Calonne, cloſe by the village of St. Antoin; the bridge was lined with cannon, ſtrengthened with entrenchments, and defended by a battalion of guards, another of Swiſs, and three of militia, to facilitate the retreat of the king and the Dauphin, in caſe of any unlucky accident. In a word, never was army better ſecured than that of the French; nor could any troops attack under more diſadvantageous circumſtances than thoſe of the combined armies did.

The firſt object of the allies was to drive the French from all their little poſts, ſo as to get into the plain, and this ſervice fell to the ſhare of the Engliſh. Accordingly on the 30th of April, ſix battalions and twelve ſquadrons, with five hundred pioneers, ſix pieces of cannon, and ten haubitzers, were detached from each wing for that purpoſe, and after an obſtinate ſtruggle the enterprize ſucceeded; the army were diſlodged from all their poſts, and repulſed to the heights near their camp, where they drew up afreſh, and began to form new entrenchments. The confederate generals then went upon the ground from which the French had been driven, and, having carefully ſurveyed it, came to a reſolution to attack the enemy early next morning, which was the firſt day of May.

The right wing, compoſed of Engliſh and Hanoverians, was ordered to form in four lines before the village of Vezon, on this ſide of Barri wood; the left wing, conſiſting of Dutch and Auſtrians, was commanded to advance in three columns; the firſt to march by the village of Vezon, the ſecond through the heart of it, and the third to ſtretch into the plain between Fontenoy and St. Antoin. Prince Waldeck, with his Dutch, undertook to attack the former of theſe places. In order to facilitate theſe operations, the duke of Cumberland commanded brigadier Ingoldſby, with four battalions, and three ſix-pounders, to attack a fort in the front of the village of Vezon, which was mounted with cannon. Lieutenant-general Sir James Campbel was ordered to cover the infantry of the right wing, commanded by lieutenant-general Sir John (ſince earl) Ligonier; and Sir James had inſtructions to extend himſelf along the plain, from Barri wood towards the village of Fontenoy; an expedient which would have greatly forwarded prince Waldeck's attack: but the ſucceſs of the whole depended chiefly upon Ingoldſby's carrying the fort at Vezon.

About nine in the morning the engagement began, at the very beginning of which Sir James Campbell's leg was taken off by a cannon ball, which put an end to his life. By the confuſion occaſioned by this accident, and the dreadful fire made by the enemy, the Engliſh infantry under Sir John Ligonier were left terribly expoſed, but were, nevertheleſs, formed with the greateſt diſpatch; and the duke of Cumberland putting himſelf at their head, marched up to the attack of the left wing of the French at St. Antoin, while prince Waldeck, with the Hanoverians and twelve battalions of Dutch, moved at the ſame time to aſſault Fontenoy. The Britiſh infantry under their duke, drove the French beyond their lines. Upon this, count Saxe ordered his cavalry to advance, while the infantry, which had been formed a-new, opened a concealed battery that ſwept off whole ranks of our troops at a time; notwithſtanding which the Engliſh ſtood firm, and kept up their fire with an intrepidity that ſtruck the enemy with aſtoniſhment: and had Ingoldſby ſucceeded in his attack upon Vezon, which he unfortunately miſſed by making ſo long delay in conſulting with his officers in what manner it ſhould be done, that marſhal Saxe had time to ſtrengthen the fort with a number of additional troops and cannon, the Engliſh muſt have carried the day, the ill ſucceſs of which was in great meaſure owing to this delay; or had the Dutch under prince Waldeck done their duty, the French king and his ſon would, in all probability, have been taken priſoners; but the duke being obliged to march through a hollow-way, commanded by the fort that Ingoldſby ſhould have taken, the Engliſh were thereby expoſed to all the fire from that battery, as well as to a great number of croſs fires, which plied them on all hands, and did prodigious execution. At the ſame time the Dutch behaved with the moſt ſhameful puſillanimity, and inſtead of ſupporting the Auſtrians in the attack of Fontenoy (to which prince Waldeck twice led them with the greateſt courage) fled from the field with the utmoſt precipitation. To add to theſe diſaſters, the cavalry forbore to advance to cover the flank of the Engliſh infantry, ſo that his royal highneſs the duke, unable longer to ſtand the prodigious fire of the French batteries, to which he was now left expoſed on all ſides, was obliged to give back in ſome diſorder.

He ſoon rallied his troops however, who, returning to the charge with redoubled ardour, repulſed the enemy to their camp with a terrible ſlaughter; but ſo great was the diminution of the Britiſh troops by the perpetual firing of the French artillery, which took them both in front and flank, that being wholly unſupported by the left wing, while the enemy brought up the Iriſh brigade, and houſhold troops (who were freſh for action, not having yet engaged) to attack them in flank, they began to ſtagger, nor could ſupport the violence of ſo rude a ſhock, and were obliged to retire a ſecond time. The French cavalry endeavoured to break them in their retreat, but were ſo well received by the Britiſh guards, and major-general Zaſtrow of the Hanoverian troops, that the regiment of Noailles was almoſt deſtroyed.

About two o'clock in the afternoon the whole confederate army had orders to retire, which it did in ſuch excellent order that the French did not dare to make the leaſt attempt to diſturb them, and they returned to their camp at Bruſſoel; and quitting it the ſame night about eleven o'clock, marched directly to the camp at Leſſines near Aeth, leaving their ſick and wounded to the humanity of the victors.

Such was the deciſion of this memorable battle of Fontenoy, which anſwered no other purpoſe than to diſplay the unfortunate bravery of the Engliſh and Hanoverians; the latter of whom, by their behaviour this day, ſilenced all the charges that had been brought againſt them for their conduct at Dettingen, while the Dutch diſgraced all the glories which they had ſome years before acquired at the battle of Malplaquet, under the duke of Marlborough, where they had eight thouſand men killed.

In this action the confederates loſt ſeven thouſand three hundred and forty-ſeven men, including

cluding a great number of officers; and among theſe lieutenant-general ſir James Campbell, major-general Ponſonby, the colonels Carpenter and Douglaſs, and lieutenant-colonel Gee. However, from the number of officers killed and wounded on the enemy's ſide, their loſs muſt be ſuppoſed to be much more conſiderable; there being four lieutenant-generals, four major-generals, and three brigadiers, killed; two lieutenant-generals, three major-generals, and twenty-two brigadier-generals, wounded, many of whom died ſoon after the engagement.

The reduction of Tournay was the neceſſary conſequence of the victory of Fontenoy, though baron Dorth, the governor, maintained the place with the greateſt bravery to the 21ſt day of June, and then obtained an honourable capitulation. The duke of Cumberland apprehending that the French would next make an attempt upon Ghent, ſent a detachment of four thouſand men to reinforce its garriſon; but they fell into an ambuſcade, when above one thouſand were killed and taken. That very night Ghent was ſurprized by a detachment of the French army. Dendermond, Oudenarde, Nieuport, and Aeth, ſucceſſively ſubmitted to the victors, who, to crown their ſucceſſes, made themſelves maſters of Oſtend, after a ſhort ſiege, on the 13th of Auguſt: and the French king, having thus ſubdued the greateſt part of the Auſtrian Netherlands, returned in the month of September to Paris, which he entered in triumph.

The confederate army lay all this time intrenched beyond the canal of Antwerp, for the diſparity between them and the enemy was too diſadvantageous to ſuffer the allies to think of giving the leaſt moleſtation to the French in their acquiſitions. On the 12th of October his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland left the confederate army, being called home to ward off the meditated ſtroke of a rebellion; of which an account will be given in its place. The combined forces ſoon afterwards took their winter-quarters in Bruſſels, Antwerp, and Mechlin; but the victorious marſhal Saxe, making the moſt of his ſuperiority, on the 29th of January following, inveſted Bruſſels; the garriſon of which, conſiſting of ten thouſand Auſtrians and Dutch under count Kaunitz, after a gallant reſiſtance, were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war on the 20th of February. This conqueſt terminated all the enterpriſing attempts of marſhal Saxe till the returning ſpring, when Antwerp was expected to ſwell the number of his ſucceſſes.

Maximilian Joſeph the young elector of Bavaria was the third from father to ſon, whoſe cauſe had been eſpouſed by France. She had reſtored his grandfather to his dominions, obtained the Imperial crown for his father, and now made a freſh effort to ſupport this young prince. Early in the ſpring the French king ſent ſix thouſand Heſſians in the pay of France, three thouſand Palatines, and thirteen battalions of German troops, to join the Bavarian forces under count Seckendorff; but theſe had defended the entrance of their country ſo ill, that in the beginning of April the elector of Bavaria was obliged to quit Munich, the ſame capital from which his father had been ſo often expelled, and to ſeek ſhelter in Augſburg. Bavaria had been ſo much ravaged that it was not able to ſupply forage to the French troops who came to the elector's aſſiſtance, and count Brown declared to count Segur, who commanded the French forces in Bavaria, that he would not march to meet the Auſtrians, and that all he could do was to wait for them. To complete the diſgrace of the French, count Seckendorff, who commanded the Bavarian army, correſponded with the queen of Hungary, and was negotiating a ſecret accommodation between his maſter, the young elector, and the court of Vienna; whereby he defeated every thing that had been done by France. Seckendorff had been long in the ſervice of the houſe of Auſtria, but upon ſome cauſe of diſtruſt had been confined by Charles VI. the laſt emperor of this family, upon whoſe demiſe he quitted the queen of Hungary to enter into the Bavarian ſervice; and being now diſguſted with the court of France, for having refuſed him a ſum of money he demanded for the payment of the Bavarian troops, he reſolved to traverſe all its projects.

While things were in this ſituation count Segur, who had only ſix thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, French and Palatines, not having been able to effect his junction with the Heſſians and Bavarians, was attacked by general Bathiani at the head of the Auſtrian army, within a few leagues of Donawert near a little town called Pfaffenhoven. All he had to do in this ſituation was to ſave his troops and the military cheſt; for this purpoſe he poſted his men ſo well by covering them with a wood, and poſſeſſing himſelf of an eminence, that they maintained a moſt unequal and a moſt obſtinate fight: the French alone loſt about two thouſand men killed and wounded; the Palatines, who were leſs expoſed, had very few killed, but one of their battalions was made priſoners of war. The marquis de Cruſſol, who was entruſted with the care of the rear, and the chevalier de la Marck, behaved with ſuch prudence and intrepidity, that even their enemies gave them the higheſt commendations.

This little army being obliged to yield to the ſuperiority of numbers, retreated to Donawert, where they croſſed the Danube, and joined the French under the command of marſhal Maillebois in Suabia. This incident completed the deſtruction of the French in this part of the empire.

The retreat of the French general obliged the prince of Saxe Hilburghauſen to retire with the Bavarian and Heſſian troops towards Landſberg; but the latter, to the number of ſix thouſand, being cut off, and ſurrounded in their retreat by a detachment commanded by general Bernklau, were obliged to lay down their arms, and to continue at Lechauſen, till their fates were determined between the courts of Vienna and Caſſel. Theſe troops ſome time after paſſed from the ſervice of the French into that of the Engliſh.

All this while the young elector of Bavaria was at Augſburg, devoured with the melancholy reflections of his own approaching misfortunes, and the paſt calamities of his unhappy family. The French king, however, was ſtill defending his cauſe on all ſides. Marſhal Maillebois, at the head of a numerous army, was driving that of the Auſtrians, commanded by the duke of Aremberg, beyond the river Lhon, and even menaced the electorate of Hanover. The king of Pruſſia kept prince Charles of Lorrain employed, and Lewis XV. was himſelf on the point of making a moſt powerful diverſion in Flanders. But all theſe conſiderations were ſuperſeded,

perſeded, and the projects of France diſconcerted by the preſent exigence of the young elector's affairs, the intreaties of the empreſs his mother, enforced by the interpoſition of his Britannic majeſty; the advice of the elector of Cologne, his uncle; and of his general, count Seckendorff, who were inceſſantly repreſenting to him the ambitious deſigns of France, and earneſtly exhorted him to be reconciled to the court of Vienna, and conſent to the accommodation which count de Colloredo, the Auſtrian miniſter, was endeavouring to bring about at Tyrol. The miniſters of the contrary party oppoſed theſe efforts, eſpecially M. de Chavigny, count del Bene, and M. de Klingarff, the ambaſſadors from the courts of France, Madrid, and Berlin, who perſuaded the elector to repair to Manheim, a city belonging to the elector-palatine, and had almoſt ſeduced him to refuſe entering into any accommodation. But at length he opened his eyes to the true intereſt of his electoral houſe: he put off his deſigned journey to Manheim, and ſent orders to prince Furſtenberg to conclude an accommodation with count Colloredo, who was come to Fueſſen, on the Lech, for this ſalutary purpoſe. Theſe plenipotentiaries ſoon terminated the differences between the ſerene houſes of Auſtria and Bavaria, by concluding a treaty of amity and pacification, ſigned on the twenty-ſecond of April.

By this treaty her Hungarian majeſty agreed to acknowlege the imperial dignity, as having been veſted in the perſon of his father, to his own mother, as empreſs dowager; to reſtore his dominions, with all the fortreſſes, artillery, ſtores, and ammunition, which ſhe had taken. On the other hand, he relinquiſhed all claim to the ſucceſſion of her father, became guarantee of the pragmatic ſanction, acknowleged the validity of the electoral vote of Bohemia in the perſon of the queen, and promiſed to give his vote for the grand duke at the enſuing election of a king of the Romans.

Until this ſhould be determined, both parties agreed that Ingoldſtadt ſhould be garriſoned by neutral troops, and that Branau and Schardingen, with all the country lying between the Inn and the Saltza, ſhould remain in the queen's poſſeſſion, though without prejudice to the civil government or the elector's revenue. In the mean time, he diſmiſſed the auxiliaries that were in his pay, and they were ſuffered to retire without moleſtation.

On the demiſe of the emperor, the elector of Mentz, as arch-chancellor of the empire, appointed the firſt of June for the diet to aſſemble, and proceed to the election of a new emperor. The grand duke of Tuſcany had already declared himſelf a candidate for that dignity; and the court of Vienna had now engaged the votes of all the electors, except thoſe of Brandenburg and the Palatinate. France however was determined, if poſſible, to prevent the exaltation of the grand duke, and with that view exerted her utmoſt endeavours to procure ſuch an army in the empire as might intimidate the princes and neutral circles from electing a prince for emperor, whom ſhe would gladly have ſet at the remoteſt diſtance from that auguſt dignity. The French army in Germany was therefore augmented to ſeventy thouſand three hundred men; and the prince of Conti was appointed to take the command, in the room of M. Maillebois, who ſucceeded the prince in his command on the ſide of Italy, after having, as I have already obſerved, obliged the duke of Aremberg, who made an irruption into the Palatinate in the beginning of this year, to repaſs the Maine with his army of Auſtrians and Hanoverians, and afterwards to intrench himſelf behind the river Lohne, in expectation of reinforcements.

About the time that the prince of Conti arrived in Germany, marſhal Traun, who had ſucceeded count Bathiani in the command of the Auſtrian forces in Bavaria (on that general's being appointed to replace the duke of Aremberg in Germany) received orders to advance towards the Maine to join the confederates, and drive the prince of Conti from the neighbourhood of Frankfort, that the electors might be left at liberty to proceed to the election, agreeably to the laws and conſtitution of the empire. He accordingly marched from the Danube at the head of thirty thouſand men, and on the fourteenth of June effected his junction with count Bathiani at Wachterſpach, upon the river Kintz, when the united armies conſiſted of ſeventy-four battalions and one hundred and ten ſquadrons, in all ſixty-nine thouſand men, who were ſoon after headed by the grand duke himſelf in perſon, who obliged the prince of Conti to evacuate the imperial territories, and repaſs the Rhine at Nordheim with conſiderable loſs.

The neighbourhood of Frankfort being thus freed from the preſence of the French army that had been poſted there, under the ſpecious pretext of ſecuring the freedom of the election, but with a real view to influence the deliberations of the electors; the firſt conference was held for the election of a king of the Romans on the ninth of Auguſt, at which aſſiſted the miniſters of the ſeveral electors of Mentz, Treves, Cologn, Bohemia, Bavaria, Hanover, and Saxony: but the ambaſſadors of Brandenburg and the Palatinate having proteſted againſt every thing that could be done at thoſe conferences, were not preſent. However, the electoral college aſſembled on the ſecond of September for the election of an emperor, when they choſe the moſt ſerene prince Francis Stephen, duke of Lorraine and Bar, grand duke of Tuſcany, and co-regent of the dominions of her majeſty the queen of Hungary and Bohemia. On the twenty-fourth the new emperor, with his royal conſort, made his public entry with great magnificence, and was crowned with the uſual ceremonies. Their Imperial majeſties, after receiving the compliments of the chief princes of the empire, returned to Vienna, and the diet of the empire was removed to Ratiſbon, the uſual place of aſſembling under the Auſtrian emperors. The voting electors alſo entered into an aſſociation to defend the head of the empire, and the circles were required to furniſh a triple contingent for that purpoſe.

This agreeable alteration in the affairs of Europe was effected principally by the firmneſs and authority of his Britannic majeſty, who ſpared no pains to reconcile the princes of the empire in defence of public liberty. He prevailed with the elector-palatine to be leſs ſanguine in the cauſe of France: he actually ſucceeded in bringing the court of Heſſe-Caſſel to relinquiſh its connections with Lewis XV. and to reſtore the ſix thouſand Heſſians to Britiſh pay.

The king of Pruſſia, ſmarting with his loſſes ſuſtained laſt campaign, thoroughly diſguſted with the court of France, and releaſed from his engage-

ments of the treaty of Frankfort by the death of the emperor, ſeemed inclinable to embrace a pacific ſyſtem; but the infatuation of the councils of Vienna would not permit him. Intoxicated with ſucceſs, they thought of nothing leſs than ſtripping him of all he had acquired. This inveteracy rouſed all the military abilities of his Pruſſian majeſty, which ſoon ſtruck Europe with aſtoniſhment. The Auſtrians had already made themſelves maſters of Troppau, Jaggerſdorf, Ratibor, and ſome other places of leſs note in Sileſia: but Frederic, who had hitherto affected to act upon the defenſive only, which had made his enemies imagine that he was both unwilling and unable to hazard an engagement, ſtarted ſuddenly into action, attacked the Auſtrians in his turn, and drove them from Troppau and Jaggerſdorf as far as Moravia, whilſt other parties of his troops poſſeſſed themſelves of the caſtle of Glatz, where a body of ſix thouſand Pruſſians, under general Lehwald, attacked twelve thouſand Auſtrians commanded by general Helſrick, five hundred of whom were killed upon the ſpot, three hundred taken priſoners, and the reſt completely routed. Ratibor, where was a garriſon of three thouſand Auſtrians, next fell into his hands. The defendants were all killed or taken priſoners, and the king entered Sileſia in May, at the head of ſeventy thouſand men.

Theſe exploits, however, were but faint preludes to the rapid conqueſts which were ſoon to diſtinguiſh this young monarch as the firſt hero of the age in generalſhip and valour. Prince Charles of Lorraine had by this time joined the confederate army of Saxons, Hungarians, and Auſtrians, under the prince of Saxe Weiſſenfels, at Konigſgratz in Bohemia, which was now augmented to ſeventy-ſix thouſand men, and from thence advanced in the latter end of May towards the mountains which ſeparate Sileſia from Bohemia, and on the third of June encamped in the neighbourhood of Friedberg. Upon the firſt motions of the confederates to enter Sileſia, his Pruſſian majeſty had drawn all the troops he had in Upper Sileſia, except the garriſon of Jaggerſdorf, into Lower Sileſia to reinforce his army, which was thereby augmented to eighty-four thouſand men. This ſuperiority determined Frederic to attack the confederates, who little expected any thing of the kind; for he had ordered his general du Moulin, with the vanguard of his army, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand men, to poſt himſelf near Striegau, where the right wing of the allies was encamped, and to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions to lead prince Charles into a belief that his majeſty intended to retreat to Breſlau. At their approach the confederates were the dupes of this artifice, and lulled into the moſt perfect ſecurity; when, on the fourth of June, at two o'clock in the morning, they found themſelves attacked by the Pruſſians with a degree of fury that carried all before it. The Saxons and Auſtrians maintained the fight for a conſiderable time with a reſolution that did them infinite honour; and prince Charles of Lorraine and the prince of Saxe-Weiſſenfels did every thing that could be expected from the moſt conſummate generals and the braveſt warriors, to turn the fortune of the day; but all in vain: the amazing military genius of his Pruſſian majeſty had led him to make ſuch diſpoſitions as muſt infallibly inſure him the victory. In fine, the allies were totally defeated, with the loſs of four thouſand ſix hundred men killed, and five thouſand three hundred taken priſoners, with all their artillery; and his Pruſſian majeſty carried off from the field a prodigious number of colours, ſtandards, kettle-drums, and other military trophies. The Pruſſians loſt about eight hundred men killed, and fifteen hundred wounded. Such was the iſſue of the famous battle of Friedberg, which, for the valour and great conduct of the generals on both ſides, but more particularly on that of the Pruſſians; the bravery and intrepidity of the private men; the general and long action, which laſted upwards of twelve hours, and the deciſiveneſs of the victory, may truly be ſtiled the moſt memorable of the war begun in SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-ONE.

The loſs of the battle of Friedberg by the Auſtrians induced his Britannic majeſty, who then reſided at Hanover, and was employed as uſual in ſtudying every method to reſtore the peace of Germany, to enter upon a proviſional treaty with his nephew of Pruſſia for that ſalutary purpoſe, to which the latter appeared to lend a willing ear. Accordingly, in the month of Auguſt a convention was ſigned at Hanover, wherein the king of Great Britain became guarantee of the king of Pruſſia's poſſeſſions in Sileſia, as yielded by the treaty of Breſlau; and that monarch promiſed to vote for the grand duke of Tuſcany at the election of an emperor. This was intended as the baſis of a more general accommodation: but no ſooner was it known at the courts of Vienna and Dreſden, than it was rejected in the moſt peremptory terms. This ſo enraged Frederic, that he immediately publiſhed a declaration of war againſt the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, in which he accuſed that prince of having formed a deſign, in conjunction with her Hungarian majeſty, to invade his territories, particularly the duchy of Magdeburg; and that for this purpoſe his Poliſh majeſty had demanded of the czarina of Ruſſia the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaty between the two crowns. He then publiſhed a manifeſto ſetting forth theſe particulars, and earneſtly ſoliciting the maritime powers to fulfil their engagements, and interpoſe their good offices with the court of Peterſburg to abandon that of Dreſden. But without waiting to ſee the reſult of theſe apprehenſions, he made a ſudden irruption into Luſatia, took poſſeſſion of Gorlitz, and obliged prince Charles of Lorraine to retire into Bohemia.

Prince Anhalt of Deſſau, the Pruſſian general, then enters Saxony towards the weſt, and makes himſelf maſter of Leipſic without oppoſition. The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, flies from Dreſden and takes refuge in Prague, the capital of Bohemia, whilſt his generals collect his forces; and being joined by a detachment of Auſtrian cavalry under prince Lobkowitz, make a ſtand to oppoſe the rapidity of the Pruſſian conqueſts at Pirna*. The latter, however, making themſelves maſters

* A ſmall town of Miſnia, in Upper Saxony in Germany, ſituated on the Elbe, over which is a fine ſtone bridge, and defended by a ſtrong caſtle. It lies four miles ſouth-eaſt of Dreſden.

of Meyſſen, attacked the confederates, though double their number, on the fifteenth day of December, and obtained as complete a victory as that of Friedberg, where, beſides great numbers of the Saxons and Auſtrians left upon the field of battle, near four thouſand were taken priſoners, with all their artillery. The city of Dreſden, the capital of Saxony, no longer able to withſtand the victorious arms of his Pruſſian majeſty, ſubmits. Frederic enters the place in triumph, and the whole country is laid under contribution.

The king of Poland, thus ſtripped of his dominions, was glad to accept of ſuch terms as the conqueror thought proper to impoſe. The queen of Hungary alſo, tired of a diſpute in which ſhe had nothing to expect but multiplied loſſes and diſgrace, conſented at length to give up her claim to Sileſia; and a negociation being ſet on foot, under the mediation of the king of Great Britain, two treaties of peace were ſigned on the twenty-fifth of December, 1745; the one between the king of Pruſſia and the elector of Saxony, and the other between his Pruſſian majeſty and the emperor and the empreſs-queen.

By the latter of theſe treaties the king of Pruſſia acknowleged the emperor, as did alſo the elector-palatine, who acceded thereto. The emperor confirmed in favour of the houſe of Brandenburg certain privileges de non evocando, granted to it by the emperor Charles VII. concerning certain provinces in the king of Pruſſia's poſſeſſion not belonging to the elector of Brandenburg, and the treaty of Breſlau was renewed. By the treaty concluded at the ſame time between the king of Pruſſia and the king of Poland, in quality of the elector of Saxony, it was agreed, "That all the contributions that electorate was to furniſh to his Pruſſian majeſty to the twenty-ſecond day of December, 1745, incluſive, he ſhould retain to his proper uſe: that a million of German crowns ſhould be paid the next fair at Leipſic, with intereſt at five per cent. to be reckoned from the day of ſigning the treaty till the time of quitting the capital: that the ſubjects of his Pruſſian majeſty who were intereſted in the ſteur of Saxony ſhould be punctually paid: that the king of Poland, in quality of the elector of Saxony, ſhould make no innovations to the prejudice of the proteſtant religion in that electorate; and that the Saxon ſoldiers who had inliſted themſelves in the Pruſſian ſervice ſince the king's troops had entered that electorate, ſhould remain therein."

Immediately after the ratification of theſe treaties, the Pruſſian forces evacuated Saxony; all hoſtilities between them and the Auſtrians ceaſed, and the peace of Germany was reſtored.

The campaign in Italy was far from proving favourable either to the queen of Hungary or her ally the king of Sardinia. Count Gages croſſed the Appennine mountains in the month of April, in order to reach the ſtate of Lucca, and paſs from thence through the Genoeſe dominions, to join the army commanded by Don Philip in Lombady. Prince Lobkowitz, who, upon the opening of the campaign, finding himſelf too weak to obſtruct the progreſs of count Gages, had croſſed the Panaro, and retired into the Modeneſe, no ſooner heard of that general's march towards the Appennines, than he ſent ſeveral detachments to incommode his route, who did great execution upon his rear. However, the Spaniſh general, with infinite trouble, penetrated through the mountains: but if any ſnow or rain had fallen during their march, the whole army muſt have inevitably periſhed before they had entered the territories of Lucca, where they arrived the tenth of May. The republic of Lucca, notwithſtanding its avowed neutrality, was compelled to receive the Spaniſh general with civility, and even to furniſh him with proviſions.

Count Gages then proceeded by the eaſtern coaſt of Genoa to Leſtride Levant, while duke Philip, who had by this time received very conſiderable reinforcements from Catalonia, was permitted by the republic to approach through the weſtern part of their dominions; and the two armies at length compleated their junction on the fourteenth day of June, within a few miles of Genoa, where they encamped, and then conſiſted of ſixty-eight thouſand men. Soon after, the Genoeſe declared war againſt the king of Sardinia, and joined the French, Spaniſh, and Neapolitan forces with ten thouſand men, and a large train of heavy artillery. Mean while, prince Lobkowitz departed from Modena, and encamped at Parma; but being recalled to ſerve in Bohemia, he was ſucceeded by count Schuylemberg, who made the beſt diſpoſitions for defending the Milaneſe, the Parmeſan, and the Plaiſentin.

Don Philip, aſſiſted by marſhal Maillebois with forty thouſand French and Spaniards, was to penetrate into the Milaneſe, and act againſt the king of Sardinia, who was poſted with twenty thouſand men in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, while the duke of Modena and count Gages, with thirty-eight thouſand men, acted againſt count Schuylemberg, who had aſſembled twenty-five thouſand. Count Gages ſoon opened himſelf a paſſage into the Milaneſe by the reduction of Serravalle, and advancing on the ſide of Placentia, obliged the Auſtrian general to retire under the cannon of Tortona, to preſerve a communication with the king of Sardinia. Don Philip, on his ſide, took poſſeſſion of Acqui, Seva, and ſome other places, which opened a paſſage to Alexandria, where the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe had united their force; but his Sardinian majeſty and count Schuylemberg finding they were in danger of being incloſed between the two Spaniſh generals, retired beyond the Tanaro in the middle of July, wholly unable to reſiſt the progreſs of the enemy.

Count de Gages then laid ſiege to and reduced Tortona, while the duke of Modena made himſelf maſter of the cities of Parma and Placentia, and recovered the dominions of the houſe of Farneſe. Count de Gages, after the reduction of Tortona, took the city of Pavia by ſcalade; the rich city of Milan ſubmitted to the Infant, though the Auſtrian garriſon ſtill maintained the citadel. The Spaniſh general then marched to reinforce the army under Don Philip, who being now at the head of ſixty-two thouſand men, forced the paſſage of the Tanaro, and obliged his Sardinian majeſty to quit the neighbourhood of Alexandria, and take ſhelter at Valenza, the capital of the Laumelin, on the other ſide of the Po.

The army of the three crowns finding nothing to oppoſe it, marched and laid ſiege to Alexandria, a conſiderable town on the Tanaro, which was ſurrendered within twelve days after its being inveſted.

inveſted. In the mean time, prince Lichtenſtein was ſent to take the command of the Auſtrian army in Italy, in the room of Schuylemberg: but all this new general or the king of Sardinia could do was to remain inactive ſpectators of the rapid ſucceſſes that attended the arms of the Spaniards. Valenza Caſal, the capital of the Montferrat, the important town of Aſti, the caſtle of Gabiano, and Verrue, all fell into their hands with very little trouble; and in a word all Piedmont on both ſides of the Po, almoſt as far as Turin, was reduced, and that capital threatened with a ſiege; ſo that by the month of October the territories belonging to the houſe of Auſtria in Italy were wholly ſubdued, and the king of Sardinia ſtripped of all his dominions. Nevertheleſs, he continued firm to his engagements, and refuſed to hearken to the ſpecious propoſals of the French for a ſeparate accommodation.

The Engliſh navy in the courſe of this year performed ſeveral ſignal ſervices. In the Mediterranean admiral Rowley had ſucceeded Mr. Matthews in the command. He had bombarded Savona, Genoa, Final, St. Remo, with Baſtia, the capital of Corſica, and made prizes of ſeveral Spaniſh ſhips. The Engliſh privateers likewiſe met with remarkable ſucceſs; but the moſt important atchievement, and that moſt worthy of hiſtorical notice, was the reduction of Louiſburg, the capital of Cape Breton in North America, a place of great conſequence, and which the French had fortified at an immenſe expence.

Cape Breton is an iſland of North America, in the Atlantic Ocean, ſeparated from Acadia, or New Scotland, by the narrow ſtreight of Canſo. It is about one hundred miles in length, and fifty in breadth, ſituate between forty-five and forty-eight degrees north latitude, and between ſixty-one and ſixty-two degrees weſt longitude. It is a country which produces hardly any corn or graſs, but large quantities of wood; is exceſſively cold, being covered with ſnow in winter, and ſubject to great fogs even in ſummer. It has, however, ſeveral good harbours, with an excellent fiſhery on the coaſt. The knowlege which the French had of the great benefit of this fiſhery, conjunctly with thoſe of the Banks of Newfoundland and on the coaſt of Acadia, and the hopes of one time monopolizing it made them, at the peace of Utrecht, ſtick at no terms to obtain Cape Breton to themſelves: and they had no ſooner effected this, but they immediately began to ſettle the iſland, to which they gave the name of l'Iſle Royale. A new colony was ſet on foot in 1714, to conſiſt of fiſhermen only: proper encouragement was given for eſtabliſhing the ſettlement, forts were erected, and the town of Louiſburg was built, and a garriſon poſted there for the protection of the iſland. The whole nation of France ſeemed to have their wiſhes entirely bent on the proſperity of this valuable colony; ſo that it annually became more populous, and the fiſhery flouriſhed ſo faſt, that they could and did afford to underſell the Britiſh nation at foreign markets. For the preſervation of this trade the colony had yearly reinforcements and ſhips of war ſent there from France, to viſit and ſupply them, with orders to protect and defend not only their ſea-coaſts, but their veſſels on the Banks of Newfoundland. This gave them a liberty of fiſhing almoſt wherever they pleaſed, in which they gradually increaſed, ſo as to put the iſland in a formidable poſture of defence.

The ſcheme of reducing this iſland is ſaid to have been firſt ſuggeſted by Mr. Auchmuty, judge-advocate of the court of admiralty in New England. It was recommended by their general aſſembly to our miniſtry here at home, and was approved by his majeſty, who ſent orders to commodore (afterwards ſir Peter) Warren, ſtationed off the Leeward Iſlands, to ſail for the northern parts of America, and aſſiſt all in his power the forces of New England in this expedition.

A body of ſix thouſand men was raiſed by the coloniſts themſelves, and put under the conduct of Mr. Pepperell, a trader of Piſcataqua, whoſe intereſt in that country was very conſiderable. He was indeed altogether ignorant of the military art; but this defect was amply made up by his amazing courage and reſolution. In April this year Mr. Warren arrived at Canſo with ten ſhips of war; and the troops of New England being embarked in tranſports, ſailed immediately for the iſle of Cape Breton, and landed on the thirtieth of the month in Gabaron Bay, about four miles from the fort of Louiſburg. The ground between the place of landing and the ramparts of the town was extremely boggy, unequal, and almoſt impaſſable; but the aſſailants ſurmounted all theſe difficulties, and formed two ſeveral camps, which were to direct two different attacks. The one played from the ſouth ſide of the harbour directly upon the town, and the other from the north part of it, to ſilence what was called the grand battery, which mounted thirty-five guns, of forty-two pounders each, and commanded the entry and the bay. Beſides theſe, the enemy had a draw-bridge at the weſtern gate of the town, where was a circular battery of ſixteen guns, twenty-four pounders each, commanding the upper part of the harbour; at the mouth of which was the iſland battery, of thirty-four guns, forty-two pounders. The walls, ramparts, and baſtions of the place, mounted ſixty-four guns, beſides ſixteen large mortars; and the garriſon conſiſted of twelve hundred regulars, under monſieur Chambon, the governor.

Diſmaying as it might have been ſuppoſed ſuch a formidable appearance of defence would be to raw and unexperienced troops; yet the New England men proved on this occaſion, that natural courage and intrepidity may well ſupply the place of military knowlege or experience: they waited but for the commands of their leaders to fly to execute them, however dangerous or precarious: they aſſailed the grand battery with ſuch vigour and reſolution, that they compelled the enemy to abandon it; and the immediate ſeizure of it contributed not a little to the ſucceſs of the enterprize. This paſſed on the northern ſide of the harbour; but the grand approaches were carried on upon the ſouthern ſide, while the fleet blocked up the place by ſea in ſuch a manner as to prevent the introduction of any ſupplies. The Vigilante, a French ſhip of war of ſixty-four guns, with ſeveral ſmaller veſſels, carrying all manner of military and other ſtores for the ſervice of the place, were intercepted by part of the commodore's ſquadron, while at the ſame time the camps of the beſiegers were plentifully ſupplied with proviſions from Boſton.

Boſton. The ſervice on the ſouthern ſide of the town was extremely laborious, the guns for mounting the batteries being dragged through bogs and incumbered places by the landſmen for above two miles. They ſucceeded, however, to admiration; and having erected ſeveral batteries on eminences that commanded the whole town, which they laid in ruin by their bombs and bullets, the governor, deſpairing of relief, capitulated on the fifteenth day of June, when the city of Louiſburg and the iſle of Cape Breton were delivered up to his Britannic majeſty. The garriſon and inhabitants engaged not to bear arms for twelve months againſt Great Britain or her allies; and being embarked in fourteen cartel ſhips, were conveyed to Rochfort in France. The natives of New England acquired great glory from this enterprize; the ſucceſs of which, however, was in no ſmall degree owing to the vigilance and activity of commodore Warren, as brave and experienced an officer as Great Britain could boaſt in her ſervice.

The poſſeſſion of Cape Breton was a moſt valuable acquiſition to Great Britain: it not only diſtreſſed the French in their fiſhery and navigation, but alſo effectually ſecured the Engliſh fiſhers on the Banks of Newfoundland from all apprehenſions of being rivalled or encroached upon in that lucrative branch of trade: it freed New England from the terrors of dangerous neighbours; overawed the Indians of that country; and ſecured the poſſeſſion of Acadia to the crown of Great Britain. His majeſty appeared ſo ſenſible of the important ſervice done him both by the land and ſea commanders on this occaſion, that he was pleaſed to confer the dignity of a baronet on Mr. Pepperell, and to raiſe Mr. Warren to the rank of admiral.

While the continent of Europe and the iſles of America were thus expoſed to the ravages of war, and ſubjected to ſeveral viciſſitudes of fortune, Great Britain underwent a dangerous convulſion in her own bowels by a rebellion, the moſt daring, and, conſidering the little encouragement it met with, the moſt alarming of any that appears in the Engliſh annals; a rebellion which was as fatal in its event, as it was proſperous in its commencement; and which, notwithſtanding its occaſioning ſome few calamities, confirmed in the hand of the ſovereign the ſceptre it meant to ſhake.

As the various incidents which occurred while this rebellion laſted are recent in the minds of moſt of my readers, and are tranſmitted in a number of hiſtories, ſome of which are in almoſt every body's hand, I ſhall not ſwell this work with a minute detail of particulars, but content myſelf with giving a brief and impartial account of the moſt material and intereſting circumſtances, which I ſhall carry down, without any interruption, to its concluſion in 1746.

I have already mentioned the miſcarriage of the invaſion projected in 1744; the ill ſucceſs of which, and the unanimity the Britiſh nation then ſhewed in defending the perſon and government of the reigning monarch, had determined the pretender to lay aſide all thoughts of reſuming an enterprize of that nature; and he had even ordered his ſon Charles to follow his example. Charles, however, was of a different opinion from his father: burning with ambition, and animated with the hopes of aſcending a throne, which he had from his infancy been taught to look upon as the right of his family, he reſolved to make one more effort. In this diſpoſition he was encouraged by the extravagant repreſentations of ſome needy fugitives, and by the perſuaſion of cardinal Tencin, the prime miniſter of France, who aſſured him of the moſt Chriſtian king's protection and aſſiſtance, who, though he entertained a great indifference for the Stuart family, thought it politic, in the preſent ſituation of his own affairs, to give them ſome kind of countenance. Tencin had no ſmall difficulty to perſuade the old pretender to be concerned in this ſcheme. At laſt, however, he ſucceeded, but could never bring the reſt of the French miniſtry to be of his opinion, they looking upon the whole to be an idle Quixotic enterprize. Nevertheleſs, in compliance with the ſeeming will of their monarch, the council determined that a ſhip of war ſhould convoy Charles, in caſe he ſhould chuſe to undertake the enterprize.

Charles appears to have founded his hopes of ſucceſs chiefly on the ſtrength of his own perſonal intereſt and qualifications, in which he had been flattered by the ſanguine miſrepreſentations of a few adventurers, who hoped to profit by the expedition, and boldly aſſured him that the majority of the Engliſh nation was diſaffected to the reigning family; and that the moſt conſiderable perſons in the kingdom would chearfully join him upon his firſt appearance. Cajoled by theſe ſoothing tales, and encouraged by the promiſe of powerful ſuccours from France, he thought he had but to ſet his foot on any part of the Britiſh ſhore, and to ſucceed. Being furniſhed with a ſum of money and a ſupply of arms by the court of Verſailles, he embarked on board of a ſmall frigate at Port St. Lazaro, on the coaſt of Brittany, accompanied by the marquis of Tullibardine and ſir Thomas Sheridan, with a few other Iriſh and Scottiſh adventurers; and ſetting ſail on the fourteenth day of July, was joined off Belleiſle by the Elizabeth, a French ſhip of war of ſixty-ſix guns, as his convoy. Their deſign was to ſail round Ireland, and land on the weſtern coaſt of Scotland; but falling in with the Lion, an Engliſh man of war of fifty-eight guns, commanded by captain Brett, who had been lieutenant of the Centurion under commodore Anſon, a very obſtinate battle enſued; and the Elizabeth being at length diſabled, was obliged to return to Breſt, while the frigate eſcaped, and continued her courſe ſo expeditiouſly, that on the 23d of July the young pretender found himſelf among the weſtern iſles of Scotland, where he continued cruizing till the twenty-ſixth, between the iſlands of Barra and South Viſta; but finding there was no probability of being rejoined by the Elizabeth, the frigate at laſt ſtood in for the coaſt of Lochaber, one of the maritime counties in the north-weſt of Scotland, principally inhabited by papiſts, and on the twenty-ſeventh of July landed the young pretender with his companions at Moidart, between the iſlands of Sky and Mull. The young adventurer went immediately to the houſe of Mr. Macdonald, of Kinloch-Moidart, where he remained for ſome time, before he was in any condition to make a public appearance.

While he was remaining in theſe parts, to wait the coming in of the chieftains of the clans affected to his ſervice, the government received notice of ſuch an attempt, aided by the French court;

and a proclamation was publiſhed, offering a reward of thirty thouſand pounds for the apprehending and ſecuring the eldeſt ſon of the pretender, in caſe he ſhould land, or attempt to land, in any of his majeſty's dominions. The regency alſo ſent arms for the militia of Scotland and Ireland; but at the firſt beginning of the rebellion all intelligence of ſuch an attempt was diſcredited, becauſe it appeared too vain and audacious.

His Britannic majeſty was in his German dominions when he received the firſt intelligence of the arrival of the young pretender in Scotland, which occaſioned his immediate return to London, where he arrived on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, to the great ſatisfaction of all his faithful ſubjects, who knew how ſeaſonable his royal preſence was at this juncture. Charles having declared himſelf in Scotland, ſoon found his party conſiderably augmented, both by the acceſſion of ſeveral of the nobility and gentry, and the numbers they conducted to his ſtandard; ſo that his army was quickly increaſed to 4000 men. In ſhort, the rebellion ſoon wore too formidable an aſpect to be diſregarded. On September 5, his majeſty ſent notice to the lord-mayor of London (ſir Henry Marſhal) that the pretender's eldeſt ſon had landed in Scotland, and that ſeveral perſons had aſſembled there, and broke out into open rebellion; upon which the city of London waited upon his majeſty with a moſt loyal addreſs, and the merchants of this metropolis reſolved to raiſe two regiments at their own expence. Orders were iſſued to keep the trained bands in readineſs, to array the militia of Weſtminſter, and inſtructions were ſent to the ſame effect to the lords lieutenants of the ſeveral counties throughout the kingdom. Orders were likewiſe iſſued for the return of the three battalions of the foot-guards and ſeven regiments of foot from Flanders; and requiſition was made of the ſix thouſand Dutch auxiliaries.

Upon the firſt certainty of the young pretender's arrival in Scotland, ſir John Cope, who commanded the troops in that kingdom, aſſembled what forces he could get together, and advanced againſt the rebels. The latter, however, found means to give Cope the ſlip; and marching ſouthward, took poſſeſſion of Perth on the fourth of September, where the chevalier de St. George was proclaimed king of Great Britain, by the name of James III. There his ſon, the young adventurer, was joined by the titular duke of Perth, the viſcount Strathallern, lord Nairn, lord George Murray, and many perſons of diſtinction, with their followers; and the rebel army, now augmented to near five thouſand men, though very ill provided with arms, croſſed the Forth, in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and advanced towards Edinburgh, of which they took poſſeſſion on the ſeventeenth of September, all oppoſition to them hitherto being weakly or wickedly managed.

By this time general Cope, who had, for greater expedition, in his return ſouthward after the rebels, embarked his troops, was arrived at Dunbar, eighteen miles eaſt of Edinburgh; and having landed his forces, and received a reinforcement of two regiments of dragoons which he had left behind him on his going northward, began his march towards that capital. The rebels did not wait to be attacked by him, but came out to meet him; and on the twenty-firſt of September, at day-break, they ſet upon his little army at Preſton-pans, ſeven miles eaſt of Edinburgh, and totally defeated it, making moſt of his infantry priſoners. The dragoons made their eſcape to Berwick with little loſs, ſave that of the brave colonel Gardiner, a gallant officer, who diſdained to ſave his life at the expence of his honour. From this victory the young pretender reaped manifold and important advantages. His followers were armed, his party encouraged, and his enemies intimidated. He was ſupplied with a train of field artillery and a conſiderable ſum of money, and ſaw himſelf poſſeſſed of all Scotland except the fortreſſes, the reduction of which he could not pretend to undertake without proper implements and engineers.

Theſe advantages ſpread a general conſternation throughout England; but all orders and ranks vied with each other in diſplaying their loyalty. Several noblemen raiſed regiments at their own expence (which however were afterwards paid for by the public) and many aſſociations were entered into for the ſupport of his majeſty's crown and dignity, and the conſtitution in church and ſtate. The ſucceſs of the rebellion, and dread of a threatened invaſion from France, having cauſed a great run upon the Bank, above eleven hundred merchants and eminent tradeſmen met, and ſubſcribed their names to an agreement not to refuſe Bank notes in any payment to be made to them. In Ireland every vigorous and ſalutary method was alſo purſued, to prevent any abetting of the rebellion there by the friends of France and popery; and a reward of fifty thouſand pounds was publiſhed, in purſuance of the addreſs of the Iriſh parliament, for apprehending the pretender's eldeſt ſon. It muſt alſo be obſerved, that although the rebels had made themſelves maſters of Edinburgh, yet the caſtle, which is a very ſtrong fortreſs, was ſecured by general Gueſt, an officer of experience and capacity, who had a good garriſon under him; and upon the firſt news of the rebels advancing towards the city, he had taken care to ſecure all the ſmall arms he could lay hold of, which, with the money of the two Banks, were removed into the caſtle. Immediately after the defeat of Cope, the ſix thouſand Dutch troops, and three battalions of guards, with the ſeven regiments of infantry, now arrived from Flanders, were ordered to begin their march northward, under the command of field-marſhal Wade, who received orders to aſſemble an army, which marched to Newcaſtle; but the inclemency of the weather, and the fatigue that the Engliſh veterans had undergone in the campaign in the Netherlands, occaſioned a general indiſpoſition and a great mortality among the men. This obliged the marſhal to continue at Newcaſtle, where his army was gradually reinforced by ſeveral new-raiſed regiments of volunteers to 14,000 men.

The parliament meeting on the ſixteenth of October, his majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes; in which he gave them to underſtand, that an unnatural rebellion had broke out in Scotland; and that he relied upon their affections to him, and their care and concern for the public ſafety, to take ſuch ſteps as might enable him to extinguiſh this rebellion effectually, to prevent any foreign power from aſſiſting the rebels, and to reſtore the peace of the kingdom. Both houſes returned the moſt dutiful and zealous addreſſes to his majeſty; ſo that the whole ſouthern part of the united kingdom

was preparing for defence. A general ſenſe of the national danger had diffuſed itſelf through every rank of people, and united them as one man, to repel the common calamity with which they were threatened. The commons ſuſpended the Habeas Corpus act; and ſeveral perſons were apprehended on ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices. The government being apprehenſive of a deſcent from France, appointed admiral Vernon to command a ſquadron in the Downs, to obſerve the motions of the enemy by ſea, eſpecially in the harbours of Dunkirk and Boulogne; and his cruizers took ſeveral ſhips carrying ſoldiers, officers, and ammunition, for the ſervice of the young pretender in Scotland.

This enterpriſing youth, after having made ſome unſucceſsful attempts to cut off the communication between the caſtle and city of Edinburgh; and finding his army now increaſed to eight thouſand men, reſolved to make an irruption into England, which he accordingly entered by the weſt border, on the ſixth day of November: on the twelfth he inveſted Carliſle, which ſurrendered in leſs than three days. Here he found a conſiderable quantity of arms, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of Great Britain. Field-marſhal Wade had indeed put himſelf in march to relieve the place; but when he had advanced as far as Hexham he heard of its ſurrender. On the twenty-fourth the rebels, without any moleſtation, arrived at Lancaſter, and on the twenty-ninth took poſſeſſion of Mancheſter, where they formed a regiment of thoſe who had joined them in England, giving the command thereof to Mr. Townley.

By this time the duke of Cumberland was arrived from the Netherlands, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry. On the twenty-ſixth of November his royal highneſs ſet out to take upon him the command of the army, then on its march into Lancaſhire. In the beginning of December the rebels left Mancheſter, paſſed the river Merſey, and advanced to Congleton, as if they intended to meet and engage the duke, whoſe advanced guard was then at Newcaſtle-Under-Line; but ſuddenly they turned off to the left, and marched into Derby, ſeeming to have an intention to ſlip by the duke, and take their way directly to London, where, when the news arrived, it occaſioned inexpreſſible conſternation. The troops in the neighbourhood of the capital were ordered to march, and form a camp upon Finchley common. The run upon the Bank grew more preſſing, and all the public funds fell in their prices. On the fourth of December the rebels entered Derby; and ſoon after, contrary to all expectation, began to retreat northward by the route they came. As ſoon as his royal highneſs the duke got notice of their retreat, he ſet out in purſuit of them with all the cavalry in his army, and one thouſand of his infantry, mounted on ſuch horſes as the country afforded. Marſhal Wade, who had marched ſouthward as far as Wakefield after the rebels, detached a conſiderable body of horſe, under the command of major-general Oglethorpe, for the ſame purpoſe, and returned with the reſt of his army to Newcaſtle. On the eighteenth of December the duke came up with the rear of the rebels at Clifton in Northumberland, and after a ſmart attack drove them from the village with ſome loſs. On the thirtieth his royal highneſs retook Carliſle, after a ſiege of nine days, making their rebel garriſon priſoners, their main army having now reached Scotland: the duke then returned to London. Thus the matter ſtood at the cloſe of the year 1745.

On the fifth of January, 1746, the rebels, who had been ſome time before reinforced by a ſmall body of French and Iriſh under the duke of Perth, who had a commiſſion as general of thoſe auxiliaries, cloſely inveſted the caſtle of Stirling *, in which major general Blakeney commanded: but being ſo very little uſed to enterprizes of this kind, they made little progreſs in their operations. By this time a conſiderable body of forces was aſſembled at Edinburgh, under the conduct of lieutenant-general Hawley, who reſolved to relieve Stirling caſtle, and advanced to Linlithgow, on the thirteenth day of January. Next day his whole army rendezvouſed at Falkirk, while the rebels lay encamped at Torwood. On the ſeventeenth they marched to attack the king's forces; and an engagement was fought on Falkirk moor, in which the forces under Hawley, though much ſuperior in numbers to the rebels, were ſhamefully defeated, and Hawley retreated to Linlithgow, and the next day to Edinburgh, leaving part of his tents and artillery to the victors, who reſumed their attempt againſt Stirling-caſtle.

Upon this misfortune at Falkirk, it was thought expedient that the duke of Cumberland ſhould take upon him the command of the army in Scotland. His royal highneſs accordingly haſtened thither, and put himſelf at the head of the troops at Edinburgh, which conſiſted of fourteen battalions of infantry, two regiments of dragoons, and fifteen hundred Highlanders from Argyleſhire, under the command of colonel Campbel. On the laſt day of January his royal highneſs began his march towards Stirling; but the rebels, inſtead of waiting for him, retired with the greateſt precipitation northward; the duke, with the royal army, following them as faſt as the ſeaſon, and exceſſive bad roads, would permit. He did not arrive at Aberdeen, however, till the twenty-ſeventh of February. The Heſſians under their hereditary prince arrived on the eighth at Edinburgh; for the Dutch troops, it was now diſcovered, could not act, as they conſiſted of part of the garriſons of Menin, Ypres, &c. which had engaged not to ſerve againſt France; and accordingly they were ſoon after ſent home.

* Sterling, Stirling, or Striveling, the capital of a county of the ſame name in Scotland, and a royal burgh, ſtands on the declivity of a ſteep rock, at the foot of which runs the river Forth, with a ſtrong caſtle incloſed with a wall, except towards the north, where it is bounded by the Forth, which is croſſed by a bridge of hewn ſtone. This caſtle commands the paſſes between the north and ſouth of Scotland, was the reſidence of Scottiſh kings, and parliaments were formerly held here. The Highlanders in the rebellion of 1715 endeavoured to poſſeſs themſelves of this caſtle, but were prevented by the late John duke of Argyll. Stirling lies thirty miles north-weſt of Edinburgh.

Mean

Mean while, the rebels reduced the caſtle of Inverneſs and Fort Auguſtus, and laid ſiege to Fort William, and Blair-caſtle of Athol, but failed in both thoſe attempts. They had the advantage in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the king's troops in the Highlands, which however was counterbalanced by the loſs they ſuſtained in the capture of their ſhip the Prince Charles (formerly the Hazard ſloop, ſurprized by them in the harbour of Montroſe) which they had fitted out and ſent to France for money and arms; in her return with which ſhe was ſeized by a party of lord Loudoun's men, with all her crew and cargo. The duke was obliged to wait at Aberdeen for a reinforcement from England, and till the river Spey ſhould become fordable; the Heſſians, with ſome Britiſh regiments, taking poſt at Perth.

On the eighth of April his royal highneſs, with the army under his command, marched from Aberdeen, and on the twelfth paſſed the Spey without oppoſition, the rebels retiring upon his approach, though they might eaſily have obſtructed his paſſage: but indeed, from this, and many other parts of their conduct, they appear to have been under a total infatuation. His royal highneſs then proceeded to Nairn, where he received intelligence that the enemy had advanced from Inverneſs to Culloden, about the diſtance of nine miles from the royal army, with intention to give him battle. In the mean while, the earl of Cromartie and his ſon, who, with two hundred and eighty of their men, had been in Caithneſs to raiſe money and recruits for the rebels, were attacked by the earl of Sutherland's militia, routed, and Cromartie and his ſon, eighteen officers, and one hundred and eighty-five private men made priſoners.

While the duke was reſting in his camp at Nairn to refreſh his men, the rebels, in the night of the fifteenth, marched with an intention to attack the royal army by ſurprize before day-light; but their deſign proved abortive, by reaſon of ſome miſmanagement amongſt them; whereupon they returned to Culloden, reſolving in that ſtation to wait for the duke, who on the ſixteenth of April decamped from Nairn early in the morning; and after a march of nine miles, perceived the rebels drawn up in order of battle, to the number of five thouſand only, as they had not been able to aſſemble all their forces together, for want of money and proviſions. The royal army, which was much more numerous, much better cloathed, fed, and diſciplined, was drawn up in excellent order, and about two o'clock in the afternoon the engagement began.

The rebels, with their uſual fury, attacked the left wing of the royal army, by which ſome regiments of the firſt line were put into diſorder: but thoſe regiments being ſupported by the ſecond line, and the right wing of the rebel army not being properly ſupported by their left, the whole fell into confuſion; and his royal highneſs obtained a complete victory, with a very ſmall loſs. Twelve hundred rebels were ſlain on the field and in the purſuit; and the road, as far as Inverneſs, was ſtrewed with dead bodies. The earl of Kilmarnock was taken in the field of battle; the lord Balmerino ſurrendered himſelf a few days after; the marquis of Tullibardine followed his example: but the moſt extraordinary part of the priſoners were four ladies, who had been very inſtrumental in procuring friends for the Pretender, and one of them in particular, the lady Mackintoſh, though her huſband was at that time an officer in the king's army, had forced a great many of her clan to join the young pretender.

The victory of Culloden put a final end to the rebellion; but the duke continued with the army ſome time, to give proper orders for ſecuring the tranquillity of the country, till having received the ſubmiſſion of almoſt all the clans and chieftains, he returned at length to London, which he entered amidſt the acclamations of the people.

As for the vanquiſhed adventurer, upon his retreat from the field of battle, he had a conference with ſome of his principal adherents; but finding his affairs deſperate, he deſired each of them to conſult his own ſafety, while he himſelf, aſſuming various diſguiſes, wandered from place to place among the mountains and weſtern iſlands, often without any attendant, till two ſhips ſent on purpoſe from France to the coaſt, took him and about thirty of his followers on board, and landed him about the middle of Auguſt at Reſcourt, near Morlaix in Brittany, after he had endured, for near four months, a ſeries of greater hardſhips and calamities than perhaps any other perſon ever ſurvived.

The rebellion thus happily terminated, and peace and ſecurity reſtored to theſe kingdoms, addreſſes poured in from all quarters to his majeſty, felicitating him upon the ſucceſs of his arms, in ſupport of his rightful and juſt cauſe, againſt the inſolent attempts of a proſcribed popiſh pretender. The two houſes of parliament led the way in theſe congratulations, and alſo voted their thanks to his royal highneſs for his great and eminent ſervices, and ſoon after ſettled twenty-five thouſand pounds per annum on him and his male-iſſue.

It was now neceſſary, that thoſe who had violated their fidelity and allegiance to their ſovereign, and involved their country in ſuch calamity and confuſion, ſhould expiate their crimes, by ſatisfying the demands of national juſtice: the ſacrifices made to this claim, however, were as few as could be expected. An act was paſſed for attainting the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie; and the lords Balmerino and Lovat were tried, and found guilty by their peers. Cromartie was afterwards pardoned as to life, and Kilmarnock and Balmerino were beheaded on Tower-hill the eighteenth of Auguſt. Lovat underwent the ſame puniſhment the ſpring of the ſucceeding year. Charles Ratcliffe, eſquire, commonly called the earl of Derwentwater, was alſo beheaded on the eighth of December, by a rule of the court of King's Bench, in purſuance of a ſentence paſſed upon him in 1715, for being concerned in the rebellion in that year. As to the inferior agents in that unnatural attempt, a very inconſiderable number were executed, but a much greater tranſported to America; and notwithſtanding all the outcries of Jacobitiſm, ſtrict juſtice demands the acknowlegement, that no government ever ſhewed more mercy on ſuch an occaſion. A public thankſgiving was held on the ninth of October for the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion, which was obſerved with every ſpecies of public rejoicings that a grateful people could exhibit.

Having

Having thus connected into one view what relates to the riſe, progreſs, and extinction of this rebellion, I ſhall now take a retroſpect of the other remarkable events, as well foreign as domeſtic, of the year 1746.

We have already obſerved, that his majeſty opened the ſeſſion of parliament on the ſixteenth of October, 1745; the primary proceedings of which related only to the domeſtic affairs concerning the rebellion; but as the ſuppreſſion of that commotion was ſpeedily expected, the parliament began to give their attention to the general ſtate of Europe; and on the fourteenth of January, 1746, the king went to the houſe of peers, and in a ſpeech from the throne gave his parliament to underſtand, that the States-general had made preſſing inſtances for his aſſiſtance in the preſent conjuncture, when they were in ſuch danger of being oppreſſed by France in the Netherlands: that he had promiſed to co-operate with them towards oppoſing the further progreſs of their enemies, and even concerted meaſures for that purpoſe. He declared, that it was with regret that he aſked any further aids of his people: he exhorted them to watch over the public credit; and expreſſed his entire dependence on their zeal and unanimity.

To this ſpeech both houſes returned the moſt loyal addreſſes, replete with the warmeſt expreſſions of duty and affection: but juſt as the grand affair of the ſupplies came upon the carpet, a violent commotion happened in the miniſtry, who, on the tenth of February, were all about to reſign their places, as the duke of Newcaſtle and the earl of Harrington, the two ſecretaries of ſtate, actually did; and the earl of Granville was appointed pro tempore ſecretary of ſtate. However, after bringing their royal maſter to their own terms, the former perſons again reſumed their ſeveral functions; and the quiet of the cabinet being again reſtored, the houſe of commons provided for forty thouſand ſeamen, nearly the ſame number of land forces, beſides fifteen regiments raiſed by the nobility, on account of the rebellion, and about twelve thouſand marines. They ſettled funds for the maintenance of the Dutch and Heſſian troops that were in England, as well as for the ſubſidy to the landgrave: they granted three hundred thouſand pounds to the king of Sardinia; four hundred thouſand pounds to the queen of Hungary; three hundred and ten thouſand pounds to defray the expence of eighteen thouſand Hanoverians; about thirty-three thouſand pounds in ſubſidies to the electors of Mentz and Cologne; and five hundred thouſand pounds in a vote of credit and confidence to his majeſty. The whole charge of the current year amounted to ſeven millions two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, which was raiſed by the land and malt taxes, annuities on the additional duties impoſed on glaſs, ſpirituous liquors, a lottery, a deduction from the ſinking fund, and exchequer bills, chargeable on the firſt aids that ſhould be granted in the next ſeſſion of parliament.

With regard to the proceedings of this ſeſſion, they were ſo unanimous as ſcarce to produce a ſingle debate, and therefore are beſt known by the titles of the acts that were paſſed. By one of theſe, the ſum of twenty-five thouſand pounds per annum was added to the revenue of his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, for his gallant behaviour in ſuppreſſing the rebellion; and the thanks of both houſes was voted him upon his gaining the battle of Culloden. By another, the government was impowered to ſummon all ſuſpected perſons in Scotland to appear at Edinburgh, or wherever it ſhould be judged expedient, and oblige them to find ſureties for their peaceable deportment. By a third, the earl of Kellie, the viſcount Strathallern, the lord Pitſligo, and ſeveral other Scottiſh noblemen and gentlemen, were declared attainted, unleſs they ſurrendered themſelves to a juſtice of the peace before the twelfth day of July 1746. By a fourth, the exerciſe of the epiſcopal religion was prohibited in Scotland, except by ſuch miniſters or paſtors as qualified themſelves according to law, by taking the oaths to the government; an act which was deemed the more neceſſary, as moſt of the epiſcopalians in that kingdom were profeſſed Jacobites. A fifth act was paſſed for effectually diſarming the Highlands of Scotland, and preſerving the peace of that part of the country; for reſtraining the uſe of the Highland dreſs, which was ſuppoſed to keep up party-diſtinctions; for indemnifying ſuch perſons as had acted in defence of his majeſty's perſon and government, during the continuance of the unnatural rebellion; and for obliging the maſters and teachers of private ſchools in Scotland to take the oaths to his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors.

As to the war upon the continent this year, it raged with double violence, notwithſtanding the election of an emperor, and the re-eſtabliſhment of peace among the princes of the empire. The acquiſitions made by France in the Netherlands after the battle of Fontenoy, were equally dreadful to the ſurrounding nations, who expected that the remaining part of thoſe important provinces would be ſpeedily over-run. The Dutch in particular were overwhelmed with conſternation, as, after all their temporizing and daſtardly ſubmiſſions to the French court, they ſaw the uplifted arm of the ambitious Lewis ready to tear from them their whole barrier; for, taking advantage of the rebellion in England, which had occaſioned the recal of ſo many of our troops from the Netherlands, he had made a rapid progreſs in his conqueſts. His general, M. Saxe, in the beginning of February this year, laid ſiege to the town of Bruſſels; and though the place was defended by a garriſon of ten thouſand men, yet he compelled it to ſurrender after fifteen days open trenches, and made the garriſon priſoners of war: in fine, the enemy were in poſſeſſion of all the Auſtrian Netherlands, a few fortreſſes excepted. The Dutch looked for nothing leſs than an immediate invaſion of their province of Zealand: the Orange party called aloud for an augmentation of their forces; and that the republic, ſhaking off the lethargy under which it had ſo long remained, ſhould purſue every vigorous meaſure to repel the approaching danger: the common people ecchoed back the cry; they demanded a chief to lead them to the field, and to fix the divided councils of the ſtate; they inſiſted that the prince of Orange ſhould be made ſtadtholder, and even mingled menaces with their demands. In this dilemma the States-general ſent count Boetſlaer to London, to repreſent the imminent danger which threatened the republic; and to ſollicit in the moſt preſſing terms the aſſiſtance of his Britannic majeſty, that the allies might have

a ſuperiority in the Netherlands by the beginning of the campaign. The king was well diſpoſed to comply with their requeſt; but the rebellion in his kingdom, and the diſſenſions in his cabinet, had retarded the ſupplies, and embarraſſed him ſo much, that he found it impoſſible to make thoſe early preparations that were neceſſary to check the career of the enemy. An anſwer to this purport was given to the Dutch ambaſſador. At the ſame time, the friends of the prince of Orange failed of ſucceſs in their attempt to get him elected ſtadtholder; and the command of the few troops that remained for the defence of their country, was conferred on prince Waldeck, a foreigner.

The confederate army was aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, on the twenty-fourth day of March, by marſhal Bathiani, who had only four battalions and nine ſquadrons of the Britiſh troops, thirty-five ſquadrons of the Dutch, ten battalions and ſixteen ſquadrons of Auſtrians, with ſixteen battalions and twenty-ſix ſquadrons of Hanoverians; in all, forty-four thouſand men, under his command, though a large reinforcement was ſpeedily expected, when prince Charles of Lorraine was to appear at the head of the army; but till then Bathiani was obliged to entrench his little army behind the Demer, about ten miles from Antwerp, and fourteen from Bruſſels, where marſhal Saxe was aſſembled with the army of France, conſiſting of one hundred and twenty thouſand men. The French, with their monarch at their head, took the field on the 24th of April, and immediately bent their march towards the confederates; and on the firſt of May obliged them to abandon their advantageous ſituation, and to retire to Antwerp, from whence they were alſo obliged to recede on the ſixth of May, when they retreated to Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant, after leaving a garriſon of two thouſand men in Antwerp.

The French king immediately inveſted this place, which, unable to ſtop the progreſs of ſuch a formidable force, ſurrendered on the ninth of May; but the citadel ſuſtained a ſiege of ſeven days, when the garriſon ſubmitted on honourable terms. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, Lewis ordered the prince of Conti to inveſt Mons with a ſtrong detachment, one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, and eighty mortars. Though the garriſon conſiſted not of more than four thouſand men, they continued for ſome time to make a reſolute defence; but on the twenty-ſeventh day of July were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. The reduction of Mons was followed by that of St. Ghuilain and Charleroi. By the taking of theſe places the French monarch found himſelf abſolute maſter of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault; and now he iſſued an edict, re-annexing to his crown for ever that part which formerly belonged to them by the treaty of Ryſwick in 1697, and which the French had been conſtrained to relinquiſh by the treaty of Utrecht; and his majeſty granted the adminiſtration of the re-united country to monſieur Gerardine.

All this time the allies continued impotent ſpectators of the rapid conqueſts of the enemy, who had now only one formidable town from the ſea to the biſhopric of Liege, unreduced by their army: this was Namur, capital of the province of that name, ſituate at the confluence of the Sambre and the Maeſe; and this place they were determined to bring to their obedience. The confederate army, however, being at length reinforced by the Heſſian troops from Scotland, and a freſh body of Auſtrians under count Palfi, ſo as to amount in the whole to about eighty thouſand men; they reſolved to take the field, and make head againſt the enemy. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had now taken the command, foreſeeing the ſtorm that was preparing againſt Namur, came to the reſolution of marching to the protection of that important city, and on the eighteenth day of July took poſt in an advantageous ſituation in that neighbourhood, and in ſight of the French army, which was encamped at Gemblours.

Here he continued till the eighth of Auguſt, when a detachment of the enemy, under count Lowendahl, ſeized upon Huy, where they found a large magazine belonging to the confederates, whoſe communication with Maeſtricht was thus cut off: upon which prince Charles found himſelf under the neceſſity of quitting his advantageous poſt, of abandoning Namur to its own ſtrength, and retiring on the north ſide of the Maeſe, to draw his ſupplies of proviſion and forage from the duchies of Limberg and Luxemburg. Namur was immediately inveſted by thirty-five thouſand French, under the count de Clermont, who cauſed the trenches to be opened on the ſecond of September; and on the twenty-third the French, after the loſs of four thouſand men (from the vigorous defence made by the Auſtrian garriſon) took poſſeſſion of this important city. Mean while, the allied army lay poſted at Maeſtricht, where they were joined by ſir John Ligonier, with three Britiſh battalions, and by two battalions of Bavarians, being a part of five thouſand men which that elector, ſince his accommodation with the queen of Hungary, had granted to be taken into the pay of the confederates. Prince Charles then reſolved to give the enemy battle. With this view he croſſed the Maeſe, and advanced towards them: but marſhal Saxe, appriſed of his deſign, had poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly at Tongres, twelve miles from Liege, that the confederates were obliged to return to Maeſtricht. But marſhal Saxe being reinforced by the body of troops under the count de Clermont, after the reduction of Namur, determined to bring the confederates to an engagement, who had repaſſed the river Jaar in their retreat. He accordingly croſſed that river after them on the tenth of October, N. S. encamping within a league of them, who were now convinced of the marſhal's intention to attack them; and therefore taking poſſeſſion of the villages of Liers, Warem, and Roucoux, the confederate generals drew up their forces in order of battle.

The French advanced in three columns, with a large train of artillery in their front; and about noon a terrible cannonading began, which laſted till two, with great execution on both ſides. Prince Waldeck, who commanded the left wing, was then attacked with great fury, and after an obſtinate reſiſtance, obliged to give way. The villages were aſſaulted in columns by brigades, who were continually replaced as they were repulſed by thoſe who were poſted there; till at length, ſuperiority of numbers prevailing, the allies were conſtrained to abandon thoſe poſts, and retreat towards Maeſtricht, with the loſs of five thouſand men, among whom, however, were reckoned very few officers;

and the French purchaſed the honour of the day at an expenſive rate, having loſt upwards of nine thouſand men in the action, with a great number of eminent officers, and without obtaining any material advantage, ſince they could not prevent the confederates from making good their retreat to Maeſtricht. With this battle the campaign cloſed in the Netherlands. The allies paſſed the Maeſe, and took up their winter-quarters in the duchies of Limberg and Luxemburg, and the country along the Lower Maeſe, while the French diſpoſed of their troops in their newly-conquered places.

In Italy victory changed ſides this campaign; after having favoured the combined army of France and Spain, ſhe now declared herſelf for the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia. By the peace of Dreſden, which the court of Vienna had concluded with the king of Pruſſia, it had been enabled to ſend, without interruption, ſeveral large reinforcements to the troops in Lombardy, which turned the balance on the ſide of the empreſs queen: prince Lichtenſtein was at the head of 40000 Auſtrians, his Sardinian Majeſty commanded a body of 36000 of his own troops, while the joint armies of France and Spain, including the duke of Modena's troops, did not amount, in the whole, to above 73000 men. The timely arrival of ſuccours from Germany, to make a powerful diverſion on the ſide of the Mantuan, obliged the French and Spaniſh generals to bend their force to that quarter; and this not only relieved the city of Turin from a bombardment, with which it was threatened, but encouraged his Sardinian majeſty to open the campaign with new ſpirit and reſolution. In February, baron Leutrum, the Piedmonteſe general, inveſted and took the ſtrong fortreſs of Aſti; he afterwards obliged the Spaniards to retire from before the citadel of Alexandria, which they had kept blockaded all the winter, and made 1000 of them priſoners in this town. Caſal fell next into his hands, and he recovered Valenza; whereupon M. Maillebois retired with the remainder of his forces from Tortona, into the neighbourhood of Genoa, by which all the Montferrat was freed from an enemy.

Don Philip met with equal diſgraces on his ſide, being obliged to abandon Milan, the capital of his projected empire, on the 8th of March, and to retire to Pavia, whither he was cloſely followed by prince Lichtenſtein, who had ſent a detachment to retake Guaſtalla, which was immediately recovered; and the marquis of Caſtellaer having abandoned Parma, that city, with its artillery, and a large magazine, fell into the hands of the Auſtrians. Don Philip and count Gages, alarmed at the near approach of the enemy, retired under the cannon of Placentia, where they were joined, on the 3d of June, by the French forces under Maillebois, and by the little detached army under Caſtellaer.

In the mean time, his Sardinian majeſty, having recovered all the Piedmonteſe fortreſſes, and driven Maillebois into the Milaneſe, entered that dutchy, to invade the territories of Genoa; where, on the 31ſt of May, he reduced Novi, 25 miles north from Genoa, and then advanced towards the Po, with an intention to join the Auſtrians, and bring the Spaniards and their auxiliaries to an engagement. Before this junction could be effected, however, the army of the three crowns attacked the Auſtrians in their camp at St. Lazaro, which brought on a moſt deſperate battle, in which Count de Gages and M. Maillebois acquitted themſelves with the greateſt intrepidity, and had actually forced the entrance into the Auſtrian intrenchments, and ſeized ſome cannon which defended the lines; yet it all proved ineffectual; the better fortune of the Auſtrians prevailed, the combined forces were routed, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation to Placentia, whither the victors did not think proper to purſue them. The combined forces had nine thouſand men killed and wounded, and near ſix thouſand taken priſoners, while the Auſtrians loſt only four thouſand three hundred men.

A ſhort time after the Auſtrians were joined by the Piedmonteſe, the king of Sardinia aſſumed the chief command, and prince Lichtenſtein being obliged to quit the army, to recover his health, was replaced by the marquis de Botta. Gages and Maillebois, leaving the marquis de Caſtellaer with four hundred men, to defend Placentia, intrenched themſelves between the Lambro and the Adda: from this poſt his Sardinian majeſty, who was now at the head of ſixty-four thouſand men, reſolved to diſlodge them; which he accordingly effected by the battle of Rotto Freddo, fought on the ninth day of Auguſt, when the enemy was obliged to retreat, in great diſorder, to Tortona, with the loſs of eight thouſand men, a conſiderable number of colours and ſtandards, and eighteen pieces of cannon. The Auſtrians however ſuffered conſiderably, having four thouſand men killed outright, among whom was the gallant general Bernklau. Immediately upon this victory Placentia ſurrendered, and its garriſon of nine thouſand men were made priſoners of war. Don Philip continued his retreat into the territories of Genoa; but his army was, by this time, reduced to leſs than thirty thouſand men: ſo that, unable to maintain his ground, he put his troops again into motion, and returned into Provence. The court of Madrid, enraged at the ill ſucceſs of its arms, and thinking, by changing its general, to change its fortune, recalled count Gages from the command of the Spaniſh forces, which was again beſtowed upon the marquis de las Minas.

In the mean time, the victorious confederates appeared before Genoa, on the fourth day of December: the ſenate finding itſelf abandoned by its allies, and unable to make any reſiſtance, were obliged to deliver up the gates of their city to the Auſtrians, together with all their arms, artillery, and ammunition. The marquis de Botta was left in the ſubjected city, with ſixteen hundred men; but this general, exacting the moſt ſevere contributions, and otherwiſe behaving in a haughty, and even cruel manner to this ſubjected people, irritated beyond farther ſufferance, they flew to arms; and being joined by the peaſants of all the neighbouring villages, and privately inſtigated and encouraged by the ſenate, they became ſo formidable, as, in a few days, to drive the Auſtrians out of the territories of the republic, after having killed and made priſoners great numbers. On the other hand, marſhal Brown, with an Auſtrian army, paſſed the river Var, and took poſſeſſion of Vence, the firſt town on that ſide in France. The French troops under M. Belleiſle, who had been ſent to ſuperſede Maillebois, in their retreat, made the whole country a deſert.

During theſe tranſactions, an event happened, which had ſome influence on the affairs of Europe; this

this was the death of Philip of Spain, in the ſixty-third year of his age. He had received, a little before his death, a letter from count Gages, with an account of the battle of San Lazaro; the loſs of which, that general attributed to the peremptory orders which had been ſent him from the court of Madrid, where the queen of Spain managed every thing as ſhe pleaſed; and this circumſtance, it was ſuppoſed, haſtened the king's end. He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Ferdinand, born of Maria Louiſa Gabriela, ſiſter to the king of Sardinia. The ſame month (July) was remarkable for the death of Chriſtian VI. king of Denmark, who was ſucceeded by his ſon Frederick V. who had married the princeſs Louiſa, youngeſt daughter to king George II.

The naval tranſactions of this year redounded very little to the honour of the Britiſh nation. The reader may remember, that commodore Barnet was ſent in the year 1744 with a ſquadron to the Eaſt Indies, where he made ſome conſiderable captures: upon the intelligence of which, the French monarch granted a commiſſion to monſieur de la Bourdonnais, who had the command of a French ſquadron in thoſe parts, conſtituting him commander in chief, as well of the ſhips of war belonging to France in thoſe ſeas, as of thoſe belonging to their Eaſt India company. Monſieur de la Bourdonnais having received this commiſſion, applied his whole attention how to oppreſs the Britiſh company; and as the moſt effectual way determined to attempt the reduction of Madraſs or Fort St. George. Barnet, the Engliſh commodore, died in the Indies, and was ſucceeded in command by captain Peyton, who had under him ſix ſhips of war, from ſixty to forty guns, which was more than a match for the French commodore. Nevertheleſs, upon the latter's appearing before Madraſs, Peyton declined an engagement, and abandoned that important ſettlement, which was taken without oppoſition by la Bourdonnais in the beginning of September. The French afterwards made an attempt upon St. David's, another of our ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies; but by the valour of the garriſon, and the arrival of commodore Griffin from Europe, with a ſtrong reinforcement of ſhips of war, the enemy were obliged to abandon their enterprize.

Nothing of importance happened in America this year, though it was a ſcene that ſeemed to promiſe the greateſt ſucceſs to the arms of England. Indeed our miniſtry, encouraged by the reduction of Cape Breton, had projected the conqueſt of Quebec, the capital of Canada, ſituate on the river St. Laurence. With this view a powerful ſquadron was fitted out at Portſmouth in the beginning of April, and commiſſions were ſent to the governors of the Britiſh colonies in North America, impowering them to raiſe companies to join the armament from England, which was to be commanded by admiral Leſtock and general Sinclair; but by ſome unaccountable delays, the departure of the fleet was poſtponed till it was no longer the ſeaſon to riſque the great ſhips on the boiſterous coaſt of North America. On the other hand, the court of Verſailles were as little ſucceſsful in their operations by ſea; for having ſent a formidable ſquadron, under the duke d'Anville, with three thouſand land-forces on board, to the Weſt Indies, as a convoy to a large fleet of merchant ſhips bound to that part of the world, and afterwards to undertake ſomewhat of importance againſt our ſettlements in North America, they met with ſuch ſtorms, and were afflicted with ſuch a ſickneſs, upon their voyage to Chebucto harbour in Nova Scotia, where they caſt anchor on the ſixteenth of September, that they could undertake nothing, and returned in a ſhattered and miſerable condition to Europe, after having loſt the duke their chief commander.

The Britiſh miniſtry, not willing that the expenſive armament they had fitted out for the reduction of Quebec, ſhould be wholly uſeleſs to the nation, reſolved it ſhould attempt a deſcent upon the coaſt of Brittany; if poſſible, to make themſelves maſters of port l'Orient, the repoſitory of all the ſtores and ſhips belonging to the French Eaſt-India company. The ſquadrons deſtined for this expedition, conſiſted of ſixteen great ſhips, eight frigates, and two bomb-ketches, commanded by Richard Leſtock, Eſq; who, ſince his acquittal by his court-martial, had been made admiral of the blue; eight battalions of land troops, with a detachment of matroſſes and bombardiers, were embarked in thirty tranſports, under the conduct of lieutenant general St. Clair; and the whole ſailed from Plymouth on the fourteenth day of September, ſteering directly for the coaſt of Brittany, which they made on the ſeventeenth, and at night anchored in the road of Polduc.

The appearance of ſo numerous a fleet, occaſioned unſpeakable terror among the inhabitants of the coaſt, as the beſt of its militia had been either ſent to Flanders and Italy, or to America, with the duke d'Anville; ſo that if the Britiſh forces had immediately landed, nothing could have prevented their ſurpriſing the city of Port l'Orient; but as they did not make their deſcent till the twentieth, in the afternoon, the French took the advantage of this delay, to put themſelves in as good a poſture of defence as time and circumſtances would allow. The ramparts were mounted with cannon from the ſhips in the harbour; new works were raiſed with ſurpriſing expedition; the garriſon was reinforced by ſeveral bodies of regular troops; and great numbers were aſſembled from all parts; ſo that our forces were in danger of being ſurrounded in an enemy's country. General St. Clair however cauſed a ſmall battery to be built, and began to open trenches before the place; but the fire from the town was ſo greatly ſuperior to that of the Engliſh, and ſtill continued to encreaſe; and admiral Leſtock declaring, in repeated meſſages, that in ſuch an advanced ſeaſon of the year, he could not, nor would not, continue with the great ſhips on that dangerous coaſt; St. Clair found there was nothing left for him but to retreat, which he effected in good order, and reimbarked with his troops on the twenty-eighth. Aſhamed, however, to quit the enemy's coaſt without doing ſomething, the fleet ſailed to Quiberon Bay, where they deſtroyed the Ardent, a French ſhip of the line, and afterwards made a deſcent on the peninſula, while the little iſlands of Houat and Heydic were reduced by the ſailors. This, however, was an enterprize as ill concerted as that againſt Port L'Orient had been executed; for theſe being almoſt deſart iſlands, the taking of

them could anſwer no purpoſe. About the middle of October our fleet ſailed from the French coaſt, and returned to England. Thus this great armament, twice baffled in its enterprizes, produced nothing but blunders and laughter; whereas every other part of the war was too ſerious and too terrible.

The parliament meeting on the eighteenth of November, the king made a ſpeech to both houſes; in which, after taking notice of the ſignal ſucceſs which had attended the arms of his good allies the empreſs-queen and the king of Sardinia in Italy; and that an irruption was now actually making into France, by which that kingdom muſt be greatly diſtreſſed; he acquainted them, that having had ſome intimations of the enemy being inclined towards a pacification, he, to ſhow his ſincere diſpoſition towards the ſame, had conſented to the holding conferences at Breda; but that, in the mean time, he thought it highly neceſſary to take proper meaſures for purſuing the war with vigour; and for that purpoſe, that the confederate army in the Netherlands might be ſeaſonably augmented. He ſaid, he was ſorry to be obliged at the ſame time to acquaint them, that by reaſon of the unavoidable accidents and conſequences of war, the funds appropriated for the ſupport of his civil government had for ſome years paſt fallen greatly ſhort of the revenue intended and granted by parliament; and therefore he relied on their known affection to him, to find out ſome method to make good this deficiency.

The conductors of the former oppoſition in the houſe of commons, being now almoſt all of them concerned in, or connected with the adminiſtration, that houſe breathed only the moſt affectionate and complying addreſſes, which they enforced with a liberality that almoſt exceeds the bounds of credibility; for when they came to conſider the ſupply, they voted four hundred and thirty-three thouſand pounds to the empreſs-queen of Hungary, and three hundred thouſand to the king of Sardinia: they granted four hundred and ten thouſand pounds for eighteen thouſand Hanoverians, and one hundred ſixty-one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeven pounds for ſix thouſand Heſſians: they continued the ſubſidies to the electors of Cologne, Mentz, and Bavaria; and gave five hundred thouſand pounds to enable his majeſty to carry on the war with advantage: in a word, the whole of the ſupply amounted to no leſs than nine millions four hundred and twenty-five thouſand two hundred and fifty-four pounds. This was raiſed by a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound; by transferable annuities, at an intereſt of four, and a premium of ten per cent. and by new duties on houſes and windows, on coaches and wheel-carriages.

The king, in return for this liberality of his commons, and to convince his people in general that he was deſirous, by every poſſible means, to reduce the public expence, ſent a meſſage by Mr. Fox, ſecretary at war, to the houſe of commons, ſignifying his majeſty's conſent to the reduction of three regiments of horſe into dragoons, and propoſed the diſbanding the third and fourth troops of his own life-guards; by which reduction about ſeventy thouſand pounds a-year would be ſaved to the public; and, in caſe of neceſſity, a more numerous body of troops might be furniſhed for the ſame money. This propoſition was received by the commons with the warmeſt ſentiments of gratitude and thankfulneſs, which they expreſſed by a moſt loyal and affectionate addreſs. The enemies of England, however, affected to conſider this inſtance of oeconomy in her king as a proof of his inability to proſecute the war: but their rejoicing on this account ſoon received a deadly damp, on hearing that the commons of Britain, who were chiefly to be affected by the expence, had voluntarily, and almoſt unanimouſly, voted a larger ſum than had ever been granted in any one year for carrying on the war.

The ſpirit and zeal in the Engliſh parliament were in great meaſure owing to the pride and arrogance of the court of Verſailles. The States-general had received a public memorial in the year 1745 from the French monarch, inviting them to hold a general congreſs; to which they conſented: but the hard and unacceptable conditions propoſed by Lewis to their High Mightineſſes, rendered the negociation unſucceſsful. However, it gave riſe to the opening of conferences in this preſent year, 1746, at Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant, where the earl of Sandwich, the Britiſh plenipotentiary, and the marquis de Puiſieux, the plenipotentiary of France, met count Waſſenaer, the Dutch miniſter, on the eighteenth of September, each of them being commiſſioned to enter upon a treaty for preventing the calamities of ſo ruinous a war: the count de Harrach was alſo ſent as a plenipotentiary from the court of Vienna. The conduct of the French, however, ſoon evinced their little inclination of coming to an accommodation. The firſt propoſal made by the earl of Sandwich was, that a ceſſation of hoſtilities ſhould immediately take place: but the French miniſter would conſent to no armiſtice, without the allies would accept of ſuch conditions as ſhould be dictated by the court of Verſailles. He even declared, that he had no power to admit of the title of Imperial majeſty, aſſumed by the court of Vienna, unleſs his court was indemnified for the extraordinary expences of the war occaſioned, he ſaid, by the obſtinacy of the queen of Hungary, and unleſs that princeſs would give full ſatisfaction to all the allies of France. He added, that he had inſtructions to admit of no mention, in the preliminaries, of the houſe of Stuart as having no right to the crown of Great Britain; becauſe his moſt Chriſtian majeſty would be entirely free and unreſtrained in reſpect to that houſe. From theſe arrogant declarations, which were more ſuitable to an abſolute conqueror than a negociator, it evidently appeared that the French were far from being heartily diſpoſed to a peace: on the contrary, they were reſolved to try the event of another campaign, during which they hoped they ſhould be able either to draw off the Dutch from their connections with the allies, or at leaſt to make themſelves maſters of the whole of their country. The conferences therefore immediately broke up, and the miniſters returned to their reſpective courts.

Ferdinand, the new king of Spain, immediately upon his acceſſion to the throne, took ſuch meaſures as ſeemed to indicate a diſpoſition to peace, and to promote the felicity of his ſubjects, by relieving them from all the perplexities of war. He not only manifeſted a reſentment againſt the French miniſters, whom he charged with having

ſacrificed the true intereſts of his father, but actually made ſeveral overtures for terminating the differences between his crown and that of England. The Britiſh miniſtry hereupon ſent the marquis de Tabernega, a Spaniſh nobleman, who was, or pretended to have been, formerly a favourite of the new king, when prince of Aſturias, and who had long reſided in England, to Madrid, and entruſted him with propoſals to his Catholic majeſty; but from the courſe of the proceeding, it did not appear that this nobleman retained the leaſt degree of influence with Ferdinand, or was ever permitted to return into his preſence. Nevertheleſs, the negociation went ſo far, that the king of Portugal, as being the moſt proper power in Europe, undertook the office of mediator, and ſir Benjamin Keene was ſent to Liſbon on the part of Great Britain; but the influence of the queen-mother and the French party, with whom ſhe acted in the ſtricteſt concert, predominated in the councils of the court of Madrid: and this pacific ſcheme, however promiſing in appearance, proved in the end abortive.

This diſappointment, together with the rejection of a pacification at Breda, ſeem to have inſpired the Britiſh cabinet with a more than common martial ſpirit. The earl of Sandwich was ſent to the Hague to ſettle the contingencies of the war in the moſt effectual manner, and to bring the Dutch, if poſſible, to act upon the ſame plan as was purſued in the confederacy between England, Holland, and the houſe of Auſtria, againſt Lewis XIV. The concluſion of the laſt campaign, and the arrogance of the French in their late negociation, had by this time convinced their High Mightineſſes, that nothing leſs than the revival of ſuch a confederacy could oppoſe the irreſiſtible force of France, or preſerve their own liberties. Obliged, therefore, to conſult their own ſecurity in that of their allies, lord Sandwich found them in a diſpoſition to embrace his propoſals, and to adopt the moſt vigorous and reſolute meaſures; and a convention was entered into, by which Great Britain was to furniſh forty thouſand men, the States-general the like number, and the empreſs-queen ſixty thouſand; in all, one hundred and forty thouſand; theſe were to be excluſive of garriſons: and her Imperial majeſty alſo obliged herſelf to maintain ten thouſand men in the duchy of Luxemburg, to effect a junction of ſixty thouſand Auſtrians and thirteen thouſand Piedmonteſe, for the purpoſe of making an irruption into France on the ſide of Provence: and, laſtly, to employ a ſeparate body of fifty thouſand men on the Panaro, to keep in awe the king of the Two Sicilies, who, tho' he had re-embraced his neutrality, ſtill kept a conſiderable body of troops in pay. The Dutch being at length brought to act with reſolution, the duke of Cumberland ſet out for Holland about the beginning of December, to concert with marſhal Bathiani the plan of operations for the next campaign, in which he was to act as commander in chief of the confederate forces.

Before I conclude the events of this year, I muſt take notice of the diſmiſſion of the gallant admiral Vernon from his majeſty's ſervice. The great merits of this naval officer were univerſally acknowleged; but he had a warmth in his diſpoſition which frequently hurried him into exceſſes of reſentment which in his cooler moments he muſt certainly have condemned. He had thought himſelf ill uſed in ſeveral inſtances by the board of admiralty, to whom he had therefore ſet himſelf in open oppoſition, and had even, in defiance of their authority, exerted ſeveral privileges which belonged alone to that board. The lords commiſſioners expoſtulated with him thereupon. Their mildneſs had the contrary effect from what was intended by it: it begat in the admiral a contempt of their power, who, he thought, were afraid of diſplacing one ſo popular as himſelf. He anſwered their remonſtrances in the moſt harſh and indecent terms: he even went ſo faras to publiſh ſeveral lettetrs that had been ſent to him from that board, as well as from the miniſtry; many of which were ſuch as, in ſtrictneſs of honour, as well as in point of prudence, ought not to have been expoſed to view. Such a procedure was certainly not to be overlooked by any government that was willing to retain the leaſt ſhadow of authority. Mr. Vernon having openly avowed his being the publiſher of thoſe letters, the lords of the admiralty were forced to ſend for him, and to inform him that his majeſty had commanded them to ſtrike his name out of the liſt of the admirals; and the command of the ſquadron for Channel ſervice was beſtowed upon vice-admiral Martin, who was very active in ſuppreſſing the French privateers.

It was in this year that the court-martials on the admirals Matthews and Leſtock unanimouſly acquitted the latter, and declared Mr. Matthews incapable of ſerving in the royal navy for the future. It deſerves to be recorded, to the great honour of our conſtitution, that this court-martial having come to ſome inſulting reſolutions upon a proceſs being ſerved upon one of their members from the court of Common Pleas, tending to defame lord chief-juſtice Willes, who preſided in that court, were compelled to aſk pardon in open court of that magiſtrate, and to publiſh a recantation in the London Gazette.

The cruizers on all ſides, Engliſh, French, and Spaniards, were extremely active during the whole courſe of this year; and though we loſt a greater number of ſhips, this difference was more than compenſated, by the ſuperior value of the prizes taken from the enemy. From the French we took three ſhips of war, thirty-eight privateers, two Guinea ſhips, and ninety-four veſſels from St. Domingo and Martinico: and from the Spaniards, thirteen privateers and forty-ſeven merchant veſſels, including ſix regiſter ſhips, and ſeveral other veſſels, amounting in all (of both nations) to one hundred and forty-three. But war was not the only enemy to the opulence of Spain: its calamities were aggravated by the viſiting hand of heaven; and Lima, the capital of Peru, was ſwallowed up by a moſt tremendous earthquake, which began on the ſeventeenth of October, and continued till the tenth of November in very frequent and dreadful ſhocks, when it ended, after cauſing the total deſtruction of a populous city, ſix miles in circumference, as well as the fine port of Callao, and upwards of eighteen thouſand inhabitants, together with the public treaſure, to the amount of three millions of piaſtres, or about ſeven hundred thouſand pounds of our money, which had been accumulated there ſince the commencement of the war, and was not to be conveyed to Europe till the concluſion of a peace.

France,

France, notwithſtanding all her acquiſitions in the Netherlands, was ſo debilitated by her extraordinary efforts, that ſhe had only one violent puſh to make to enſure her the full completion of her extenſive projects. She could no longer depend on the king of Pruſſia, who had declared for a neutrality, as had alſo the princes of the empire. She was now deſtitute of the imperial name, authority, and troops: the forces of the elector-palatine and the landgrave of Heſſe no longer acted on her ſide; and the king of Naples had been obliged to recal his troops into his own dominions; ſo that ſhe was reduced, only with the aſſiſtance of Spain and Genoa, to make head againſt the forces of the Engliſh, Dutch, Auſtrians, and Piedmonteſe, which in a ſhort time muſt inevitably overpower all the reſiſtance ſhe could make. In this ſituation, it was reſolved by the council of Verſailles to make greater efforts than ever had been done in any former period. His moſt Chriſtian majeſty propoſed to open the campaign in perſon, at the head of one hundred and fifty thouſand men in the Netherlands; and ſixty thouſand were ordered to take the field in Provence. To give the greater effect to this immenſe armament, the French king revived in the perſon of marſhal Saxe, the title of marſhal de camp general, which empowered him to command not only the marſhals of France, but princes of the blood; an honour which had not been poſſeſſed by any perſon ſince the time of the great Turenne.

The duke of Cumberland had made excellent diſpoſitions for taking the field early in the ſpring; and accordingly, in the month of February 1747, though the ſeaſon was then remarkably ſevere, he began to draw the troops from their cantonments, and towards the latter end of March they took the field in three ſeveral bodies. His royal highneſs fixed his head-quarters at the village of Filberg, eleven miles from Breda, with eight thouſand Engliſh, eighteen thouſand Hanoverians, and ſix thouſand Heſſians; the Dutch were aſſembled at Breda, under prince Waldeck; and the Auſtrians, with four thouſand Bavarians, were collected in the neighbourhood of Venlo, on the eaſtern ſide of the Maeſe, under the command of marſhal count Bathiani: but though the whole army ſhould have conſiſted of one hundred and forty thouſand men, they did not amount to more than one hundred and twenty-ſix thouſand. Beſides, the confederates, through the inexcuſable negligence of the Dutch and Auſtrians, were ill provided even with the common neceſſaries of life; and were obliged, notwithſtanding their early appearance in the field, to continue inactive for ſix weeks together; while marſhal Saxe, in the mean time, kept his troops in their cantonments, between Antwerp, Bruges, and Bruſſels, where they were furniſhed with plenty of proviſions, and exempt from all kind of labour and fatigue. By keeping his troops in this good condition, he had leiſure to form a plan of operations which, if ſteadily purſued, bid fair to do credit to his new dignity. This was no other than to carry the arms of France into the very heart of the United Provinces, by inſtantly attacking Dutch Brabant. He tranſmitted his plan to the miniſtry at Verſailles, where a council was held to take it into conſideration; and being ſtrongly ſupported by cardinal Tencin and his party, and countenanced by the approbation of the monarch, it prevailed againſt the leſs ſanguine, but more prudent, part of the members; and orders were immediately diſpatched to the marſhal to begin his operations without delay, who had provided a large train of artillery at Ghent ready for the enterprize.

As a previous ſtep to this invaſion, a declaration was drawn up in the name of the French monarch, and communicated to the States-general by the abbé de la Ville, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's miniſter at the Hague. In this declaration great complaint was made of the States having afforded an aſylum in their dominions to the enemies of France, and thereby given them an opportunity of diſturbing the territories which ſhe had conquered from the queen of Hungary. The memorial farther imported, that the French king was obliged to take this ſtep by the neceſſity of war; but that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, to ſhew the tenderneſs and regard he ſtill retained for the republic, had given the moſt peremptory orders that his troops ſhould obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline, without interfering with the religion, government, or commerce of the republic. He likewiſe declared, that the countries and places, of which his army might be obliged to take poſſeſſion, ſhould be conſidered as no other than a pledge, which, as ſoon as the republic ſhould give him a ſufficient aſſurance they would no longer aſſiſt the enemies of his crown, he would readily reſtore.

Their High Mightineſſes had ſcarcely peruſed this famous memorial, when, to their terror and amazement, they found the French burſting open their barrier. Marſhal Saxe had entruſted the execution of his military operations againſt Dutch Flanders to count Lowendahl, who was his intimate friend and relation: and this general, aſſiſted by the marquis de Contades, marched from Ghent and inveſted Sluys, at the head of twenty-ſeven thouſand men. This fortreſs, formerly of conſiderable conſequence, but now in a declining condition, ſurrendered in a few days. The ſame was the fate of Sas Van Ghent, and of ſeveral other places of leſs importance, before the end of the month of April. The next place that Lowendahl inveſted was Hulſt; to the aſſiſtance of which the confederates ſent a detachment of three Engliſh battalions, under general Fuller. Part of theſe battalions being poſted in the fort of Sanberg, which covered Hulſt, continued to defend the place for ſome time with great reſolution, and even ſucceſs; but at length, overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to retreat to Welſthoorden, and leave the French to form the ſiege. The duke of Cumberland did indeed advance at the head of nine battalions, and made a ſurpriſing expeditious march, to ſave this important fortreſs; but juſt as he arrived in ſight of the town, it was infamouſly ſurrendered by the Dutch governor, though, it is ſaid, he had certain intelligence that theſe ſuccours would be there the very day he gave it up. But he was a mercenary hireling of France, as many more of his countrymen were at that time; and the firſt intimation the duke received of this event was by a general diſcharge of the artillery from the fortifications upon his troops; by which a great many lives were loſt, and his royal highneſs's own perſon in the moſt imminent danger. Lowendahl continuing his rapid progreſs, ſoon after compleated the reduction of all Dutch Flanders.

This ſucceſsful invaſion of their dominions by ſo powerful an enemy, at length rouſed the Dutch to ſuch a degree as procured a ſudden change in their government. The populace roſe in all parts of the United Provinces, exclaiming that they were now in a worſe condition than when invaded by Lewis XIV. in 1672; that they had been betrayed by their governors; and therefore, that it was high time to take the adminiſtration out of their hands, and veſt it in thoſe of a ſtadtholder; and that this ſtadtholder ſhould be no other than the head of the houſe of Orange. The name of this prince was William-Henry Frizo, prince of Naſſau-Diets, who had been left by William III king of England, ſucceſſor to the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Orange. The preſent prince, as hath been already obſerved, had eſpouſed the princeſs Anne, eldeſt daughter to his Britannic majeſty. The ſtates of Zealand were the firſt who, giving way to the national voice, and duly attentive to the intereſts of their country, appointed him their captain-general and admiral. Their example was followed by Rotterdam, and the whole province of Holland; and on the ſecond day of May his ſerene highneſs was inveſted with the power and dignity of ſtadtholder, captain-general, and admiral, of the ſeven United Provinces. This alteration in the Dutch government was productive of the moſt beneficial conſequences to the republic, to her allies, and indeed to all Europe. All commerce and contracts with the French were now prohibited; the peaſants were armed and exerciſed; a reſolution was made to augment the army with thirty thouſand men; the city of Amſterdam began to raiſe eighteen companies of militia, of one hundred men each; and ſeveral other cities followed their example. A council of war was eſtabliſhed for examining into the conduct of thoſe governors who had too haſtily given up the frontier towns; and orders were iſſued for commencing hoſtilities againſt the French, both by ſea and land.

In order alſo to counterbalance the great ſuperiority which the French poſſeſſed upon the continent, his Britannic majeſty formed a reſolution of engaging a body of Ruſſians in his ſervice. This meaſure had been ſome time in agitation; and the czarina, who had no reaſon to be ſatisfied with the court of Verſailles, ſeemed extremely well diſpoſed to agree to ſuch an expedient. The negociation, however, was attended with conſiderable difficulties; but at length her czarian majeſty ſigned a treaty with our court, whereby, in conſideration of an annual ſubſidy of three hundred thouſand pounds, ſhe engaged to keep on foot during the war, upon the frontiers of Livonia, a body of fifty thouſand foot, and forty or fifty gallies upon the coaſts of that province, to act in ſuch manner as his Britannic majeſty ſhould require in aſſiſtance of his allies. The States-general had been called upon early in this year, to take their ſhare both of the engagement and expence: but ſo dilatory had been their meaſures, that this proviſion was not ſtipulated till the ſummer; by which the advantages expected from this alliance were rendered ineffectual for this year's campaign.

So cloſe a connection, however, had now been eſtabliſhed between Great Britain and the States-general; and ſo ſenſible were the latter of the danger to which they were expoſed, that they were willing to co-operate heartily with the former in proſecuting the war: but as the Dutch had no good opinion of the ſitting parliament of Great Britain, which had worn ſo many various complexions, and which had concurred in ſuch various meaſures and oppoſitions, they inſiſted upon its being diſſolved, previous to their fully exerting themſelves. In order to remove all their doubts, his majeſty, notwithſtanding the ſeeming harmony ſubſiſting between him and this great aſſembly of the nation, reſolved, with the advice of his council, to diſſolve the preſent parliament, though it had not as yet ſat above ſix years. Accordingly, when the buſineſs of the ſeſſion was diſpatched, the king having given the royal aſſent to the ſeveral acts they had prepared, diſmiſſed them on the eighteenth of June, with a ſpeech filled with the moſt warm, the moſt tender, and the moſt grateful acknowlegements of the loyalty, zeal, and tenderneſs, he had experienced from them in the moſt critical emergencies of government: a conduct, he ſaid, that muſt for ever endear the memory of this parliament to poſterity. But, he obſerved, that as this parliament would neceſſarily determine in a ſhort time; and as nothing would give ſo much weight and credit to our affairs abroad in the preſent conjuncture, as to ſhew the dependence he had on the affections of his people, he had judged it expedient ſpeedily to call a new parliament, not in the leaſt doubting to receive new proofs of the ſame loyalty and affection of his faithful ſubjects in the choice of their repreſentatives. In conſequence of this declaration, the parliament was diſſolved, and writs were iſſued for ſummoning a new one. Among the laws paſſed this ſeſſion was an act for taking away and aboliſhing the heritable juriſdictions and tenor of ward-holdings in Scotland, which were reckoned among the principal ſources of thoſe rebellions which had broke out ſince the Revolution.

While count Lowendahl and the marquis de Contades were extending the French conqueſts in Dutch Flanders, marſhal Saxe, with their grand army, remained in their cantonments. The confederates, about the middle of April, began to rouſe from that ſtate of inaction, in which they had now continued above fourteen weeks, and formed a deſign to retake Antwerp: but this city was ſo effectually covered by the French grand army, and ſo well fortified and garriſoned, that they ſoon found the enterprize impracticable: upon which his royal highneſs the duke thought proper to take poſt between the Great and Little Nethes, to cover Bergen-op-Zoom and Maeſtricht. In the month of May the French king arrived at Bruſſels; and his general, marſhal Saxe having called in his detachments, made the whole army quit its cantonments, in order to diſlodge the confederates from the ſiege of Maeſtricht. With this view, he advanced towards Louvain; and the confederates perceiving his aim, put their army into motion alſo, to take poſt between that town and the enemy. On the twentieth day of July they took poſſeſſion of their ground, when the duke drew the army up in order of battle, placing his right at Beilen, and his left at Wirle; having in the front of the left wing the village of Val, or Laffeldt, in which he poſted five battalions of Britiſh and Hanoverian infantry. The French had taken poſſeſſion of the heights

heights of Herdeeren, immediately above the allies, and both armies cannonaded each other till the evening.

By day-break, on the twenty-firſt of June, the French marſhal put his troops in motion; and by nine o'clock the confederate generals diſcerned the enemy's infantry marching down the hill, in a vaſt column, of ten battalions in front, and as many in depth, and advancing directly towards the village of Val, being a ſmall incloſure with five houſes in it, and which the confederates had ſtrongly fortified. It muſt be acknowleged, that no troops ever made an attack under more diſadvantages than thoſe of the French, on this occaſion. The ſituation of the ground was particularly againſt them; for, from ſeveral little eminences which commanded the face of the hill of Herdeeren, the Engliſh had placed batteries ſo as to play full upon their infantry, as well as upon the ſquadrons of horſe, their right and front flanks, during their deſcent. Add to this, that a cold rain, which had fallen almoſt inceſſantly for twelve or fourteen hours, had rendered the ground ſo ſlippery that the troops could hardly keep their feet. Notwithſtanding theſe obſtacles, and the heavy fire of the confederates, which did terrible execution among the French, they bore ſtill forwards with amazing reſolution, and about twelve o'clock began their attack againſt Val with great vigour and intrepidity; and were received with equal courage, and their firſt brigades diſperſed with prodigious loſs, as were their ſecond, third, and fourth diviſions; but freſh troops ſtill ſucceeding theſe with invincible perſeverance, the confederates, overpowered by numbers, were obliged finally to abandon the village, after it had been loſt and recovered four ſeveral times. The action was chiefly confined to this narrow ſpot, which was in a manner choaked with the bodies of the dead and wounded.

The duke of Cumberland perceiving how gallantly the Britiſh and Hanoverians behaved in the village, ordered the left wing to advance upon the French. The center likewiſe began to advance under prince Waldeck, who was at the head of the Dutch the whole day; and marſhal Bathiani brought up the Auſtrians towards Herdeeren, to annoy the flanks of the enemy. The French on their ſide prepared to receive the confederates, whoſe diſpoſitions, however, had been ſo well concerted as to enſure them the victory, in all human probability, when their plan was entirely overthrown, and the fortune of the day ſuddenly changed to their prejudice, by the daſtardly behaviour of ſome Dutch ſquadrons, who, perceiving the infantry before them preſſed hard upon by the French, inſtead of ſuſtaining them, turned their backs, and went off a full gallop to the right about, and in their flight overthrew five battalions of infantry of the confederate corps de reſerve, that were coming from the right towards Val. The French cavalry taking advantage of this confuſion, ruſhed furiouſly in among theſe ſcattered troops, whom they trampled under feet, and penetrated through and divided the lines of the combined army. The duke of Cumberland, who had rode to the head of the Dutch cavalry, and endeavoured, but in vain, to rally them, with difficulty rejoined the left wing; and in all probability the confederates would have ſuſtained a total defeat, had it not been for the exemplary bravery of ſir John Ligonier, who, by charging at the head of ſome Britiſh regiments of dragoons and a few ſquadrons of imperial horſe, the whole line of the French cavalry, with ſuch irreſiſtible fury as gave a check to their purſuit, enabled the duke of Cumberland to effect an orderly retreat to Maeſtricht. Sir John himſelf was taken priſoner in this gallant attack; but the regiment he commanded retired in excellent order. Beſides ſir John Ligonier, major-general count d'Yſſembourg, major-general Bland, colonel Conway, and lieutenant-colonel lord Robert Sutton, were ſome of them wounded, and all of them made priſoners: in a word, almoſt the whole loſs of the allies, amounting to ſix thouſand men, fell upon the Engliſh, Heſſians, and Hanoverians, they having in a manner oppoſed the whole French army, the ſhare of the Dutch and Auſtrians in the engagement, as well as their loſs, being too inconſiderable to be named. Notwithſtanding that the allies were compelled to yield the victory to the French, it was not till they had purchaſed it by the loſs of upwards of ten thouſand of their beſt troops, ſeveral ſtandards, and ſeveral pair of colours, with ſeven hundred priſoners taken, including ſixty officers, ſome of them perſons of diſtinction. After the battle, the garriſon of Maeſtricht was reinforced by two Engliſh, three Auſtrian, and five Dutch battalions; and next morning the allied army paſſed the Maeſe at Maeſtricht, and extended themſelves towards Viſt, in the duchy of Limberg, with their head-quarters at Heer, the French ſtill continuing at Tongres.

His moſt Chriſtian majeſty, in order to make the moſt of his late ſucceſs, determined to form the ſiege of Bergen-op-Zoom, the honour of conducting which he was pleaſed to confer on count Lowendahl, who, at the head of a detachment of thirty-ſix thouſand men, preſented himſelf before the place in the beginning of July. Bergen-op-Zoom is one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in Dutch Brabant: it was generally deemed impregnable, and had obtained the name of the Maiden Fortreſs, from its having never been reduced, though frequently beſieged by very conſiderable armies. It could not be blocked up by ſea; ſo that veſſels with proviſions and ammunition could ſail in and out of the harbour every day unmoleſted, while an army of twenty battalions and fourteen ſquadrons, detached by the States-general, under the prince of Saxe Hildburghauſen, was ſo ſtationed as to be able to relieve the garriſon, conſiſting of three thouſand men, with freſh troops at will. All theſe difficulties appeared ſo conſiderable, that it was the opinion of moſt people, even very good judges of the military art, that the French, by inveſting it, had committed a very raſh action; and the general to whom the operations had been conſigned would, in this enterprize, forfeit all the glory he had hitherto acquired. This was more particularly the belief of the people in England and Holland, who exulted before-hand in the mortification and diſappointment of the French king, which they looked upon as infallible: but the abilities, experience, and reſolution of count Lowendahl, and the ardour of his troops, warmed by his example, and fighting in a manner under the very eye of their ſovereign; joined to the negligence, inattention, and numberleſs faults of a ſuperannuated governor, effected what appeared to be, in the common courſe of ſuch affairs, impracticable.

Old baron Cronſtrom had been by the ſtadtholder appointed governor of Dutch Brabant, and had aſſumed the command of the garriſon of Bergen-op-Zoom, ſome little time before the French laid ſiege to the place. He was grown grey in the field, and his character ſtood unimpeached as to fidelity and courage. When count Lowendahl, on coming before the town, ſummoned him to ſurrender, he replied, that he would ſuffer himſelf to be buried under the ruins of the place before he would give up the favourite work of the famous engineer Coehorn. However, though an old commander may, by his advice and experience, prove of infinite ſervice in a council of war; yet the caſe is quite otherwiſe, when ſuch an one is to give life and movement to a numerous body of troops, and direct the operations of a garriſon, beſieged by a powerful and expert commander. Lowendahl was all fire and activity; Cronſtrom all phlegm and deliberation.

The eyes of all Europe were turned upon this ſiege, the moſt important and the moſt bloody (for the time it laſted) that had happened during the whole courſe of the war. From the ſixteenth day of July, N. S. to the fifteenth of September, every day, nay, almoſt each hour, was marked by ſome dreadful ſcene of horror and deſtruction, effected by the ſpringing of mines on each ſide, by the deſperate ſallies of the garriſon, and by the unremitting attacks of the beſiegers: the latter, however, were always the principal ſufferers; and we may preſume the ſiege would have been extended to a much greater length of time, had it ſucceeded only by the common methods practiſed on ſuch occaſions: but M. de Lowendahl having given out that he intended to make himſelf maſter of the ſeveral forts which defended the town before he ſhould make his grand attack, old Cronſtrom gave completely into the ſnare that was ſpread for him; and knowing that all thoſe forts were ſtill as tenable as ever; and preſuming that the dreadful execution made by his mines would at length damp the courage of the aſſailants, he gave himſelf up to an indolent ſecurity, which in the end proved fatal; for in the morning of the ſixteenth of September, the French general having thrown a prodigious quantity of bombs into the ravelin of Dedim, as ſoon as thoſe had their effect, the beſiegers threw themſelves into the foſſe, and mounted the breaches, burſt open the ſally-port of Fallenius, mounted four breaches in the baſtions of Pucelle and Coehorn, where they forced the intrenchments, drove all thoſe of the garriſon they found in their way from their poſts, ſpread themſelves from right to left on the curtains, formed in order of battle, and came down into the town before the body of the garriſon could be aſſembled. Baron Cronſtrom had ſo little apprehended an attempt of this kind, that he had not taken a ſingle precaution againſt it; and was actually ſlumbering out the indolence of age quietly in his quarters, where he would have been ſurpriſed and made priſoner by the enemy, had it not been for the amazing bravery of a body of Scots Highlanders, commanded by lord John Murray, who fell like lions upon the French who had ſurrounded his quarters, and fought until two thirds of them were killed upon the ſpot, and the remainder brought off the old governor, in ſpite of all the oppoſition of the enemy, to whom the place was now abandoned; while the troops that were encamped in the lines retreating with the utmoſt precipitation, all the forts in the neighbourhood immediately ſurrendered to the victors, who now became maſters of the whole navigation of the Schelde. The French king thought the conqueſt of Bergen-op-Zoom ſo important, that he made Lowendahl a marſhal of France immediately on the news being brought him. He alſo appointed count Saxe governor of the conquered Netherlands, and then returned to Verſailles elated with triumph. In a little time after this tranſaction, both armies retired into winter-quarters, when his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland returned to London, where he arrived on the thirteenth of November. Thus terminated the campaign of 1747, on the ſide of the Netherlands; a campaign replete with glory to the French; productive of infinite prejudice to the confederates; and particularly inglorious to the Dutch, by the loſs of their Maiden Fortreſs, which had never till now been violated by a foreign embrace.

I left the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe, at the cloſe of the laſt year, purſuing the fugitive French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans, into the territories of Provence, under the conduct of count Brown, who had aſſumed the chief command on the abſence of his Sardinian majeſty, ſeized with the ſmall-pox. M. Belleiſle, who had ſucceeded Maillebois in the command of the French army, being greatly inferior to the Auſtrian general, was not able to oppoſe his progreſs, who ſent baron Roth, with twenty-four battalions, to undertake the ſiege of Antibes by land, while the Britiſh ſquadron under vice-admiral Medley was to aſſiſt him by ſea.

Antibes is a well-fortified town, ſituate in the Mediterranean, fifteen miles ſouth of Nice, and ſixty north-eaſt of Toulon. It was now defended by the chevalier de Sade, with a garriſon of eighteen hundred men; and all the neceſſary preparations were made for a vigorous defence. The Britiſh ſquadron having bombarded the town ſeverely for ſome time, baron Roth on the twentieth of January opened his trenches before it, while count Brown lay with the main army at Frejus, to cover the ſiege. One half of the town was reduced to aſhes; but the governor made a gallant defence, till M. Belleiſle, who had by this time received ſuch reinforcement as gave him the ſuperiority in the field, effected the paſſage of the Argens, and was advancing with a full reſolution to attack the Auſtrian general: but count Brown finding it impoſſible to continue his operations without expoſing his whole army to the moſt imminent danger, immediately raiſed the ſiege of Antibes, and repaſſed the Var in the beginning of February, without ſuffering any conſiderable loſs from the enemy.

Belleiſle having thus compelled the imperial general to abandon Provence; and receiving continual reinforcements till his army amounted to ſixty thouſand men, made himſelf maſter of Nice, Montalban, Villa Franca, and Ventimiglia, while the Auſtrians were forced to retire towards Final and Savona, in the dominions of Genoa, which were in the poſſeſſion of his Sardinian majeſty. In the mean time, another large body under count Schuylemberg, who had ſucceeded the marquis de Botta, co-operated with fifteen thouſand Piedmonteſe in an attempt to recover the city of Genoa.

The French miniſtry were too well acquainted with the importance of this republic to their cauſe, to neglect any meaſure that could contribute to its ſecurity. Large ſums of money were remitted to the ſenate: engineers and officers were ſent to diſcipline their troops and repair their fortifications. The duke de Boufflers was appointed by his moſt Chriſtian majeſty his ambaſſador-extraordinary to the republic, the better to animate them to a vigorous reſiſtance; and a large body of troops was detached from Belleiſle's army to co-operate with their forces: but theſe falling in with the Britiſh fleet, were either taken or driven back to France.

The operations of general Schuylemberg were retarded for a conſiderable time, by the ſeverity of the weather and badneſs of the roads; but theſe obſtacles being removed, the Auſtrian general preſented himſelf before Genoa on the thirty-firſt of March, at the head of forty thouſand men. Before he commenced hoſtilities, he uſed all his endeavours to perſuade the Genoeſe to ſubmit to the clemency of her Imperial majeſty; but they rejected his propoſitions with the utmoſt indignation, and declared their unanimous reſolution to be buried in the ruins of their capital rather than aſk for quarter, or ſubmit to the Auſtrian mercy, whoſe effects they had already ſo ſeverely felt. In the beginning of May Genoa was inveſted on all ſides; and Schuylemberg carried on his operations with ſuch ſkill, vigour, and intrepidity, that he ſeemed for ſome time in the faireſt way to ſucceed in the reduction of the place. The duke de Boufflers, beſides his character of ambaſſador to the republic, acted likewiſe as commandant of the troops that were in Genoa; while M. Belleiſle continued at Ventimiglia, with a view to penetrate into Piedmont and Lombardy, and compel the Auſtrians to abandon the ſiege. It was chiefly owing to this latter general that the Genoeſe were delivered from the calamities that threatened them: for though Schuylemberg was ſucceſsful in all his attacks upon the city, and had even made himſelf maſter of the ſuburbs of Biſagno; yet he was obliged to deſiſt from his enterprize, and raiſe the ſiege on the tenth day of June, to return into the Milaneſe, in order to join his Sardinian majeſty and count Brown, to cover Piedmont and Lombardy from the effects of M. Belleiſle. The Genoeſe, immediately on finding themſelves at liberty, with the aſſiſtance of the French and Spaniards in the city, made irruptions into the Parmeſan and Placentia, where, in ſpite of all the precautions of the duke de Boufflers, they committed the greateſt violences and cruelties, in revenge for the miſchiefs they had undergone from the enemy. Soon after, they had the misfortune to loſe the duke de Boufflers, who died at Genoa in the latter end of July, and was ſucceeded in his command by the duke de Richelieu.

Mean while, M. Belleiſle committed the execution of his project of an irruption into Piedmont to the chevalier de Belleiſle his brother, who ſet out on his expedition at the head of thirty-four thouſand French and Spaniards, and arrived on the ſixth day of July at the paſs of Exilles, a ſtrong fortreſs on the frontiers of Dauphiné, ſituate on the north ſide of the river Doria. His Sardinian majeſty, apprized of the enterprize which the chevalier had undertaken, had committed the defence of this important poſt to the count de Briqueras, with ten battalions of Piedmonteſe and four of Auſtrians, who had formed an encampment behind the lines, while divers detachments were poſted along all the paſſages of the Alps.

On the eighth of July the chevalier attacked the Piedmonteſe intrenchments with incredible bravery, but was conſtantly repulſed, with extraordinary loſs, during an engagement that laſted from ten o'clock in the morning till eight in the evening. This valiant general, however, determined not to ſurvive a miſcarriage, made one laſt effort to animate his diſpirited troops by his own glorious example, in which he emulated the braveſt of the ancient Romans. Snatching a pair of colours from the hand of an enſign, he called on thoſe neareſt him to follow his ſteps; and advancing with incredible intrepidity, amidſt a moſt furious diſcharge of muſquetry from the enemy, he planted the colours with his own hand on the intrenchments: at that inſtant he received two muſket-ſhots, one in the head, and the other in the body, which laid him dead on the ſpot. The French immediately gave way, and fled with precipitation, after having four thouſand eight hundred men killed, and ſix hundred wounded. The conſequences of the defeat at Exilles were, the abandoning of Ventimiglia by M. Belleiſle, and fruſtrating all his hopes of penetrating into Piedmont by the way of Ceva. The marſhal now retreated towards the Var to join the troops from Exilles, and prevent any invaſion on Dauphiné by the king of Sardinia. The exceſſive rains, however, prevented the execution of any deſign of importance on either ſide, and about the middle of October the two armies were put into winter-quarters. Thus ended the campaign of 1747 in Italy; and in this manner had the French king the mortification to find all his projects in that country entirely baffled.

Nor was he more fortunate in his naval operations, our ſea commanders having, in the courſe of this year, given the enemy ſeveral remarkable ſpecimens of their ſkill and bravery. The council of Verſailles, ſenſible how much it behoved them to recover to their crown the important ſettlement of Cape Breton, as alſo to put M. de la Bourdonnaye in a condition to improve his ſucceſſes in the Eaſt Indies, diſpatched two ſquadrons of ſhips of war from Breſt harbour, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would permit, in order to accompliſh this double view. The Britiſh miniſtry did not long remain ſtrangers to the deſtination of this equipment, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to intercept both ſquadrons. Vice-admiral Anſon and rear-admiral Warren were ordered out with a ſtrong fleet to cruize off Cape Finiſterre on the coaſt of Galicia. On the third of May they fell in with the French ſquadrons, commanded by M. de la Jonquiere and M. de St. George, conſiſting of ſix large ſhips of war, as many frigates, and four armed veſſels, equipped by their Eaſt India company, having under their convoy 29 ſhips laden with merchandize. The Britiſh fleet conſiſted of 12 ſail of the line, 3 frigates, and 2 ſloops. Notwithſtanding this great ſuperiority in their diſfavour, the French commanders did not decline the engagement; but having ſent away the armed veſſels with the merchant ſhips, maintained the battle with their ſix ſhips of war with great ſpirit and conduct, till, overpowered by numbers, they were compelled

compelled to ſtrike their colours. About ſeven hundred of the French were ſlain in this action. The Engliſh loſt no leſs, and among them captain Grenville, of the Defiance, a young commander of the moſt promiſing talents. Several of the enemy's merchant ſhips were afterwards picked up by our privateers. By this defeat the deſigns of France againſt our poſſeſſions in North America and the Eaſt Indies were totally fruſtrated. The French loſt a million and an half ſterling, of which a conſiderable ſum was found in bullion on board the prizes, and four thouſand of their prime ſailors were locked up in our priſons. Great rejoicings were made for this important ſucceſs; and ſoon after Mr. Anſon was created a peer, and Mr. Warren was honoured with the ribband of the order of the Bath.

On the twenty-ſixth day of June captain Fox, of the Kent, cruiſing with five other ſhips of war off Cape Ortugal in Galicia, fell in with a fleet of homeward-bound St. Domingo men, conſiſting of one hundred and ſeventy ſail, under the convoy of commodore de la Motte, and four large ſhips of war. On diſcovering the Britiſh ſquadron, La Motte abandoned his convoy, and ſought his ſafety in a precipitate flight, our ſhips being too foul to come up with him. However, forty-ſix of the merchant ſhips fell into our hands, having one thouſand four hundred and twenty-eight ſailors on board, with a very valuable cargo of ſugar, indigo, cotton, &c. which furniſhed rich dividends for our valiant Britiſh tars.

But the French marine ſuffered another more important loſs in the month of October. Our government had received information towards the cloſe of the ſummer, that a very large fleet of merchant ſhips, bound from the ports of France to the Weſt Indies, were collecting together at the Iſle of Aix, and that a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips of war was to eſcort them. Rear-admiral Hawke was therefore diſpatched to intercept them; and after cruizing ſome time upon the coaſt of Brittany, on the fourteenth of October, being in the latitude of Belleiſle, about eight in the morning, he ſaw a great number of ſhips, but ſo crowded that he could not count them: this was the French fleet, conſiſting of nine ſail of the line, and ſeveral frigates, commanded by M. de l'Eſtanduaire, a chef d'eſcadre, with two hundred and fifty-two merchant ſhips under his convoy. Admiral Hawke had with him twelve ſail of the line, and two frigates of fifty guns each. The French commodore, as ſoon as he could diſtinctly make the Britiſh ſquadron, threw out the ſignal for the trade to make the beſt of their way, with a ſixty gun ſhip and a frigate for their protection; and followed this by another ſignal for his ſhips of war to form the line of battle. Admiral Hawke, on his ſide, finding that he loſt time in forming his line, while the French were ſtanding away, at eleven made the ſignal for a general chace. By twelve both fleets were engaged, and maintainined a very bloody fight till night, when all the French ſhips, except two, ſtruck to the Engliſh flag. The enemy behaved with remarkable bravery; nor did they yield till their ſhips were all diſabled. Their loſs in killed and wounded amounted to eight hundred, and about three thouſand of them were made priſoners. Of the Engliſh there fell about one hundred and fifty, among whom was captain Saumarez, of the Nottingham, a gallant and experienced officer, who had ſerved under lord Anſon in his expedition to the Pacific Ocean. Rear admiral Hawke arrived on the thirty-firſt of October with his ſix prizes at Portſmouth, into which port the whole flower of the French navy had been triumphantly conducted, within the ſpace of five months. Admiral Hawke was created a knight of the Bath for his gallant behaviour; but captain Fox, of the Kent, had the misfortune to incur the cenſure of a court-martial, for ſome inſtance of neglect during the engagement, and was diſmiſſed from his command: however, as he remained perfectly clear from any imputation of cowardice, his majeſty was pleaſed, in about two years afterwards, to promote him to the rank of a rear-admiral.

I have already taken notice, that admiral Medley in the Mediterranean was particularly active and vigilant in his ſtation: he blocked up a Spaniſh ſquadron this ſummer in Carthagena, aſſiſted the Imperialiſts in the operations in Italy, and intercepted ſuccours that the French were ſending to the aſſiſtance of the Genoeſe republic: but death terminating the ſervices of this deſerving commander on the fifth of Auguſt, the conduct of the ſquadron devolved on admiral Byng, who had been ſent to reinforce him, and who proceeded on the ſame plan of operations.

The affairs of the Engliſh in the Eaſt Indies ſtill continued to wear a very indifferent aſpect: the enemy had taken and held from us Madraſs, without Mr. Griffin, who had ſucceeded Peyton, being able to attempt any thing towards its recovery. Nevertheleſs, he blocked up Pondicherry for a conſiderable time, and reduced it to great difficulties, tho' the French ſquadron was ſuperior to his. Our Eaſt India company, ſenſible of the critical ſituation to which their affairs were now reduced, beſtirred themſelves ſo effectually with the miniſtry, that rear-admiral Boſcawen, an officer of approved capacity and valour, was ordered to the Eaſt Indies this year, with a ſquadron of ſix ſhips of the line, beſides ſmaller veſſels, having two thouſand marines on board, to reinforce Mr. Griffin (now made a rear-admiral) and return the French viſit to Madraſs, by an invaſion of Pondicherry: but this ſquadron did not leave England till the month of November; and after making an unſucceſsful attempt againſt the French at the iſland of Martinico, four hundred miles to the eaſt of Madagaſcar, the whole ſquadron arrived ſafe at Fort St. David on the twenty-ninth of July, 1748. Their ſubſequent tranſactions will fall within the narrative of the naval operations of that year.

In the Weſt Indies rear-admiral Knowles, with a ſquadron of eight ſhips and two frigates, attacked Fort Louis, on the ſouth ſide of Hiſpaniola, which, after a ſhort but vigorous defence, was ſurrendered. After this, he made an attempt upon St. Jago de Cuba, in which he was baffled, and obliged to return to Jamaica. The blame of this diſappointment he caſt upon Mr. Dent, one of his captains; but a court-martial, which was afterwards held upon that gentleman in England, acquitted him with honour.

In September, Mr. Knowles being upon a cruize off the Havannah with ſeven ſhips of the line, fell in with a Spaniſh ſquadron of nearly the ſame ſtrength,

ſtrength, under the command of the admirals Reggio and Spinola, when an engagement enſued, which was maintained with great warmth on both ſides, and ended in the loſs of two of the enemy's capital ſhips, the reſt of their fleet getting ſafe into the Havannah. Here again Mr. Knowles arraigned ſome of his captains of miſbehaviour, whoſe conduct, on their return to England, was ſtrictly examined by a court-martial. Two of theſe captains were cenſured; nor did the admiral himſelf eſcape without reprimand for ſome neglects he had been guilty of in the courſe of the action. This was made a kind of party quarrel amongſt the gentlemen of the admiral's ſquadron, which ended in the death of captain Clark, who was ſhot by captain Innes in a duel fought between them in Hyde-Park: but it appearing by unqueſtionable evidence that captain Clark had given the challenge, his majeſty was pleaſed to extend his royal clemency towards his antagoniſt. In the courſe of this year the Britiſh cruizers were ſo alert and ſucceſsful, that they took ſix hundred and forty-four prizes from the French and Spaniards; whereas the loſs on our ſide did not exceed five hundred and fifty. In a word, the ſuperiority of the naval arms of Britain was now ſo conſpicuouſly evident, that ſhe had not an enemy to conteſt her ſovereignty of the ocean.

When ſtates and empires make the moſt forcible efforts to diſplay their ſtrength, it is then generally found that they are the moſt in need of, and moſt inclined to a reſpite from their operations. Not one of the belligerant powers at this time could diſſemble his hearty wiſh for a ſpeedy peace.

France, notwithſtanding the rapid conqueſts ſhe had lately made in Germany, languiſhed amidſt her ſucceſſes, and beheld with deep concern the ruin of her commerce, the moſt valuable branch of which had been deſtroyed by the rupture between her and the Dutch. Lewis XV. had by his ambition brought ruin upon his people, and deſolation upon his country. Hemmed in as he was by a train of flatterers and paraſites, the voice of public diſtreſs found a way to his ear; and not a week paſſed without the mortification of receiving the moſt pathetic, and at the ſame time the moſt ſpirited, remonſtrances from his parliament and his trading companies, upon the diſmal effects of thoſe diſputes he had raiſed and kept alive.

The court of Vienna ſaw herſelf diſappointed in the flattering hopes ſhe had formed from the ſucceſs of her arms in Italy: her finances were almoſt exhauſted, her armies ill ſupplied, and moſt of her provinces deſolated, by a long and bloody war. Cogent motives theſe, to be deſirous to ſee an end of it, eſpecially as the houſe of Auſtria had ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing the imperial dignity in the perſon of the archduke, conſort to her Hungarian majeſty.

Spain carried on the war with equal inactivity and ill ſucceſs. The evils it had intended againſt the Britiſh nation were all fallen on its own head; and notwithſtanding its rich poſſeſſions in each hemiſphere, it ſaw itſelf ſtill farther than ever from being in a condition to enforce its ambitious and extravagant claims on the Auſtrian dominions, and had of late adopted the appearance of greater moderation.

England, during this whole war, had ſuſtained by far the greateſt expence of any one of the contending powers; not only to maintain invincible navies and formidable armies, but likewiſe in giving ſubſidies to almoſt all the powers of Europe; and the ſcrupulous fidelity with which her illuſtrious monarch adhered to his engagements with his allies, and to the deſire of maintaining the balance of power in Europe, had occaſioned the ſhedding of torrents of blood both by ſea and land, and drained the national treaſure to ſatisfy the inceſſant cravings of greedy foreign mercenaries: but now ſhe had nothing to hope from the continuance of the war, as the French and Spaniſh marine were in a manner annihilated; and her miniſtry were ſenſible that they could not carry it on another campaign without loading the people with new impoſitions.

The Dutch, who had been in a manner compelled to engage as principals in this war, much againſt their inclination, and were much fonder of negociating than fighting, wiſhed for nothing ſo much as to ſee their barrier freed from the French yoke, and themſelves delivered from thoſe troubleſome friends, who, under the pretence of protecting them, laid waſte their moſt fruitful provinces, and ſtopped up the ſources of their beneficial commerce. The prince of Orange, as ſtadtholder, warmly attached as he was to the common cauſe, had many ſtrong and weighty reaſons to wiſh for an end to the preſent troubles: the unſettled ſtate of his family-affairs; the powerful oppoſition he encountered from the French party in Holland; and the difficulty he found in raiſing money, made him naturally wiſh for an opportunity of eſtabliſhing his authority upon a ſolid foundation. In fine, all the contending powers ſeemed, towards the cloſe of this year, to be inſpired with the ſame pacific views and inclinations; and it required no conſummate ſkill in politics to foreſee that the war could not be of much longer duration.

His moſt Chriſtian majeſty had, immediately after the battle of Val, in a perſonal conference with ſir John Ligonier, given broad intimations of his deſire of a pacification. He had alſo, after the reduction of Bergen-op-Zoom, ordered his miniſter, the abbé de la Ville, to tranſmit from the camp of Hamel, near Tongres, a declaration to the States-general on the ſame ſubject. France alſo repeated her pacific applications at the court of London: in conſequence of which, the contending powers agreed to the holding another congreſs, which was actually opened in March following (1748) at Aix-la-Chapelle, an imperial city in the duchy of Juliers, formerly the capital of Germany, when Charlemagne ſwayed the imperial ſceptre. The earl of Sandwich and ſir Thomas Robinſon were nominated plenipotentiaries on the part of his Britannic majeſty; as was the count de St. Severin de Arragon, for France; with count Bentinck, the baron de Waſſenaer, and M. Haſſelaer, on the part of the United Provinces.

With theſe appearances of a ſpeedy termination of the unſpeakable calamities incident to war, his Britannic majeſty aſſembled his new parliament on the tenth of November, when the commons again choſe Arthur Onſlow, eſq. their ſpeaker, who had preſided in the chair during the two former ſeſſions. His majeſty on the twelfth returned again to the houſe of peers, where the commons waited on him with the ſpeaker; after which his majeſty opened

the firſt ſeſſion with a ſpeech, congratulating the two houſes on the ſignal ſucceſſes of the Britiſh navy, and the happy alteration of the government of the United Provinces. His majeſty gave them to underſtand, that a congreſs would ſpeedily be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, to concert the means for effecting a general pacification; and reminded them that nothing would more conduce to the ſucceſs of this negociation than the vigour and unanimity of their proceedings.

The new elections had gone every-where in favour of the court. The duke of Newcaſtle, and his brother Mr. Pelham, who were abſolutely predominant in the cabinet, found but an immaterial oppoſition in the parliament. Such addreſſes were therefore preſented, in return to his majeſty's ſpeech, from both houſes, as made the government perfectly ſecure of having their moſt ſanguine wiſhes fulfilled, their moſt extenſive demands gratified; and indeed never did parliament make good their profeſſions with greater punctuality than the preſent. They voted forty thouſand ſeamen, forty-nine thouſand land-forces, beſides eleven thouſand nine hundred marines; the ſubſidies to the queen of Hungary, the czarina, the king of Sardinia, the electors of Mentz and Bavaria, the prince of Heſſe, and the duke of Wolfenbuttle; the ſum of two hundred thirty-five thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-nine pounds was granted to the provinces of New England, to reimburſe them for the expence of reducing Cape Breton; five hundred thouſand pounds were given to his majeſty for the vigorous proſecution of the war; and about one hundred and fifty-two thouſand pounds to the Scottiſh claimants in lieu of their juriſdiction. In a word, the ſupplies for the year 1748 fell very little ſhort of nine millions; ſix millions and an half of which were raiſed on a loan by ſubſcription, chargeable on a new ſubſidy of poundage exacted from all merchandize imported into Great Britain, which was ſubſcribed for immediately on opening the books, and above two millions more offered, and rejected; an extraordinary inſtance of public ſpirit and national credit. The reſt was raiſed by continuing the land tax at four ſhillings in the pound, the malt-duty, and one million to be taken out of the ſinking fund.

Some material debates were agitated in parliament this ſeſſion. A bill was brought into the houſe of commons "for a general naturalization of foreign proteſtants." Many ſhrewd arguments were advanced in favour of this meaſure, which would tend, it was ſaid, to ſupply the great waſte of people which the war had occaſioned, and to introduce new manufactures into the kingdom, as many induſtrious individuals in foreign parts would be thereby encouraged to ſettle in England. Nevertheleſs, the city of London viewed this affair in ſo very different a light, that on the 4th of February, 1748, the ſheriffs of that city preſented a petition againſt it to the lower houſe, ſetting forth, "That it would occaſion a decreaſe, if not a total loſs, of the duties of package, ſcavage, portage, and balliage of the goods of foreign merchants: that it was more likely to increaſe the poverty than to add to the wealth of the nation; for that neither rich nor induſtrious foreigners needed ſuch inducement, as the latter never wanted encouragement, nor the former the very privilege in queſtion, when they applied for it to parliament: that a like law had been attempted in the reign of king William, but had been rejected on ſuch national conſiderations as, it was preſumed, would never eſcape the attention, nor loſe the regard of the houſe: that a law having been actually paſſed for that purpoſe in the reign of queen Anne, it was found ſo detrimental to the public intereſt, that it was ſoon afterwards repealed, and not without ſome ſevere reflections on the conduct of thoſe who had promoted it: that, as a naturalization could not convey to foreigners a true knowlege of our happy conſtitution in church and ſtate, or give them ſuch a zeal and affection for it as might be requiſite for maintaining and defending it; and as thoſe who had grown up under arbitrary government might be fitteſt to anſwer arbitrary purpoſes, too much caution could not be uſed in a matter of ſo great importance; and therefore it was hoped that the houſe would not think proper to paſs a bill which was liable to ſuch inſuperable objections." This petition was warmly ſupported; and Mr. Pelham, who was now the acknowleged miniſter, fearing that the bill, if paſſed, might hurt his influence in the city of London, which at that time was very high, agreed to drop it for that time.

The pernicious practice of inſuring French ſhips in England, which prevailed to a ſhameful degree about this period, occaſioned bitter complaints on the part of the fair dealers, and was indeed an abuſe which called aloud for parliamentary redreſs. Though the commerce of France was in a very declining condition, it could have been further decreaſed, even to a ſtate of abſolute ruin, had it not been ſupported by their inſurances in England. In this practice France found a perpetual ſupport amidſt all her mercantile loſſes. On this all the remains of the French trade entirely ſubſiſted. Many of the moſt opulent captures from the French, particularly two exceeding rich prizes from the South Sea, taken by the Royal Family privateer, under the command of captain Talbot, in 1745, were inſured in England, which occaſioned the national gain to be no more than the price of the premium, which was uſually from twenty to twenty-five per cent. and if the inſured ſhips were deſtroyed, there was a clear national loſs to the Engliſh of the whole value, after deducting the premium. Beſides, this practice was the more pernicious, from the very nature of the end for which it was calculated, becauſe the inſurers had ſtrong temptations to contribute to the eſcape of the ſhips which they had inſured. Therefore, while the Britiſh admiralty, and proprietors of private ſhips of war, were exerting the maritime force of the ſtate, totally to ruin the commerce of France, the Britiſh inſurers fruſtrated their endeavours. Theſe, among many other cogent reaſons, convinced the legiſlature of the neceſſity of prohibiting this practice. Accordingly, a bill was brought into the houſe of commons, "to prohibit inſurance on ſhips belonging to France, and merchandize and effects laden therein, during the preſent war with France;" which bill met with univerſal approbation, paſſed quickly through both houſes, and ſoon after received the royal aſſent.

As the parliamentary contentions were very inconſiderable, the buſineſs of the ſenate was diſpatched

patched with very little interruption, and ſeveral acts were paſſed, extremely ſalutary to the national intereſt *. On the thirteenth of May the king put an end to the ſeſſion, after having acquainted both houſes in his ſpeech, that the preliminaries of a general peace were actually ſigned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the miniſters of Great Britain, France, and the United Provinces; and that the baſis of this accommodation was a general reſtitution of the conqueſts which had been made during the war. Immediately after the prorogation of the parliament, his majeſty ſet out for his German dominions, after having appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his abſence; he was convoyed by a ſquadron commanded by lord Anſon, and arrived at Helvoetſluys on the twenty-ſecond of May. He proceeded directly to Maeſlandſluys, where he was met by her royal highneſs the princeſs of Orange; and after a ſhort conference, his majeſty ſet out for Utrecht, where he had an interview with his ſerene highneſs the ſtadtholder, and prince Frederic of Heſſe, and then proceeded to Hanover.

I ſhall here take notice of ſome tranſactions, as well foreign as domeſtic, particularly relating to Great Britain, which fell out during the ſitting of this ſeſſion of parliament, that I may be more at liberty to purſue uninterrupted the more important events of this year, till the final concluſion of the peace. On the twentieth day of January a pardon paſſed the great-ſeal for lord MacCleod, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Cromartie, who had been drawn by his father into the rebellion. On the twenty-ninth, the priſon of Kinſale in Ireland was conſumed by fire, and fifty-four French priſoners confined therein periſhed in the flames. On February 6, the earl of Cheſterfield reſigned the ſeals of his office as one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, and was ſucceeded by the duke of Bedford. On the thirteenth an order of council was publiſhed, directing the condemnation of ſeveral ſhips our Mediterranean cruizers had taken from the Genoeſe; which prizes amounted to two hundred thouſand pounds. On March 25, a moſt dreadful fire broke out in Exchange-alley, Cornhill, which proved more hurtful in its conſequences than any conflagration ſince the fire of London, 1666. The flames ſpread three different ways; and, notwithſtanding every poſſible aſſiſtance, near one hundred houſes in Cornhill, Birchin-lane, Exchange-alley, George-yard, and the courts adjacent, &c. were conſumed: and though many goods, &c. were ſaved by the vigilance of the magiſtrates, yet the loſs was exceſſive great; and the conſternation in the city, during this dreadful calamity, can ſcarcely be expreſſed.

Accounts arrived from New England in the month of April this year, of a great tumult which happened at the cloſe of the laſt year at Boſton, the capital of that province, occaſioned by admiral Knowles impreſſing ſeveral of the inhabitants and ſeamen belonging to the outward-bound ſhips for the ſervice of his fleet; a practice which it ſhould ſeem our American brethren have no very favourable opinion of. But by the vigorous behaviour of the aſſembly, after many acts of violence, this dangerous riot was quelled. It was, however, ſucceeded by a much greater calamity, which befel that capital on the twenty-third of December, when the Court-houſe was conſumed by fire, and the province records, &c. deſtroyed therein, to the almoſt irretrievable detriment of the whole colony.

The ſmugglers in England were become amazingly audacious in their illegal practices at this period, having, amongſt other enormities, broke open the king's warehouſe at Colcheſter, and conveyed away a great quantity of tea: upon which a proclamation was iſſued of pardon, and a reward of a hundred pounds, for the diſcovery of each of the parties concerned in that outrageous tranſaction.

About this time ſeveral promotions were made both in the army and navy, and the rank between the land and ſea officers, whoſe mutual diſguſts ariſing from their continual diſputes about precedency in points of command had done infinite prejudice to the public ſervice, was eſtabliſhed by his majeſty's order in council in the following manner:

Admirals and commanders in chief to rank with field-marſhals.

Admirals with their flag on their main-top-maſt-head with generals of horſe and foot.

Vice-admirals with lieutenant generals.

Rear-admirals with major-generals.

Commodores with broad pendants with brigadier-generals.

Captains of three years ſtanding with colonels.

Younger captains with lieutenant-colonels.

Maſters and commanders with majors.

Lieutenants with captains.

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* Amongſt the moſt public was an act 'for granting to his majeſty a ſubſidy of one ſhilling poundage upon all goods and merchandizes to be imported into the kingdom of Great-Britain, and for raiſing a certain ſum of money by annuities and lottery, to be charged on the ſaid ſubſidy, and for repealing ſo much of an act made in the twentieth year of his preſent majeſty's reign, as enacted that prize goods and merchandizes might be exported without paying any duty of cuſtom or exciſe for the ſame.' And this act, than which none could be of greater importance, was carried without a diviſion. The act of parliament for preventing vexatious ſuits and arreſts for ſmall debts, expired on June 1, 1747, and left all the avenues open to private animoſity; but on the eighteenth of February, 1748, an act was paſſed 'to revive and make perpetual two acts of parliament, one made in the twelfth year of king George I. intitled, An act to prevent frivolous and vexatious arreſts; and the other made in the fifth year of his preſent majeſty, to explain, amend, and render more effectual the ſaid act.' The royal aſſent was alſo given to 'an act for permitting tea to be exported to Ireland and the Britiſh plantations in America, without paying the inland duties charged thereupon by an act of the eighteenth year of his preſent majeſty.' Alſo to 'an act for encouraging the making of Indigo in the Britiſh plantations in America', for which commodity the Engliſh paid the French about two hundred thouſand pounds a year: and as the preliminaries for a general peace had been adjuſted, his majeſty paſſed an act 'for the relief of inſolvent debtors;' by which all debtors for five hundred pounds, or under, were diſcharged; all fugitives who were abroad on the firſt of January laſt, were entitled to the benefit of this act, on delivering up all their effects, except wearing apparel and tools, not to exceed ten pounds: but all bankrupts not obtaining their certificates; attornies retaining their clients money; perſons indebted to the crown, and former inſolvents, were excepted; and creditors of thoſe continuing in gaol, were authoriſed to compel them to give an account upon oath of their effects.

An order was alſo iſſued, requiring all his majeſty's ſea-officers, from the admiral down to the midſhipman, to wear an uniformity of cloathing; for which purpoſe pattern-coats for dreſs'd ſuits, and frocks for each rank of officers, were lodged at the navy-office, and the ſeveral yards, for inſpection.

The allies had reſolved to open the campaign in the Netherlands with an army of a hundred and ninety thouſand men, in order to compel the French to abandon the barrier which they had conquered; but the dilatory conduct of the Dutch and Auſtrians prevented the execution of this meaſure. The people of Holland were ſo highly incenſed at the behaviour of their rulers, that they roſe in tumults in all the capital cities. They plundered the farmers of the revenue, aboliſhed the taxes, and inſulted the magiſtrates: ſo that the States General, ſeeing their country at the brink of ruin, committed the government entirely into the hands of the prince of Orange, whom they conſtituted hereditary ſtadtholder and captain-general of Dutch Brabant, Flanders, and the Upper Quarter of Guelderland; and the Eaſt India company choſe him director and governor-general of their commerce and ſettlements in the Indies. Thus inveſted with an authority unknown to his anceſtors, he exerted himſelf with equal induſtry and diſcretion, in new-modelling, augmenting, and aſſembling the troops of the Republic. The adminiſtration of government was now chiefly inveſted in the prince, partly as ſtadtholder, and partly as captain-general and admiral in chief; the ſtates alone had the power of making war or concluding a peace, of entering into foreign alliances, of raiſing taxes, and coining of money; but the prince had the diſpoſal of all military commands both by ſea and land, in time of war by his own commiſſion; in time of peace by that of the ſtates: as ſtadtholder or governor, he repreſented the ſupreme civil magiſtrate; in which capacity he pardoned offenders and nominated magiſtrates, the towns preſenting him the names of three, out of which he choſe one. In him reſided the dignity of the ſtate: he had a palace, a court, his guards, and all the other marks of external grandeur incident to princes: to him foreign miniſters paid their court, as did every one who was inclined to ſerve his country in the fleet or army: in the council of ſtate he had a ſeat and a deciſive voice, but not in the aſſembly of the States General, though nothing could be tranſacted there without his knowledge or againſt his conſent.

The conferences at Aix la Chapelle were opened on the eleventh of March; but as thoſe kind of negociations are frequently rendered fruitleſs by the affected obſtacles and difficulties thrown in by artful diſcontented miniſters, and by the unavoidable delays reſulting from ſending and receiving diſpatches from their reſpective courts, his moſt chriſtian majeſty, in order to accelerate the proceedings, had given poſitive orders to M. Saxe to form the ſiege of Maeſtricht, a ſtrong city and fortreſs on the river Maeſe, and the key of Holland on that ſide. The manœuvres of this great general, to deceive the confederates, as to his real intent, have been juſtly eſteemed a maſterpiece of the kind by all judges of the military art: by his various marches and counter marches he ſo puzzled the allies, that apprehending he deſigned to make an attempt upon Breda, or Luxembourg, they precipitately abandoned the ſtrong poſts they occupied in the neighbourhood of Ruremonde, and marched to cover the places they thought moſt in danger; when, to their no ſmall confuſion, they learned that the French had formed the inveſtiture of Maeſtricht on the third of April.

The garriſon conſiſted of Imperial and Dutch troops, under the conduct of the baron d'Aylva, who defended the place with great ſpirit and reſolution. He annoyed the beſiegers in repeated ſallies; but, determined to overcome all oppoſition, they carried on their approaches with incredible perſeverance and bravery: they attacked the covered way, in which they actually made a lodgment; and Maeſtricht was on the point of falling into their hands, when hoſtilities were ſuddenly interrupted by the arrival of a courier from the duke of Cumberland, who commanded the allied army, with the news that the preliminary articles of peace had been ſigned at Aix-la-Chapelle on the nineteenth of April: upon which marſhal Saxe and the governor agreed to a ceſſation of arms for two days. A meſſenger was ſent to the duke of Cumberland, who ſent another to marſhal Saxe; and the world was now informed that, for the glory of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's arms, the pacificators had agreed that the town of Maeſtricht ſhould be ſurrendered to his general, on condition that it ſhould be reſtored, with all the magazines and artillery. Marſhal Saxe accordingly entered the place on the third day of May, when the garriſon marched out with all the honours of war, and a ſuſpenſion of arms immediately enſued.

Several difficulties had been raiſed in the courſe of the negociations at Aix-la-Chapelle, in regard to the different pretenſions of the contending parties; but theſe were ſpeedily adjuſted, and the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, and the United Provinces, convinced that, as ſoon as they ſhould be agreed, the other parties would find themſelves under a neceſſity of ſubſcribing to their deciſions, ſigned the preliminary articles for a general peace on the evening of the nineteenth of April, at the houſe of the French plenipotentiary. By theſe articles, the French and the Engliſh conjointly, with their allies, agreed immediately to evacuate the ſeveral places they had conquered from each other during the war; and that Don Philip, Infant of Spain, ſhould be inveſted in the duchies of Parma and Placentia, to enjoy the ſame in full ſovereignty, until the deceaſe of his Catholic majeſty the king of Spain, when he would ſucceed to the throne of the Two Sicilies; in which caſe the aforeſaid duchies were to revert to the houſe of Auſtria.

The courts of Vienna and Madrid were very unwilling to accede to the preliminaries, and even entered proteſtations againſt them, both of theſe powers pretending to be greatly injured thereby; the empreſs queen, in particular, complained heavily, that inſtead of having an equivalent for Sileſia, her dominions had been diſmembered; and that what was reſtored to her was left at the mercy of the firſt invader, by the demolition of the fortifications that ſhould protect them. She complained alſo, that after having, out of an exceſs of complaiſance to the Britiſh nation, refuſed ſome very advantageous terms of peace that had been offered

her by the court of France, ſhe was now left to bear all the calamities that would enſue from ſo long and bloody a war.

The Spaniſh government had flattered itſelf that one of the conditions of theſe preliminaries would have been, the obliging the court of Great Britain to reſtore to her Gibraltar; whereas not the leaſt mention was made thereof, either in the preliminaries or the treaty: this therefore was the ſubject of diſcontent to that power.

His Sardinian majeſty was alſo unwilling to give his acceſſion, becauſe he found himſelf diſappointed in the hopes of obtaining the poſſeſſion of Final: but the public benefit getting the better of private intereſt, all parties at length were prevailed upon to accede. Count Kaunitz, the Auſtrian plenipotentiary, on the fourteenth of May, ſigned the act of acceſſion of the empreſs-queen of Hungary to the preliminary articles. The Sardinian miniſter, and the plenipotentiary for the duke of Modena, ſigned their acceſſion on the thirty-firſt of May; and the Genoeſe and Spaniſh plenipotentiaries did the ſame on the ſeventeenth of June.

Thirty-ſeven thouſand Ruſſians, under the command of prince Repnin, granted by the czarina to the aſſiſtance of the confederates, had been advancing ſince the beginning of the year from Livonia; and on their entrance into Germany were met by general Mordaunt and colonel Durand, who were appointed by his Britannic majeſty to conduct them to the Netherlands. After a march of ſeven hundred miles, in the month of June they reached the borders of Franconia, where they were ordered to halt, the French king declaring, that, ſhould they advance farther, he would deſtroy the fortifications of Maeſtricht and Bergen-op-Zoom. The matter was referred to the deciſion of the Britiſh, French, and Dutch plenipotentiaries at the congreſs, who, on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, concluded a convention, importing, that the Ruſſian troops ſhould march back to their own country, and that the French king ſhould diſband an equal number of his forces. The ſeaſon being far advanced, the Ruſſians were provided with winter-quarters in Bohemia and Moravia, where they remained till the ſpring, when they returned into Livonia. In the mean time, thirty-ſeven thouſand French troops were recalled from Flanders into Picardy, and the two armies continued inactive till the concluſion of the definitive treaty; but the war was open for a longer continuance in Italy.

The French and Spaniards began early to reinforce their troops in the ſtate of Genoa. Several convoys arrived in that port from Antibes and Monaco, and landed their men with little interruption; ſo that the French, Spaniards, and Genoeſe, had an army of thirty thouſand men in the heart of the republic, commanded by the duke de Richelieu, excluſive of independent companies, the militia, and armed peaſants: but general Brown, at the head of forty-eight thouſand Auſtrians, was preparing to enter the eaſtern Riviera, and again lay ſiege to Genoa. M. Belleiſle was extending his army, which conſiſted of fifty thouſand French and Spaniards, for the ſecurity of the weſtern Riviera, which was alſo threatened with an invaſion by general Leutrum, at the head of forty thouſand Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe: but before the commencement of hoſtilities, an inſurrection happened in Sardinia, ſpirited up by the French and Spaniards, which however was happily terminated

Count Brown, after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes on the borders of the republic of Genoa, penetrated into the eaſtern Riviera; and general Nadaſti made an attempt to ſurprize Voltri, where he was defeated, with the loſs of four hundred men. During this time, M. Belleiſle and general Leutrum had intelligence of the preliminary treaty; upon which the ceſſation of hoſtilities between the French and Piedmonteſe in the weſtern Riviera was ſettled, and limits ſet to both armies. On the thirtieth of May general Brown received a letter from the duke de Richelieu, with a copy of the act of acceſſion of the empreſs-queen to the preliminaries, which produced ſome conferences between the generals, who, on the fourth of June, agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms, the river Vara, in the eaſtern Riviera, being the limit between the two armies.

The naval war in the Eaſt Indies was ſuſpended by rear-admiral Griffin, till the arrival of rear-admiral Boſcawen, with the reinforcement of ſhips and men for the ſervice of the Britiſh company. The French, in the mean time, were permitted to ſupply their ſettlement at Pondicherry with every thing neceſſary for defending the place againſt the ſiege, which was expected on the coming of Mr Boſcawen into thoſe ſeas. This gentleman arrived at Fort St. David's on the twenty-ninth of July this year, and aſſumed the command, while rear-admiral Griffin was preparing to return to England. Mr. Boſcawen's ſquadron conſiſted of nine ſhips of the line, beſides two frigates, a ſloop and two tenders, having three thouſand five hundred and eighty ſailors on board; ſo that it was determined immediately to undertake the ſiege of Pondicherry. The admiral himſelf marched over land from Fort St. David, with a ſmall army of four thouſand Europeans and about two thouſand natives of the country, while the management of the fleet was left to captain Liſle, of the Vigilant, who had orders to anchor with the whole ſquadron two miles to the ſouthward of Pondicherry, and remain there till farther orders. Thus, by the tenth of Auguſt, the place was inveſted by land, and blocked up by ſea.

The garriſon of Pondicherry conſiſted of two thouſand Europeans and three thouſand Indians. Monſieur Dupleix the French governor, and Mr. Paradis the chief engineer, had taken the moſt ſeaſonable and beſt precautions for the defence and ſecurity of this ſettlement. Having had intelligence of the deſtination of the Britiſh ſquadron, long before the arrival of admiral Boſcawen in the Indian ſea, they had erected ſeveral additional fortifications about the town: they had put the fort of Aria Coupan, ſituate on the ſide of a river from whence it takes its name, at about three miles diſtance from the town, in a defenſible condition; and, in fine, ſeemed to apprehend very little danger from the enterprize carrying on againſt them.

The Britiſh admiral, however, proſecuted his operations with great judgment and ſpirit: he took the fort of Aria Coupan; after which he made his approaches to the place, while it was bombarded and cannonaded by the ſhipping: but the fortifications were ſo ſtrong, the garriſon ſo numerous, and the engineers ſo much more expert in their profeſſion than ours, that he made very little progreſs, and ſuſtained conſiderable damage. At

length, his army being reduced by ſickneſs, and the rainy ſeaſon approaching, the admiral ordered the artillery and ſtores to be reimbarked; and raiſing the ſiege on the ninth day of October, returned to Fort St. David, without being moleſted in his march by the enemy. Thus terminated this expedition, with the loſs of ſeven hundred and fifty-ſeven ſoldiers, forty-three artillery-men, and two hundred and ſixty-five ſeamen, to the beſiegers; and about five hundred Europeans among the French. This was the laſt action of importance in this part of the world during this war; for all hoſtilities were ſoon after diſcontinued, by the arrival of intelligence of the ceſſation of arms, and the concluſion of a general peace: but admiral Boſcawen had the mortification to ſee ſeveral ſhips of his ſquadron, and above twelve hundred of his ſailors miſerably periſh in a dreadful hurricane on the coaſt of Coromandel.

Nothing happened this year in the Mediterranean more material than the interception of the French and Genoeſe barks by admiral Byng, who received a letter from the duke of Newcaſtle, dated the eleventh of July, whereby he was informed of the ſigning of the preliminaries, and received orders to put a ſtop to all hoſtilities on that account, and to return to England, leaving only ſeven men of war in the Mediterranean. He accordingly arrived at Spithead on the thirteenth of October, and ſix ſhips of the line were ſent to reinforce the ſquadron he had left behind him on the coaſt of Italy, which was commanded by rear-admiral Forbes.

The Britiſh cruizers and privateers made ſome valuable captures this year, both in the European and American ſeas, having taken in Europe from the French 254 ſhips, amongſt which were three men of war and three Eaſt Indiamen. We alſo took from the French in America two hundred and eighteen ſhips, the chief part of the number being St. Domingo and Martinico ſhips, making the whole of the captures taken from the French during this year amount to four hundred and ſeventy-two.

The prizes taken this year from the Spaniards in the European ſeas amounted to twenty-five, amongſt which were ſeven regular ſhips. Their loſs in America was ſeventy-three, of which three were men of war, and forty-three regiſter ſhips; ſo that the whole number of Spaniſh veſſels taken this year amounted to ninety-eight; and the whole united loſs of the French and Spaniards together for this year amounted to five hundred and ſeventy ſhips.

Both thoſe powers, however, made ſome conſiderable captures from Great Britain this year, the French having taken in Europe one hundred and thirty-one, and in America two hundred and four ſhips; in all, three hundred and thirty-five. The Spaniards alſo took in the European ſeas fifty-two of our ſhips, and in America one hundred and ſix; in all, one hundred and fifty-eight; ſo that the whole number of the prizes taken from the Engliſh this year, by the French and Spaniards together, amounted to four hundred and ninety-three, being ſeventy-ſeven leſs than the prizes taken from them this year by the Engliſh.

To conclude, the Spaniards ſince the commencement of the war had loſt one thouſand two hundred and forty-nine ſhips, and the French two thouſand one hundred and eighty-five, being three thouſand four hundred and thirty-four together: the Engliſh loſt one thouſand three hundred and ſixty ſhips taken by the Spaniards, and one thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-eight taken by the French, making together three thouſand two hundred and thirty-eight, which was one hundred and ninety-ſix leſs than thoſe taken by the Engliſh during the whole courſe of the war. Several of the Spaniſh prizes were immenſely rich; a great number of the French were of conſiderable value, and ſo were many of the Engliſh; but the balance was almoſt two millions in our favour.

The miniſters at Aix-la-Chapelle were all this time aſſiduouſly employed in adjuſting all the articles of the definitive treaty, in which many difficulties occurred, and great debates happened. In the mean time, however, the prohibition of commerce with Spain was taken off at London by proclamation. This occaſioned ſome murmuring, as Britiſh veſſels were not admitted into the ports of Spain till ſome months after. In like manner, all other prohibitions in trade were taken off; and at laſt, all difficulties being ſurmounted, the definitive treaty was ſigned on the ſeventh of October, by the earl of Sandwich and ſir Thomas Robinſon, on the part of Great Britain; by the count de St. Severin and the marquis de la Porthune Thueil, on the part of France; by the marquis de Soto Major, on the part of Spain; by the count de Kaunitz, on the part of her Imperial majeſty; by Don Joſeph Oſſorio and the count de Chavannes, on the part of Sardinia; and by count Bentinck and the other plenipotentiaries, for the Dutch; by the count de Monzone for the duke of Modena; and by the marquis Doria for the Genoeſe.

As this famous treaty has been the ſubject of much diſſenſion, I ſhall here give the ſubſtance of its contents. The preamble, which is very extenſive, recites the original motives which occaſioned the late war, &c.

Article I. conſiſts of ſolemn promiſes and aſſurances to obſerve religiouſly the peace concluded, &c.

Art. II. Every thing that has paſſed during the war on all ſides to be buried in a general and eternal oblivion.

Art. III. The treaties of Weſtphalia, Madrid, Nimeguen, Ryſwick, Utrecht, Baden, Hague, the quadruple alliance, and the treaty of Vienna, are all confirmed, that they may not be derogated from by the preſent treaty.

Art. IV. The priſoners made, and the hoſtages given, during the war, to be reſtored on all ſides without ranſom, and ſet at liberty in one month after the exchange of the ratification; but to be obliged to pay all debts they have contracted, and all the ſhips of war and merchantmen which have been taken ſince the time ſtipulated by the ceſſation of arms, to be reſtored.

Art. V. All the conqueſts made during the war to be reciprocally reſtored.

Art. VI. The reſtitutions and ceſſions to be made in ſix weeks after the ratification; the artillery found in the conquered places to be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in at the time the towns were taken; nevertheleſs excepting that at Menin, Aeth, Mons, Charleroi, and Oudenard.

Art. VII. The duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla, to be ceded to the Infant Don Philip, under an expreſs clauſe, that thoſe ſtates ſhall return

turn to the preſent poſſeſſors, in caſe that prince die without male-iſſue, or he, or any of his deſcendants, ſhall ſucceed to the throne of Spain or the Two Sicilies.

Art. VIII. Commiſſaries to be appointed immediately on all ſides, to aſſemble at Nice and Bruſſels, to effectuate the reſpective reſtitutions and ceſſions.

Art. IX. The king of Great Britain ſhall ſend to France two noblemen of the firſt diſtinction, by way of hoſtages, who are to remain there till certain advice is received of the evacuation of Cape Breton, and all the places which may have been taken in the Eaſt Indies.

Art. X. Means as commodious as poſſible for the troops and inhabitants to be taken in the general evacuation.

Art. XI. All the papers and records found in the towns to be reſtored, expreſsly naming the archives of Mechlin.

Art. XII. The king of Sardinia to be maintained in the poſſeſſion of all his eſtates, principally thoſe ceded to him in 1743, excepting that part of the Plaiſantin he poſſeſſes, which he cedes to the infant Don Philip.

Art. XIII. The duke of Modena to be re-eſtabliſhed in all his eſtates, and juſtice done him in reſpect to the allodial effects which he poſſeſſed in the duchy of Guaſtalla.

Art. XIV. The republic of Genoa to be re-eſtabliſhed in all the poſſeſſions ſhe enjoyed before the war; the money they had in the banks of Vienna and Turin, and which was confiſcated, to be reſtored; and the payment of the intereſts to commence from the day of the exchange of the ratifications.

Art. XV. Things to remain in Italy on the ſame footing they were before the war, excepting the ceſſions made to the king of Sardinia and the Infant Don Philip.

Art. XVI. The Aſſiento treaty is confirmed, and permiſſion granted to ſend to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, for four years, a ſhip extraordinary for the non-enjoyment of that privilege during the war.

Art. XVII. The fortifications of Dunkirk to remain as they now are on the land ſide; but former treaties to be obſerved with regard to the port and the works on the ſea-ſide.

Art. XVIII. The differences on the ſubject of the ſums which the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, declared to be due to him, to be amicably adjuſted, and the affair of the abby of St. Hubert to be regulated at the ſame time.

Art. XIX. The article of the treaty of quadruple alliance, which ſecures the ſucceſſion of the crown of Great Britain to the houſe of Hanover, is confirmed in all its points.

Art. XX. All his Britannic majeſty's German dominions are guarantied by the contracting powers.

Art. XXI. They guaranty likewiſe, in the moſt ſolemn manner, the pragmatic ſanction, that it may not be derogated from by the preſent treaty.

Art. XXII. They guaranty in like manner Sileſia, and the county of Glatz, to his Pruſſian majeſty.

Art. XXIII. As alſo the execution of all the articles of the preſent treaty.

Art. XXIV. The exchange of ratifications to be made at Aix-la-Chapelle, within one month, by the miniſters of the contracting powers, and in ſix weeks by thoſe of the powers which acceded thereto.

There were two other articles alſo in this treaty; the firſt of which imports, That no conſequence is to be drawn from the titles and precedency which the contracting parties may have taken in this treaty; and the ſecond, That no advantage is to be taken from the uſe of the French language.

As the ſixteenth article of this treaty, relating to the Aſſiento contract adjuſted with the court of Spain, may not be perfectly intelligible to ſome part of my readers, it will not, I believe, be unacceptable to give them a juſt idea of that contract; in order to which, it will be neceſſary to trace it from its original, and explain the motives which gave riſe to it.

The neceſſity the Spaniards found themſelves under of having negroes from Africa, to be employed as ſlaves in the mines of the Spaniſh Indies, gave room to the concluſion of a treaty on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt, 1701, between the kings of Spain and France, made with the royal company of Guinea, for introducing into the countries, terra firma's, and iſles, belonging to his Catholic majeſty in America, the number of forty-eight thouſand negroes, of both ſexes and all ages, during the ſpace of ten years, at the rate of four thouſand eight hundred each year; which convention ſubſiſted to the end of the term for which it was concluded, viz. the month of May, 1712, when the French Guinea company, not having found the advantages they expected in that traffic, thought proper to diſcontinue it. The Engliſh South Sea company having offered, in 1713, when the negociations for peace were ſet on foot at Utrecht, to undertake the negro contract on the ſame conditions made with the French company, the Aſſiento treaty was concluded on the twenty-ſixth of March in the ſame year, between queen Anne and king Philip V. of Spain, for the term of thirty years, viz. from the firſt of May, 1713, to the ſame day of the year 1743, the conditions and advantages of the treaty being drawn up in forty-two articles, beſides an additional article, by which the king of Spain granted to the Engliſh company the permiſſion of ſending every year, during the ſaid term of thirty years, a ſhip of five hundred tons, with merchandize to diſpoſe of at the fairs in New Spain, on condition that his Catholic majeſty ſhould enjoy a fourth part of the profit ariſing from that annual ſhip, as well as from the negro treaty, and receive five per cent. beſides of the other three parts belonging to England. Now the war with Spain, which begun in 1739, having ceaſed in this year 1748, by the ſignature of the preliminaries of peace, there appears nine years non-enjoyment of the traffic, though but four of the treaty; and therefore an indemnification to the term of its experation only was agreed to, till ſuch time as the reſpective powers ſhould think proper to renew it.

Upon the whole, no peace ever gave leſs ſatisfaction than this of Aix la Chapelle, the principal parties concerned having gained nothing but the experience of each other's ſtrength and reſources. The precipitation with which the preliminary articles had been ſigned, made the Engliſh accuſe their plenipotentiaries of having ſtudied rather to gain a reputation for addreſs and diſpatch, than to render their work firm and laſting; eſpecially when they found that the right of Engliſh ſubjects to

navigate in the American ſeas, without being ſubject to ſearch, was not once mentioned in the treaty, though this claim was the original ſource of the differences between Great Britain and Spain. A few ſpecific explanations, touching the limits of the Engliſh and French poſſeſſions in Acadia, would have prevented the unhappy diſputes which afterwards aroſe concerning theſe limits. How our Engliſh plenipotentiaries came to paſs ſo important an article over unprovided for, is not eaſy to aſcertain. The French indeed might purpoſely neglect it, as it furniſhed their nation with an opportunity to renew the war whenever they ſhould find it for their intereſt. It is true, the plenipotentiaries on both ſides referred this, and all other diſputes, to the diſcuſſion of commiſſaries; but we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſhew that this reference proved the ſource of continual diſputes and evaſions, by which, in the ſequel, the deſtructive flame of war was again rekindled in Europe.

His Britannic majeſty ſent the earl of Suſſex and lord Cathcart to France, to remain there as hoſtages for the reſtitution of Cape Breton (agreeable to the ninth article of the definitive treaty) who were preſented to the French monarch at Verſailles on the twenty-eighth of November. This ſtep was highly exclaimed againſt here at home, as being a national diſgrace, though it was certain the thing was not without precedent, even in the reign of the great Elizabeth; and later, in that of Lewis XIV. of France, who agreed to ſend hoſtages to the duke of Savoy. The two noblemen above-mentioned were detained in France till the ſurrender of Louiſburg to the French in July 1749, which was returned in a better condition than when it was taken from them: but as for Madraſs, the ſeat of the Britiſh preſidency in the Eaſt Indies, as the French had no hoſtages at the Engliſh court, this important ſettlement was left entirely to their generoſity, of which they gave a ſhining inſtance, by leaving it to the Engliſh in a moſt deſolate and ruinous condition. In ſhort, the national diſguſt againſt this peace diſcovered itſelf every day more and more; and the popular writings againſt it were ſo vehement, that many, even of the warmeſt friends to the government, ſeemed to have very little beſides neceſſity to plead in favour of the treaty.

It would lead me into too minute and circumſtantial a detail to recount all the particulars relating to the recal of the Britiſh forces, and the mutual reſtitution of places: ſuffice it to ſay, that every thing was effected with the utmoſt regularity, and without the intervention of any remarkable incident.

In purſuance of the nineteenth article of the late treaty, the duke de Geſvres, governor of Paris, did, by the French king's orders, declare in form to the young pretender, That however well intentioned his majeſty ſtood towards him, the preſent circumſtances would not permit him to conſent to his longer continuance upon the territories of his kingdom; and that his majeſty would be pleaſed to ſee him conform to ſuch neceſſity, by retiring to any place he ſhould think proper, out of the dominions of France. To which the young adventurer anſwered with great haughtineſs, "Sir, if this meſſage from the king is the reſult of his having contracted with the maritime powers, I muſt give you to underſtand, that his majeſty has alſo contracted with me; and, Pardie! I will not ſtir out of Paris." There appears to have been ſome truth in the young man's allegations: for Lewis, inſtead of contradicting it, wrote him a letter with his own hand, in the moſt ſoothing and perſuaſive terms. Charles, however, continued obſtinate in his reſolution not to depart out of France; and even after the arrival of the earl of Suſſex and lord Cathcart, who were ſent as the Britiſh hoſtages to Paris, he appeared publicly on all occaſions, and affected to be treated in their preſence with all the diſtinctions of a prince. The two noblemen complaining of this conduct, the French king found himſelf under the neceſſity of having recourſe to more ſerious meaſures. Accordingly, in the beginning of December he cauſed him to be arreſted as he was going into the opera-houſe, by twelve ſerjeants of the guards in diſguiſe, and without the leaſt buſtle. He was immediately conducted, with all his retinue preſent, in three coaches, to the caſtle of Vincennes, and from thence to the frontiers of the kingdom. It was ſaid, but upon what authority is uncertain, that as ſoon as the young adventurer was arreſted, one of his ſervants delivered to him a letter from the old pretender his father (which he ſhould have done ſeveral days before) expreſſing his ſurprize and great concern at his behaviour towards the court of France; complaining of his reſervedneſs and undutifulneſs, and of his following the opinions and perſuaſions of bad counſellors; expoſing the folly of his attempt to reſiſt the intentions of his moſt Catholic majeſty; commanding him, upon the duty he owed to his father and to his king, immediately to obey the directions of his beſt friend the king of France; and urging the diſgrace and difficulties a contrary behaviour muſt bring upon him.

This forcible expulſion of the eldeſt ſon of the pretender to the crown of Great Britain from the dominions of France, was conſidered as a great ſacrifice to the glory of England. Reciprocal compliments paſſed between the two courts; the earl of Albemarle was appointed ambaſſador-extraordinary to the French king, and the marquis de Mirepoix arrived at London in the ſame capacity.

In the mean while, his Britannic majeſty was viſiting the moſt remarkable places of his electoral dominions, and was every where received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy and affection. He had lately eſtabliſhed an univerſity at Gottingen, which he had the ſatisfaction to ſee in a flouriſhing condition. It was the twenty-third of November before he arrived in England, after a tedious and dangerous paſſage. On his arrival at London, he was complimented by that city on the peace in a very warm and dutiful addreſs.

On the twenty-ninth of November the parliament was opened by a ſpeech from his majeſty, in which he acquainted the two houſes of the definitive treaty being ſigned by all parties concerned; and "that he had made the moſt effectual proviſion for ſecuring the rights and intereſts of his ſubjects, and for procuring to his allies the beſt terms and conditions that the ſituation of affairs would admit: that he took much ſatisfaction in being able to tell them, that he had found a good diſpoſition in all the parties engaged in the war to bring this negociation to a happy concluſion: that from theſe circumſtances they might promiſe themſelves

ſelves a long enjoyment of the bleſſings of a peace, provided they made a right uſe and improvement of it: that as great a progreſs had been made in reducing the public expences as the nature of the caſe would allow; and he only deſired them to grant him ſuch ſupplies as might be requiſite for the current ſervice of the year, for their own ſecurity, and for fulfilling ſuch engagements as had been already contracted and laid before them: that times of tranquillity were the moſt proper for leſſening the national debt, and ſtrengthening themſelves againſt future events; and he muſt recommend to them, as the moſt effectual means for theſe purpoſes, the improving of the public revenue, and the maintaining the naval force of the kingdom in due ſtrength and vigour: that thoſe brave men who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of their country, were certainly proper objects of parliamentary favour and protection; and he hoped they would deem it their duty, as well as intereſt, to convert their moſt ſerious attention towards the advancing of commerce and the cultivating the arts of peace."

This ſpeech was anſwered by loyal and affectionate addreſſes from both houſes, though that of the lower was not carried without a violent oppoſition; the members of which bitterly arraigned the conduct of the miniſtry for concluding the peace before the arrival of the Ruſſians: and they even threw out intimations that they ſhould ſet on foot a ſtrict enquiry into the cauſes which had rendered the events of the war ſo little anſwerable to the prodigious expence the nation had been at, and the known bravery of the troops ſhe had employed. The motion for the addreſs, however, was at length carried without a diviſion.

Notwithſtanding the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, and the reduction that had been made, as well in the land as in the ſea forces, it was found impoſſible, at leaſt for ſome time, to diminiſh proportionably the public expences. When the commons proceeded to conſider the ſupply, they examined the ſums that would be abſolutely neceſſary for making good the engagement of the parliament to his majeſty, and the ſervices performed in the proſecution of the war, diſcharging debts, ſupplying deficiencies, and providing for the current ſervice of the year; and found that the whole ſupply of this year would amount to near eight millions ſterling: an immenſe ſum! which gave occaſion to the oppoſition to treat Mr. Pelham with great ſeverity, as the author of all the debts and incumbrances with which the nation was loaded. He was, however, powerfully ſupported by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Murray, his majeſty's ſollicitor-general, now lord Mansfield, and chief-juſtice of the King's Bench, and the ſupply was granted without a diviſion. This point being ſettled, the commons turned their attention to matters of another nature.

A bill was prepared for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act, the laws relating to his majeſty's navy. One intention of the bill was, to render half-pay officers ſubject to martial law, in the ſame manner as if they were upon full pay. The gentlemen of the navy immediately took the alarm. Sir Peter Warren, who was at this time member of parliament for the city and liberty of Weſtminſter, and in great reputation for his integrity as well as courage, preſented a petition to the houſe againſt the bill on the twenty-fourth of February, 1749, which was ſigned by no leſs than three admirals and ſixty-four captains, who were not members of the houſe. Many of theſe repaired to the admiralty, and threatened to throw up their commiſſions, ſhould the clauſe paſs into a law. It was therefore thought adviſable by the miniſtry to drop it. There was another clauſe in this bill which alſo met with vehement oppoſition: this was to oblige the members of a court-martial to take an oath not to diſcloſe at any time, or upon any account, the opinions or tranſactions of ſuch court. Many and plauſible were the objections raiſed to this clauſe. It was in particular obſerved, that it was poſſible for the members of a court-martial, from private or particular conſiderations, to commit the moſt flagrant injuſtice; and that it was impoſſible for parliaments (by this clauſe) to apply redreſs, becauſe it was impoſſible to diſcover the facts, which this oath abſolutely and eternally ſealed up. For theſe and other reaſons, an amendment was propoſed, empowering a member of a court-martial to reveal, if required by either houſe of parliament, the opinion of ſuch court in all caſes, in which the courts of juſtice, as the laws then ſtood, had a right to interfere. This amendment, however, was rejected; and the queſtion being at laſt put, was carried in the affirmative by a conſiderable majority.

But the moſt obſtinate and longeſt debate this ſeſſion was induced by the mutiny-bill, and particularly by the laſt clauſe of it, which was entirely new, importing, "That as it might be otherwiſe doubted, whether the officers and perſons employed in the trains of artillery, or the reduced officers of his majeſty's land forces or marines on the Britiſh or Iriſh eſtabliſhment on half-pay, were within the intent and meaning of this act, for puniſhing officers and ſoldiers who ſhould mutiny or deſert his majeſty's ſervice, and for puniſhing falſe muſters, and for payment of quarters; it was hereby enacted, that the officers or perſons employed, or that ſhould be employed in the ſeveral trains of artillery, or the reduced officers of his majeſty's land forces or marines on the Britiſh and Iriſh eſtabliſhment of half-pay, ſhould be at all times ſubject to all the penalties and puniſhments mentioned in this act, and ſhould, in all reſpects whatſoever, be held to be within the intent and meaning of it during the time of its continuance." "Such a clauſe, it was ſaid, was replete with the moſt alarming danger to the very conſtitution of this land, inaſmuch as it would increaſe the number of officers depending upon the crown, and ſubject to military law, who conſequently would always be the ready and compliant inſtruments of carrying into execution all ſchemes adopted by the miniſtry, however repugnant to the laws, or to the liberties and privileges of the people." The clauſe, however, was ſtrongly ſupported by Mr. Pitt; and the queſtion being put, was carried in the affirmative by a great majority. A bill was afterwards brought in for limiting the time of ſervice in the army; but upon a diviſion, it was put off for two months, which was equal to being rejected; becauſe it was underſtood that the parliament before that time would be prorogued, it being then the latter end of April.

The abuſe of paper-money all over the Britiſh plantations and colonies in America was by this

time grown to ſo great an height, that at the motion of Mr. Walpole, auditor of America, a bill was brought in "to regulate and reſtrain paper bills of credit in the Britiſh colonies and plantations in America; to prevent the ſame being legal tenders in payment for money:" but this bill was ſo ſtrongly oppoſed by ſeveral eminent merchants, as well of North America as of London, that it was dropt for this ſeſſion.

The next object that engaged the attention of the commons was a bill for extending and improving the trade to the coaſt of Africa; the preamble of which remarks, "That the trade to and from Africa being very advantageous to Great Britain, and neceſſary for the ſupplying her plantations and colonies with a ſufficient number of negroes at reaſonable rates, ought for that reaſon to be free and open to all his majeſty's ſubjects. It was therefore enacted, that it ſhall be free and lawful for all the king's ſubjects to and from any place in Africa, between the port of Sallee in South Barbary, and the Cape of Good Hope, without any reſtraint whatſoever, except as herein expreſſed; and that all his majeſty's ſubjects ſo trading, &c. ſhould be united under certain regulations into an open company, by the name of "the company of merchants trading to Africa," without any joint ſtock or power to trade as a corporation; and that the forts and ſettlements ſhould be put under proper management and direction," &c. &c.

Thus this very conſiderable branch of the Britiſh commerce again aſſumed a new appearance, after having paſſed through ſeveral other different conſtitutions and various conditions; this bill paſſed the lower houſe, but was ſtopped in the upper till the end of the ſeſſion. Nevertheleſs, it was carried in the courſe of the ſucceeding, and finally confirmed by the royal ſanction. What was by this act eſtabliſhed ſtill remains in being, and with general approbation, though there are not wanting ſome who ſtill think, that ſo important a trade ought to be under a ſtricter government, and even in a joint ſtock corporation, as in former times; of which opinion, time and experience of the traders to that extended coaſt muſt determine the validity.

Several other bills were introduced in the courſe of this ſeſſion; but as none of them were attended with any remarkable debate, nor brought to maturity till the ſucceeding year, they will come to be more properly explained among the tranſactions of that period. On the thirteenth day of June his majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he ſaid, That the terms and conditions of the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had been carried into execution by the ſeveral contracting parties with great punctuality and good faith, ſo far as the time and diſtance of the places would admit. He hoped, he ſaid, that at the next meeting they would be able to perfect what they had now begun, for advancing the trade and navigation of his kingdoms; particularly, by rendering our naval force the moſt ſerviceable and uſeful. He then expreſſed his ſatisfaction at ſeeing the public credit in ſo flouriſhing a condition, at the end of an expenſive, though neceſſary war. And, laſtly, after returning them thanks for their ſupplies, and recommending unanimity to them, he diſmiſſed them.

As the French were put into the repoſſeſſion of Cape Breton, it was natural for the Britiſh miniſtry to fix their attention on the cultivation and improvement of their long neglected ſettlement of Nova Scotia, where, by a proper colonization of proteſtants in ſo valuable a tract of territory, more than an equal participation of the profits of the French fiſhery would fall to the Engliſh; a potent barrier would be erected for the ſecurity of the Britiſh provinces in North America; and a perpetual ſeminary of ſailors would be eſtabliſhed.

The earl of Halifax, then firſt lord of trade and plantations, was the principal promoter of a ſcheme ſo highly advantageous to the national intereſt, in which he was aſſiſted by many conſiderable perſons; and a plan was propoſed for eſtabliſhing a civil government in Nova Scotia, by granting lands within the ſame, and giving other encouragements to ſuch of the officers and private men lately diſmiſſed from the land and ſea-ſervice as ſhould be willing to ſettle in that part of the world. The king having conſidered the ſaid propoſal with his uſual coolneſs and diſcernment, was pleaſed to honour it with his royal approbation; and the lords of trade and plantations, by the command of his majeſty, gave notice in the Gazette, and other public papers, on the ſeventh of March, 1749, that proper encouragement would be given to ſuch of the officers and private men lately diſmiſſed his majeſty's land and ſea-ſervice, as were willing to accept of grants of land, and to ſettle with or without families in the province of Nova Scotia. A grant of fifty acres of land in fee-ſimple was promiſed to every private ſoldier or ſeaman, free from the payment of quit-rents or taxes for the term of ten years; at the expiration whereof, no perſon was to pay more than one ſhilling a year for every fifty acres ſo granted; and an additional grant of ten acres was promiſed to each private ſoldier or ſeaman having a family, for every perſon, including women and children, of which his family ſhould conſiſt. A grant of eighty acres, upon the like conditions, was offered to every officer under the rank of enſign in the land-ſervice, and that of lieutenant in the ſea-ſervice; and to ſuch as had families, fifteen acres more for every perſon of which their family conſiſted. A grant of two hundred acres, on the like conditions, was offered to every enſign, three hundred to every lieutenant, four hundred to every captain, and ſix hundred to every officer above the rank of captain in the land ſervice; as alſo the like quantity of four hundred acres, and on the ſame conditions, to every lieutenant in the ſea-ſervice, and ſix hundred acres to every captain; and to ſuch of the above-mentioned officers as had families, a further grant of thirty acres was offered, over and above their reſpective quotas, for every perſon of which their families conſiſted: it was alſo promiſed, that the land ſhould be parcelled out to the ſettlers as ſoon as poſſible after their arrival, and a civil government eſtabliſhed; and that proper meaſures ſhould alſo be taken for their ſecurity and protection: that the coloniſts ſhould be ſubſiſted during their paſſage; as alſo for the ſpace of 12 months after their arrival; and that they ſhould be furniſhed with arms and ammunition, as far as would be judged neceſſary for their defence, and a proper quantity of materials and utenſils for huſbandry, clearing and cultivating their lands, erecting habitations, carrying on the fiſhery, and ſuch other purpoſes as ſhould be neceſſary for their ſupport: carpenters, ſhipwrights, and ſuch other artificers as were neceſſary for huſbandry and building, were

to be gratified with the ſame quantity of land as private ſoldiers: a civil government was to be eſtabliſhed among them as ſoon as poſſible, by which they were to enjoy all the privileges, liberties, and immunities of his majeſty's other ſubjects in America; and care was to be taken for their ſecurity and protection.

This excellent and patriotic ſcheme met with the ſucceſs it ſo well deſerved. By the beginning of May no leſs than three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty perſons and families had engaged themſelves to go as ſettlers to this new colony, and were embarked on board tranſports for that purpoſe. The government of this infant colony was beſtowed on the honourable Edward Cornwallis, eſq. who accompanied the coloniſts in their voyage. The whole fleet arrived ſafely at Nova Scotia; and on the twenty-firſt of June anchored in the bay of Chebucto, in the very center of the ſouthern part of the province, having Annapolis on the left, and Canſo on the right. A town was now planned out at the head of Chebucto harbour, which was ſoon built, fortified, and divided into lots, and called HALIFAX, in honour of the noble lord who principally aſſiſted in promoting the eſtabliſhment of this colony, which ſoon wore an auſpicious aſpect, promiſing not only greatly to over-balance the expence of the government, but to exceed all the real and imaginary advantages that might have reſulted from the poſſeſſion of Cape Breton; and it is at this day become a flouriſhing and important ſettlement.

Few affairs of any importance occurred on the continent of Europe this year. Don Philip took poſſeſſion of Parma and Placentia, purſuant to the late treaty. The court of Ruſſia having entertained ſome ſuſpicions that the Swedes intended to change the form of their government after the death of their king, which her intereſt obliged her to preſerve inviolate, marched a body of her troops towards Finland, in order to be ready to act on the firſt warning, in caſe of ſuch an event, which was every day expected. Various declarations were now made on both ſides; and his Pruſſian majeſty, alarmed at the conduct of the czarina, wrote a letter to the king of Great Britain, earneſtly intreating him to co-operate with him and the king of France in preſerving the peace of the North. With this requeſt his Britannic majeſty, little reaſon as he had to be ſatisfied with the court of Stockholm, moſt generouſly complied. It appeared in the ſequel, that her czariſh majeſty's apprehenſions were altogether without foundation, and that the ſenate of Sweden had no intention to alter the form of government.

The French, according to all accounts, were proſecuting with the greateſt vigour a plan for reſtoring and encreaſing their marine, which had been ſo roughly handled in the late war; and, according to a ſcheme of monſieur de Rouillé, they were in the ſpace of eight years to have one hundred and eleven ſhips of the line, twenty-two bomb-ketches, and twenty-five fire-ſhips, ready to put to ſea at the firſt notice. In the mean time, encouraged, as it ſhould appear, by the ſubmiſſion of the Britiſh miniſtry in ſending hoſtages to Paris, they thought they might practiſe their old intrigues in America; and though by the late treaty, and thoſe upon which it was founded, the iſlands in the Weſt Indies, commonly called the Neutral Iſlands, were to remain unſettled and unfortified till the right of ſovereignty was determined; yet ſcarce had the definitive treaty of peace been ratified, when the French miniſtry ſent orders to the marquis de Caylus, their governor of Martinico, to take poſſeſſion of Tobago, one of the neutral iſlands, in the French king's name, though Mr. Grenville, governor of Barbadoes, had given the French inhabitants upon that iſland a regular notice to quit the ſame in thirty days, under pain of military execution. In contradiction to this, the marquis de Caylus, on the twenty-ſixth of November, 1748, publiſhed a proclamation, aſſerting the ſovereignty of France to Tobago and the other neutral iſlands, declaring that he would protect the inhabitants of Tobago, and prohibiting their having any correſpondence with the Britiſh, Dutch, or Daniſh colonies. This proclamation was followed by the ſending two French ſhips of war, with one hundred and fifty ſoldiers, beſides ſettlers, to fortify Tobago, where they arrived and erected ſome batteries. Upon this, governor Grenville diſpatched captain Tyrrel, who commanded a Britiſh ſquadron on the Barbadoes ſtation, with a forty and a twenty gun ſhip, and a ſloop, to obſerve the motions of theſe encroachers: but this commander had only the mortification of perceiving the French fortifying the iſland, and preventing the Engliſh from cutting wood there, while he was unable to impede their operations, being unprovided with proper powers. Intelligence of theſe proceedings of the French being tranſmitted to our miniſtry, a courier was diſpached to Verſailles to colonel York, the Britiſh reſident there, to make remonſtrances on this ſubject; and ſoon after our ambaſſador at the court of France acquainted our court, that the French king diſclaimed all knowlege of ſuch proceedings, and had ſent orders to evacuate that iſland: but this appears to have been a ſhameful evaſion, the marquis de Caylus afterwards declaring, that he had poſitive directions from the French miniſtry concerning his conduct at Tobago.

As to the other powers of Europe, very little intereſting happened among them that could injure Great Britain. The empreſs queen and the czarina made a farther alliance with each other, in order to be the better able to oppoſe the king of Pruſſia, who ſtill kept a numerous army on foot, and of whoſe deſigns thoſe two ſovereigns were become very jealous. In the South, the king of Sardinia, who ſtill continued diſſatisfied with the empreſs-queen, entered into a defenſive treaty with France and Spain, the king of the Two Sicilies, the duke of Modena, the republic of Genoa, and the duke of Parma; by which he was ſecured in the quiet enjoyment of all the eſtates which he at preſent poſſeſſed, or ſhould afterwards acquire; and by which their Catholic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties engaged to furniſh thirty thouſand men to ſuch of the contracting powers as ſhould want their aſſiſtance. But leſt the concluding this treaty ſhould give umbrage to England, his Sardinian majeſty declared, by his miniſter at London, that he was determined punctually to obſerve all his engagements with the king of Great Britain and the empreſs-queen.

In the courſe of this ſummer an accident happened which gave the court of Great Britain ſome uneaſineſs. A corſair of Algiers, one of the piratical ſtates of Barbary, made prize of the Prince Frederic

Frederic packet-boat from Liſbon, detained her near a month at Algiers, and confiſcated all the money and jewels found on board her, to the amount of upwards of ninety thouſand pounds, under the pretence of its being the property of the Jews and Portugueſe. Hereupon commodore Keppel was ſent with ſeven ſhips of war before Algiers, to reclaim the ſhip and treaſure; but he was obliged to return without ſucceſs. Soon after an Algerine ambaſſador was ſent with ſome preſents to England, and the affair was compromiſed.

Of the domeſtic tranſactions in Great Britain during the courſe of the year 1749, the following are the moſt deſerving of notice. In the month of January a ſpecial commiſſion was opened at Chicheſter in Suſſex, for the trial of a number of ſmugglers for the barbarous murder of one Galley, a cuſtom-houſe officer, and another perſon, his friend, when ſeven of the villains were convicted, and received ſentence of death; and one dying in gaol, the other ſix were ſoon after executed. In February the declaration of a general peace was proclaimed at the uſual places in London and Weſtminſter; and in April a moſt magnificent fire-work was played off in the Green-Park, in commemoration of that event. It was honoured by the preſence of his majeſty and the royal family, both houſes of parliament, and all the principal perſons of London and Weſtminſter; but it miſcarried in the execution by the ſudden blowing up of a part of the ſtructure; and ſo the great pains, time, and expence beſtowed upon it, were rendered fruitleſs.

Murders and robberies ſtill continuing to be very frequent in and about the cities of London and Weſtminſter, a proclamation was publiſhed, offering a reward of one hundred pounds, over and above all other rewards, to be paid by the lords of the Treaſury, upon the conviction of any murderer or robber in thoſe cities, or within five miles thereof. Violent riots and tumults alſo prevailed throughout the kingdom at this period, evidently owing to the numbers of unprovided perſons diſcharged from the army and navy. The moſt dangerous of theſe happened at Briſtol, where great numbers of people from Glouceſterſhire and Somerſetſhire aſſembled, cut down the turnpikes, and committed various other outrages. Many of them were well armed, and bid defiance for ſome time to the magiſterial power. At length, ſix troops of dragoons being ſent down againſt them, ſoon obliged them to diſperſe, and reſtored quiet to the country.

The attention of the public was likewiſe engaged much about the ſame time, by another diſturbance of a very ſingular nature. Some young Oxonians, of an irregular and diſſolute turn, had for ſome time taken it into their heads, in all companies, and on all occaſions, to be guilty of many idle and inſolent reflections upon the preſent government, and even publicly to toaſt the young pretender's health. The vice-chancellor of the univerſity, and the heads of houſes, had done their utmoſt to check the licentiouſneſs of theſe ſparks, but in vain; therefore, in order to diſculpate themſelves, they publiſhed a declaration, expreſſing their utmoſt abhorrence of ſuch factious and ſeditious practices, and likewiſe their firm reſolution to puniſh, according to the utmoſt ſeverity and rigour of the ſtatutes, all perſons, of what ſtate or quality ſoever, who ſhould be convicted of ſuch offences. Nevertheleſs, as no puniſhment was inflicted on the delinquents by the univerſity, the government ordered three of the moſt audacious of them to be taken into cuſtody; two of whom, Dawes and Whitmore, were tried in the court of King's Bench; and being found guilty, on the cleareſt evidence, were ſentenced to walk through the courts of Weſtminſter, with a paper affixed on their foreheads denoting their crimes, to pay a fine of five nobles each, to be impriſoned for two years, and to find ſecurity for their good behaviour during ſeven years more. Some ſevere cenſures were paſſed upon the univerſity itſelf on this occaſion; the principals of which were ſtrongly ſuſpected of being tinctured with Jacobitiſm.

The univerſity of Cambridge, on the other hand, had recommended herſelf greatly to the government, by the many ſignal inſtances it had given of her attachment to revolution principles and the proteſtant ſucceſſion. The duke of Somerſet, who had been many years chancellor of that univerſity, being lately deceaſed, the heads made choice of the duke of Newcaſtle to ſucceed him, whoſe acceptance thereof is ſaid to have given great umbrage to the prince of Wales, who himſelf had ſome deſire to be made chancellor. The duke, however, at his majeſty's command, was inſtalled, and this was made a handle of to create a breach in the royal family.

On the twenty-ſecond of June prince George (his preſent majeſty) the margrave of Anſpach, the dukes of Bedford and Leeds, and the earls of Granville and Albemarle, were elected knights of the garter; and on the twenty-ſixth, ſir Peter Warren, ſir Edward Hawke, ſir Charles Howard, ſir Charles Amand Poulet, ſir John Mordaunt, and ſir John Sackville, were inſtalled knights of the Bath, in Henry VII's chapel in Weſtminſter-abbey.

This year was diſtinguiſhed by the death of ſeveral very eminent perſonages, viz. Charles Seymour, the great and magnificent duke of Somerſet; that humane and generous nobleman, John duke of Montagu; field-marſhal Richard Temple, viſcount Cobham; John Lindſay, the brave earl of Crawford; admiral ſir John Norris; and ſir Watkyn-Williams Wynn, ſo famous for his oppoſition to the Walpolean adminiſtration.

On the ſixteenth day of November the parliament met, when his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he ſaid, That it was with particular pleaſure that he now met them, at a time when the re-eſtabliſhment of a general peace had reſtored to his people the bleſſings of quiet and tranquillity: that the good effects reſulting from hence were already apparent in the flouriſhing condition of commerce, and the riſe of public credit, which naturally laid the ſureſt foundation for an increaſe of ſtrength, and of laſting proſperity to his kingdoms: that he had not failed, during the courſe of this ſummer, to avail himſelf of every opportunity to cement and preſerve the peace; and it was his firm reſolution to do every thing in his power to preſerve it inviolable, and religiouſly to adhere to the engagements he had contracted. Very dutiful addreſſes were preſented in anſwer to this ſpeech by both houſes; and theſe addreſſes received as cordial a return.

The reſolutions of the committee of ſupply were in the main the ſame as paſſed laſt ſeſſion, though the total of the ſum granted was not ſo great. They voted one hundred and eighty-three thouſand two hundred and thirty-two pounds for making good the engagements into which his majeſty had entered; one million forty-five thouſand five hundred and ninety pounds towards diſcharging the national debt; four hundred and ſixty-three thouſand fifty-two pounds for ſupplying deficiencies; two hundred forty-nine thouſand nine hundred and thirty pounds for defraying extraordinary expences; one hundred twenty-two thouſand two hundred and forty-ſix pounds for reimburſing the inhabitants of North America the money they had expended in making preparations for an expedition againſt Canada, and for ſupporting the colony of Nova Scotia; thirty-ſix thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-ſix pounds towards maintaining thoſe coloniſts for the ſpace of a twelvemonth; and two millions one hundred ninety-nine thouſand eight hundred fifty-five pounds for the enſuing year. The whole ſupply amounted to upwards of four millions. The land-forces were fixed at eighteen thouſand eight hundred and fifty-ſeven men, and the number of marines at fifteen thouſand.

As the proceedings of this ſeſſion were many of them of a nature that does not admit being particularized here, and others of them of the ſame nature with thoſe that the reader has already ſeen, I ſhall avoid a minute detail of all that paſſed, confining myſelf only to the moſt important.

In the rank of which we may place the act for the reduction of the intereſt upon the national debt, from four per cent. to three and a half, and afterwards to three per cent. by which an addition of near ſix hundred thouſand pounds per annum was begun to be gradually made to the ſinking fund. The public debts, which bore four per cent. ſtood as follows:

	l.	s.	d.
1. The principal ſum payable at the Exchequer, of -	312000	0	0
2. Capital Bank-ſtock -	8486800	0	0
3. Certain annuities transferable at the Bank -	18402472	0	10
4. Capital ſtock of the Eaſt India company - -	3200000	0	0
5. Capital South Sea ſtock, and old and new South Sea annuity-ſtock -	27302203	5	6½
Total	57703475	6	4½

Mr. Pelham, who took upon himſelf the whole ſtreſs of the debate on this important ſubject, ſo clearly demonſtrated the expediency and utility of this ſcheme, and that nothing can ſo effectually contribute to make trade flouriſh, as the leſſening the public debts and incumbrances with juſtice and public faith, that the houſe came to the following reſolutions, which they cauſed to be printed by way of advertiſement, in the London Gazette of November 29, 1749, for public information, and imported, "That all the proprietors of the ſaid public debts incurred before Michaelmas 1749, who ſhall, on or before the twenty-eighth of February, 1750, ſubſcribe their names, or ſignify their conſent to accept of an intereſt of three per cent. per annum, to commence from the 25th of December, 1757, ſhall be entitled to four per cent. till the 25th of December, 1750, and from thence to 3 l. 10s. per cent. until the 25th of December, 1757; and no part of the ſame (except what is due to the Eaſt India company) ſhall be liable to be redeemed, until the ſaid 25th of December, 1757."

This is what was called the firſt ſubſcription, becauſe all the proprietors of the above-named debts did not come into this propoſed ſubſcription within the time limited by this act, although the major part of them did; and although the ſecond ſubſcription to that reduction was enacted till the ſpring of the year 1750; yet, for connection's ſake, I ſhall here give the ſubſtance of an act of this ſame ſeſſion, "for giving further time to ſuch of the proprietors of the before-named annuities to ſubſcribe the ſame upon the terms therein mentioned, and for redeeming (i. e. paying off the principal ſums) of ſuch of the ſaid annuities as ſhall not be ſubſcribed; and for impowering the Eaſt India company to raiſe certain ſums by tranſferable annuities." It recites, "That great part of thoſe before-named annuities had been ſubſcribed on the terms of the firſt named ſtatute: it was therefore hereby enacted, that ſuch proprietors as have not ſo ſubſcribed, and who ſhall, on or before the thirtieth day of May, 1750, accept of an intereſt of three per cent. to commence from the twenty-fifth of December, 1755 (in the mean time to have the ſame terms in other reſpects as the former ſubſcribers have) ſhall not be redeemable till the ſaid twenty-fifth of December, 1755, may ſubſcribe on or before the ſaid thirtieth of May, 1750; and ſuch as ſhall not ſubſcribe on or before that day ſhall be redeemed and paid off." Thus the ſaid ſecond ſubſcribers had a reduction of their intereſt from three and a half per cent. to three per cent. two years ſooner than thoſe of the firſt ſubſcription; and ſuch as remained determined not to ſubſcribe at all, who however were not very many, were paid off their principal ſums out of the ſinking fund. Laſtly, the Eaſt India company were empowered, by conſent of the commiſſioners of the Treaſury (if they ſubſcribed their three millions two hundred thouſand pounds ſtock, and their one million annuities, by the thirtieth of May, 1750) to borrow any ſums not exceeding four millions two hundred thouſand pounds, by ſale of annuities, viz. three millions two hundred thouſand pounds, after the ſeveral rates of intereſt in the terms of this ſecond ſubſcription, and one million more at the rate of three per cent. per annum; with which that company accordingly complied.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion the mutiny act received ſome conſiderable alterations. The members of a court-martial were freed from the oath of ſecrecy, upon their being required by a court of juſtice to give evidence as witneſſes in the due courſe of law, and the ſentence of a court-martial was declared to be reviſable no more than once.

A ſpirit of reſentment had for ſome time been growing up among the people of England againſt the Dutch, who had firſt diſguſted them by their lukewarmneſs and double-dealing in the common cauſe, during the whole of the late war; and the great cry was, to wreſt out of the hands of the Dutch the fiſhery for herring on the Britiſh coaſt, which that people had for many years uſurped, and by which they had acquired immenſe riches. As our miniſtry were deſirous of indulging the public

in whatever ſhould be thought for its advantage, a committee had been appointed laſt ſeſſion to conſider the ſtate of the Britiſh fiſhery, when, after ſome time taken up in making the proper enquiries, general Oglethorpe, chairman of the committee, reported, as their reſolution, "That the carrying on the Britiſh herring and cod-fiſheries will be of eminent advantage to the trade and navigation of theſe kingdoms, and is highly worthy the conſideration of parliament, and deſerves proper encouragement." A bill was ordered to be brought in on theſe reſolutions; but on account of the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, it was put off for that time.

Soon after the opening of this ſeſſion, the affair was again revived; and the ſpirit of the nation, as well as the attention of the legiſlature, ſtill farther ſtimulated by a petition to parliament from the inhabitants of Southwold and Leoſtoff, who declared that the Dutch had for about eight years fiſhed ſo near the ſhore, that their nets ſwept the ground, and by that means prevented the inhabitants from fiſhing, as an hundred Dutch fiſhing veſſels had frequently been anchoring at once in their harbour in two or three fathom water; and that when the inhabitants complained of this unwarrantable encroachment, the Dutch had threatened to ſink their boats, or tear their nets in pieces.

The commons having referred this matter to a committee, they came to the following reſolutions, which were reported by general Oglethorpe on the fifteenth of February, 1750, and agreed to by the houſe, viz. "That the carrying on the Britiſh white herring and cod-fiſheries would be of great advantage to the trade and navigation of theſe kingdoms; and that every impediment to ſuch trade ought to be removed with all convenient diſpatch: that, as a further encouragement to all perſons to engage in theſe fiſheries, a bounty of thirty ſhillings per ton ſhould be granted and paid out of the cuſtoms to all new veſſels from twenty to twenty-eight tons burthen, which ſhould be built for that purpoſe, and actually employed in the fiſheries: that in order to induce adventurers to employ their money in theſe fiſheries, a ſociety ſhould be incorporated, under the name of the Free Britiſh Fiſhery, by a charter, though not excluſive, with power to raiſe a capital not exceeding five hundred thouſand pounds; and that three and a half per cent. ſhould be granted and paid out of the cuſtoms to the proprietors for fourteen years, for ſo much of the capital as ſhould be actually employed in ſuch fiſheries."

Upon theſe reſolutions a bill was preſented by general Oglethorpe, by order of the houſe, for the encouragement of the White Herring fiſhery, which paſſed through both houſes, and afterwards received the royal aſſent. The bill was no ſooner paſſed than there was a general meeting of the perſons named in the act, when the prince of Wales was choſen governor; Slingſby Bethell, eſq. preſident; and Stephen-Theodore Janſſen, eſq. vice-preſident, both of them aldermen of London. A council, conſiſting of thirty perſons, was alſo appointed for managing the affairs of the company, to whom his majeſty's charter of incorporation was granted, bearing date the eleventh of October, 1750.

The ſucceſs of this public-ſpirited undertaking has not hitherto indeed fully anſwered the expectations of the worthy promoters of it, whoſe generous zeal deſerves the higheſt commendations: but it is to be conſidered, that it is extremely difficult to beat another nation out of a trade they have ſo long poſſeſſed, even with the above great encouragement from the public; and more eſpecially ſo frugal a people as the Dutch, who can content themſelves with ſmaller gains than other nations, and carry on the fiſhery every one on his own private bottom.

Amongſt other public-ſpirited acts of this ſeſſion, one paſſed for the encouragement of the manufacture of Britiſh ſail-cloth, which, by the Iriſh underſelling us, was fallen into great decay. In order to retrieve it, this act impoſed a duty of four-pence per yard upon all Iriſh ſail-cloth brought into Great Britain. Another act alſo paſſed to encourage the importation of pig and bar iron from his majeſty's colonies in North America; and to prevent the erection of any mill or other engine for ſlitting or rolling of iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt hammer, or any furnace for making of ſteel, in any of the ſaid colonies. The title of this ſtatute, which is ſufficient for our purpoſe, plainly ſhews how jealous our legiſlature was of our greatly increaſing northern colony people going far into manufactures interfering with thoſe of their mother-country. Nevertheleſs, as our continent colonies are increaſing faſt in people, perhaps it would not be altogether impolitic to allow ſome latitude in that reſpect, as the proportionable increaſe of our people there will undoubtedly occaſion a like or greater increaſe of our general commerce.

The laſt acts of this ſeſſion, of which I ſhall take notice here, are two relating to the ſilk-trade; for promoting the manufacture of which in Great Britain, an act paſſed, whereby the duties payable on raw ſilk imported from China by the Eaſt India company were now reduced to the ſame duty as is payable on raw ſilk from Italy: and upon a petition from the dealers and manufacturers of raw and thrown ſilks, repreſenting the vaſt benefit that would accrue to the kingdom by the growth of that commodity (which of late was become exceſſively dear) in the Britiſh ſouthern colonies of America, an act paſſed to repeal the duties upon American ſilk imported into England. Since this act the culture of ſilk has viſibly, though gradually, increaſed there, and more particularly in Carolina and Georgia; and it ſeems not improbable that, in a reaſonable ſpace of time, thoſe two provinces, provided they will ſteadily purſue the ſaid culture, may hereafter have the new honour of being denominated the Silk Colonies.

On the twelfth of April his majeſty repaired to the houſe of peers; and after thanking the members of the houſe of commons for the ſupplies they had granted, and the attention they had ſhewn to the good of the public in reducing the national intereſt, he ordered the parliament to be prorogued. Soon after this his majeſty ſet out for his German dominions, having firſt appointed a council to govern the kingdom in his abſence.

During theſe tranſactions, the people of England were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by two ſhocks of an earthquake; the firſt on the eighth of February, between twelve and one at noon, was felt all over the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and

and parts adjacent; ſome chimnies were thrown down, and in many places the waters were agitated in a very extraordinary manner.

On the eighth of March, at half an hour after five o'clock in the morning, the town was alarmed a ſecond time, by a more ſevere ſhock than the former, attended with a hollow, ruſtling noiſe, as of wind, and numbers of people were awakened out of their ſleep by its violence: however, providentially no miſchief happened, except the throwing down ſeveral chimnies, and the damaging ſome houſes. In ſome places the ſhock was ſo violent, that the people ran from their beds and houſes almoſt naked, in the greateſt conſternation at this very unuſual viſitation. Preceding the ſhock there was obſerved a continual, tho' confuſed lightning, till within a minute or two of its being felt, which darted very low, and the flaſhes were very ſtrong. It was felt in Eſſex, Surrey, and Kent, as well as in moſt parts of Middleſex; and in all the four counties the panic was univerſal, and was ſtill further encreaſed by the ridiculous prediction of a wild enthuſiaſt, who pretended to foretel a third ſhock to happen in a ſhort time, which would lay all London and Weſtminſter in ruins: the fanatic happened luckily to be miſtaken; but the two ſhocks which had already been felt, had brought a ſerious air upon every face. The pulpits and the preſs were employed in calling a degenerate people to repentance, and in deprecating the wrath of heaven; and vice was for a little time out of countenance. But ſoon this was all forgot; the wicked returned to their vices, and the weak forgot their real as well as their imaginary terrors. On the eighteenth of March, between five and ſix in the evening, a ſhock was alſo felt at Goſport, Portſmouth, and the Iſle of Wight, which greatly ſurpriſed and terrified the inhabitants. Several other places in Europe were viſited with this dreadful calamity, as France, Germany, &c. The iſland of Cerigo, in the Archipelago, was almoſt deſtroyed, and above two thouſand of the inhabitants periſhed.

On the twentieth of April, died ſir Samuel Pennant, lord-mayor of London, whoſe death I mention becauſe it was occaſioned by an infectious diſtemper, ſuppoſed to be the goal fever, which prevailed in Newgate, and was from thence carried to the Seſſions-houſe in the Old-bailey, where it proved fatal to the gentleman above-mentioned; to ſir Daniel Lambert, knight and alderman; to Mr. Clark, a baron of the Exchequer; to ſir Thomas Abney, a judge of the Common-pleas; to many of the lawyers who attended the ſeſſions; to the greateſt part of the jury, and to a vaſt number of the ſpectators.

In the month of July the prince and princeſs of Wales, with the lady Auguſta (now hereditary princeſs of Brunſwic) their eldeſt daughter, made a tour to the weſt of England, and were received every where with the greateſt honour and reſpect; and ſoon after their royal highneſſes viſited Southampton and the iſle of Wight, where their reception was equally reſpectful and affectionate. A little after Midſummer this year, arrived the firſt parcel of herrings caught by the buſſes of the newly incorporated ſociety of the free Britiſh fiſhery off Shetland.

Little happened in the other nations of Europe, of importance to the intereſts of Great-Britain. The king of Portugal dying in the ſummer of this year, was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Joſeph, who renewed all the amicable connexions of his predeceſſor with our court. About the ſame time, a new treaty of ſubſidy between the king of Great-Britain, the empreſs-queen, the States-general, and the elector of Bavaria, was ſigned at Herenhauſen near Hanover, where his majeſty then was, on a viſit to his German dominions: his majeſty afterwards concluded a new treaty with the emperor of Morocco, and an agreement was made for the redemption of ſixty Britiſh captives.

The many difficulties ſtarted by the court of Spain, againſt the carrying on the South Sea company's Aſſiento trade; the oppreſſions of the Spaniſh officers and governors in the Weſt Indies; the frauds too obviouſly committed, on the other hand, by the company's agents in thoſe parts, in ſpite of the regulations and reſtrictions enjoined them by their principals; and the complaint of the Britiſh merchants trading to Cadiz, ſeemed now all to concur, at both courts, for putting a final period to a trade which, without any ſubſtantial benefit to Great-Britain, had given inſuperable umbrage to the court of Madrid: ſo that both crowns were eaſily brought to conclude a treaty at Madrid, on the fifth of October, N. S. 1750, to the following purport: "That the ambaſſadors of both kings, at the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle, anno 1748, having then agreed to regulate, at a proper time and place, the equivalent which Spain ſhould give, in conſideration of the non-enjoyment of the remaining years of the Aſſiento of negroes, and of the annual ſhip granted to Great-Britain; their ſaid Britannic and Catholic majeſties now agree, that the king of Spain ſhould pay to the South Sea company, within the ſpace of three months, the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, by way of indemnification, as well for non-execution of the Aſſiento contract as to make amends for the four years in which they did not ſend out their annual ſhips: that with regard to the trade and navigation of the Engliſh in the ports of the king of Spain's dominions, all the treaties concluded between the two nations for the laſt eighty-three years ſhould be punctually obſerved and fulfilled: that of conſequence, the Britiſh ſhips that traded in the ports of his moſt Catholic majeſty ſhould pay no other duties for the goods than what they paid in the reign of Charles II. of Spain: that the ſubjects of Great-Britain ſhould, in the places where they come to traffick, pay only the ſame duties as the ſubjects of his Catholic majeſty, who promiſed that the Engliſh ſhould be treated, in his dominions, on the ſame footing as the moſt favoured nations: and finally, that they ſhould continue to enjoy the privilege of taking in ſalt at the iſland of Tortula, which was poſſeſſed by the Spaniards."

This is truly a "definitive treaty" in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the term, as it relates ſolely to differences between the court of Spain and Great-Britain, without any relation to, or connection with, any other nation. Hereby a period was abſolutely put to all foreign commerce whatever, of the South Sea company. To conclude this ſubject, I ſhall here obſerve, that this company, having propoſed to the government to accept of an intereſt of four per cent. on their capital ſtock of three

millions ſix hundred and ſixty-two thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-four pounds, until Chriſtmas, 1757; and then to ſtand reduced to three per cent. per annum; provided that the manner of the receipt from the Exchequer, and the charges of management upon the preſent old and new South Sea annuities, and on their ſaid capital ſtock, be continued as they now are. An act of parliament, in conſequence thereof, paſſed the following year, for reducing the ſame accordingly, on theſe terms.

The favourite meaſure which his Britannic majeſty had in view while he was abroad, was the election of the archduke Joſeph, eldeſt ſon of the emperor and the empreſs queen, to be king of the Romans. But tho' his majeſty had the election greatly at heart, yet it met with much oppoſition; the king of Pruſſia, and the French party in the empire, having a majority in the diet, thro' which they inſiſted the propoſal muſt paſs before it came to the electors. The king of Spain having ſome intereſt in the German body, was applied to for his good offices in behalf of the archduke, by the Britiſh miniſter at Madrid; but his Catholic majeſty ſeemed not in the leaſt inclined to concern himſelf therein, ſo that the affair at preſent was entirely laid aſide.

His majeſty returned to England from his German dominions on the fourth of November; but it was the ſeventeenth of January, 1751, before the parliament was opened, when his majeſty, in a moſt gracious ſpeech, acquainted both houſes of his having concluded a treaty with the king of Spain, whereby ſuch particular differences as could not be ſettled by a general treaty, had been amicably adjuſted. He alſo took notice of his having, in conjunction with the empreſs-queen and the States general, concluded a treaty with the elector of Bavaria; both which treaties, he ſaid, ſhould be laid before them. He repreſented all the contracting powers in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle as determined to preſerve the general peace; and then concluded with an exhortation to unanimity, the improving the trade and commerce of the nation, and the putting in force the laws againſt the diſturbers of the domeſtic peace of the kingdom.

Both houſes returned addreſſes upon this ſpeech, full of the moſt loyal profeſſions, which met with the moſt gracious reception and the warmeſt return from the throne.

The attention of the commons was entirely engroſſed at the beginning of this ſeſſion, in conſidering a caſe of a very delicate and intereſting nature. Lord Trentham, eldeſt ſon to earl Gower, and one of the repreſentatives for Weſtminſter, having in the courſe of the former ſeſſion accepted of the place of a lord of the admiralty, his ſeat in parliament became of conſequence vacated; and having again declared himſelf a candidate, he met with a powerful opponent in the perſon of ſir George Vandeput, a private gentleman, who was powerfully ſupported by the anti-miniſterial party, and by all thoſe who aſſumed the name of independent electors.

During the receſs of parliament, matters had been carried on with great acrimony between the two parties. Upon the cloſing of the poll, lord Trentham appeared to have the majority of votes; upon which the other candidate demanded a ſcrutiny, which was immediately granted; and this likewiſe turned out in favour of his lordſhip, who was thereupon returned by the high bailiff of Weſtminſter as duly elected, and took his ſeat accordingly in the houſe at the opening of the ſeſſion. Enraged at their defeat, the other party immediately preſented two petitions to the houſe againſt this return; one from ſir George's friends, the other from himſelf, both complaining of the injuſtice and partiality ſhewn by the high-bailiff in the courſe of the ſcrutiny. In oppoſition to theſe, lord Trentham made complaint of unconſtitutional practices in his opponents, and in particular of their having inſulted and intimidated the high-bailiff in the execution of his office.

The matter was now brought before the houſe, where the high-bailiff made his appearance, and accuſed counſellor Crowle, the honourable Alexander Murray, brother to the lord Elibank, and one Gibſon, an upholder, of having been moſt forward in obſtructing him in the diſcharge of his duty. Theſe three perſons were ſummoned to the bar, when Mr. Crowle was ordered to receive a reprimand from the ſpeaker on his knees, and Gibſon was committed priſoner to Newgate. The charge againſt Mr. Murray was more heavy than againſt the other two, the high bailiff accuſing him of having behaved in the moſt riotous and ſcandalous manner, as well during the time of the ſcrutiny as when it was over, and with threatening him, the high-bailiff, and committing other acts of violence after the return was made; in particular, the having put himſelf at the head of a mob who ſeemed to be for ſir George Vandeput, and exciting and inflaming the ſaid mob to inſult and murder the high-bailiff, by repeatedly crying out, "Will no body knock the dog on the head? Will no body kill the dog?" or words to that effect. Full proof of this charge being made to the houſe, they reſolved that Mr. Murray ſhould be committed cloſe priſoner to Newgate, and that he ſhould be brought to the bar of the houſe to receive ſentence on his knees. To the bar he was accordingly brought; but when he came there he peremptorily refuſed to kneel; a circumſtance that greatly aggravated his former crime, by thus daring to ſet the whole houſe of commons at defiance. It was therefore reſolved, that the honourable Alexander Murray, eſq. having in a moſt inſolent and audacious manner, at the bar of the houſe, refuſed to be upon his knees, in compliance with their former reſolution, had been guilty of a high and moſt dangerous contempt of the authority and privilege of the houſe: that for this offence he ſhould be committed cloſe priſoner to Newgate; and that while he was there, he ſhould not be allowed the uſe of pen, ink, or paper, nor be indulged in the privilege of having any perſon admitted to him, without the leave of the houſe.

Theſe reſolutions were immediately put in execution, and that night (or rather morning, for this affair kept the houſe ſitting till one o'clock) Mr. Murray was conveyed to Newgate, where he continued till the end of the ſeſſion, and the legality of lord Trentham's election was now fully confirmed.

On the fifth of February a proclamation was iſſued, promiſing a reward of one thouſand pounds for apprehending the author, for each of the printers five hundred pounds, and for each of the publiſhers fifty pounds, of a treaſonable piece, entitled,

Conſtitutional Queries: which piece was alſo burnt by the common hangman.

The two grand committees appointed to diſcuſs the ſupplies for the year, and the funds upon which they are to be raiſed, proceeded as uſual, under the direction of the miniſtry. Very warm debates however enſued, in conſequence of a motion for reducing the number of ſeamen to 8000, which was oppoſed by Mr. W. Pitt, Mr. Lyttleton, and Mr. G. Grenville, with ſurpriſing force of argument and elocution; but numbers decided for the queſtion. The ſame fate attended the like oppoſition to the number of troops conſtituting the ſtanding army: but the other reſolutions of the grand committee met with little or no oppoſition. On the whole, the proviſions for the ſervice of this year amounted very little ſhort of five millions. The annual meaſure, called the Mutiny-bill, was not paſſed without diſpute and altercation. Some alterations were propoſed, but rejected, and the ſentences of court-martials ſtill ſubjected to one reviſion.

In the midſt of theſe deliberations, this kingdom ſuſtained a terrible blow in the death of Frederic-Lewis, prince of Wales, who expired on the twentieth day of March, about ten in the evening, at Leiceſter-houſe, to the unſpeakable grief of the whole nation. This excellent and amiable prince was born January 20, 1707, and on the twenty-ſeventh of April 1736, married the princeſs Auguſta of Saxe-Gotha, who, by her cloſe and conſtant attendance on her princely conſort, to the laſt moment of his fatal illneſs, kept up the great pattern ſhe had all along exhibited of conjugal affection. By this lady, who was at this time advanced in her pregnancy, his royal highneſs left iſſue five ſons and three daughters, viz. princeſs Auguſta (now married to the hereditary prince of Brunſwic) born July 31, 1737; prince George, now our moſt gracious ſovereign king George III. born May 24, 1738; prince Edward-Auguſtus (now duke of York) born March 14, 1739; princeſs Elizabeth-Caroline (ſince deceaſed) born December 30, 1740; prince William-Henry (now duke of Glouceſter) born November 14, 1743; prince Henry-Frederic (now duke of Cumberland) born October 27, 1745; princeſs Louiſa-Anne, born March 8, 1749; prince Frederic-William, born May 13, 1750 (deceaſed December 31, 1765); beſides the princeſs Caroline-Matilda lately eſpouſed to the king of Denmark, who was born after her father's death, viz. July 11, 1751.

His royal highneſs may juſtly be ſaid to have been the joy and hope of Britain, the merchants friend, the protector of arts and ſciences, the patron of merit, the reliever of diſtreſs, the accompliſhed prince, and the fine gentleman: in all the parts of private life an affectionate huſband, an indulgent, tender parent, a kind maſter, and an affable, good-natured man. He ſeemed in all reſpects formed to rule over a free people; he had made the knowlege of the Engliſh conſtitution his ſtudy and delight, and was a great maſter of geography and the theory of commerce; underſtood its natural operations and effects, and how to apply them for the benefit of the nation, better than was generally imagined.

The public was informed that his royal highneſs's illneſs was firſt occaſioned by catching cold in Kew-gardens, which was increaſed by coming from the houſe of peers, when extremely warm, with the windows of his chair down, and turned to a pleuriſy. No danger, however, was apprehended; and upon the application of proper remedies, he was even thought to be in a fair way of recovery, till the very hour of his death, when he was ſeized with a pain in his breaſt; upon which he expreſſed he had never felt any thing like it before, and complained that he ſmelled an unuſual ſmell, like that of a dead corpſe; and preſently throwing himſelf back in his chair, expired. His body was opened the next day, and there was found a large abſceſs upon his lungs, the burſting of which was ſuppoſed to have been the immediate cauſe of his death. The remains of his royal highneſs were depoſited with great pomp and ceremony in a vault in Henry VII's chapel, the duke of Somerſet being chief mourner.

His royal highneſs was the eighteenth prince of Wales of the Engliſh blood-royal, and the only one, except Edward the Black Prince, who died (at about the ſame age as his royal highneſs) in his father's lifetime, and left a ſon to ſucceed him. It was therefore preſumed that prince George, eldeſt ſon of his late highneſs, ſucceeded to all his father's titles and dignities without any new creation, Edward III. having only declared his grandſon Richard prince of Wales, in the ſimilar caſe above-mentioned, not created him by a new patent. The eldeſt ſon of a king of England, if born while his father is on the throne, is by birth duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter and Flint, but prince of Wales by creation. However, that creation being once made, and the poſſeſſor dying and leaving male-iſſue before he ſucceeds to the throne, it ſhould ſeem probable that the common courſe of ſucceſſion to theſe honours ſhould here take place. In theſe conjectures, however, the public found itſelf miſtaken; for on the twentieth of April letters-patent paſſed the great-ſeal of Great Britain, creating George-William prince of Great Britain, prince of Wales, and earl of Cheſter.

On the twenty-ſixth of the ſame month his majeſty ſent a meſſage to both houſes, ſignifying his royal inclination, that in caſe the imperial crown of theſe realms ſhould deſcend to any of the iſſue of his ſon the late prince of Wales, being under the age of eighteen years, the princeſs-dowager of Wales, their mother, ſhould be guardian to the perſon of ſuch ſucceſſor, and regent of theſe kingdoms, until they ſhould attain that age, with ſuch power and limitation as ſhould appear neceſſary and expedient for theſe purpoſes. This meſſage was anſwered by affectionate addreſſes from both houſes, promiſing their compliance with his majeſty's inclination; and a bill was accordingly prepared by the lords, declaring the princeſs of Wales regent of the realm, on the event of the king's death, during the minority of her eldeſt ſon; and ſhe was to be aſſiſted in the adminiſtration of the government by a council of regency. This was compoſed of his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, who was then at the head of the army, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord-chancellor, the lord high-treaſurer of Great Britain, or firſt commiſſioner of the Treaſury, the preſident of the council, the lord privy-ſeal, the lord high-admiral of Great Britain, or firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty, the two ſecretaries of ſtate, and the lord chief-juſtice of the King's Bench, all of them for the time being, except his royal highneſs the duke. This bill

quickly paſſed through the upper houſe; but it did not make its way through the commons without a violent debate; the council of regency in particular met with fierce oppoſition. The majority, however, paſſed the bill, which in a little time received the royal ſanction.

On Wedneſday the twenty-ſecond of May the royal aſſent was given to the ever-famous act of the Britiſh legiſlature, "for regulating the commencement of the year, and for correcting the calendar now in uſe;" that is, for aboliſhing the OLD, and eſtabliſhing the NEW STILE, already in uſe in moſt other parts of Chriſtendom. This act was modelled with great ſkill and learning by the earl of Macclesfield, and has been productive of many excellent conſequences; in particular, the correſpondence between the Engliſh merchants and thoſe of foreign countries will be greatly facilitated, with reſpect to the dates of letters and accounts. The following conciſe, but clear account of the grounds on which this new regulation proceeds, cannot be unacceptable to our readers:

By the Julian account (ſo called as being framed by Julius Cæſar) the year is ſuppoſed to conſiſt of three hundred and ſixty-five days and ſix hours. The odd hours added together amounting every fourth year to a day, three years ſucceſſively conſiſt each of three hundred and ſixty-five days, and the fourth year of three hundred and ſixty-ſix, which is called Leap Year.

But the true ſolar year conſiſting of only three hundred and ſixty-five days five hours forty-nine minutes and ſixteen ſeconds, there is an over-reckoning of ten minutes and forty-four ſeconds every year, which of conſequence has made a variation of one day in every one hundred and thirty-four years that have paſſed ſince the firſt ſettling this account: by which means the vernal equinox, or ſun's entrance into Aries, is now on the tenth of March, which in Julius Cæſar's time was on the twenty-fourth.

Pope Gregory III. finding the Julian account to be erroneous, reſolved upon a reformation of it, which he finiſhed in the year 1582, and which from him is called the Gregorian account, or New Stile.

The pope in his reformation looked no farther back than the council of Nice, which was held in the year 325; and finding the vernal equinox was then on the twenty-firſt of March, he ordered ten days in the year 1582 to be omitted, which was done by calling the fifth of October (his birth-day) the fifteenth; ſo that the vernal equinox, which otherwiſe would have been on the eleventh, fell on the twenty-firſt of March.

And to prevent errors of the like nature for the future, he ordered the ſubtracting three days from every revolution of four hundred years, which was to be done by omitting the twenty-ninth day of February at the end of the three centuries, and at the end of the fourth century to retain it.

This is the reaſon that, before the twenty-ninth of February 1700, the difference between the old and new ſtile was only ten, whereas ſince that time it has been eleven days.

I ſhall now give a ſhort abſtract of this memorable act, as being of ſufficient importance to claim a place in every hiſtory of this country.

In the firſt place, it is enacted, that the old computation of the year, by which it begins on March 25, is not to be made uſe of, throughout all the Britiſh dominions, after December 31, 1751, but the firſt of January next following is to be reckoned the firſt day of the year 1752, and every year for the future to begin on the firſt of January inſtead of the twenty fifth of March. In the ſecond place, the ſeveral days of each month, after the firſt of January 1752, are to go on in the ſame order as uſual, till the ſecond of September in the ſaid year, incluſive; but the natural day next immediately following the ſaid ſecond of September 1752, inſtead of the third, is to be called the fourteenth of September, omitting only for that time the eleven intermediate nominal days of the preſent calendar. And the ſeveral natural days that ſhall follow the ſaid fourteenth of September are to be reckoned forward in numerical order as uſual, and ſo on continually.

All acts, deeds, notes, &c. after the firſt of January 1752, to be dated according to the new ſupputation. And the fixed terms, Hilary and Michaelmas, and all courts, &c. that are to be held on any certain day of a month, to be kept on the ſame nominal day, after the ſecond of September, 1752, when the eleven days are dropt that they were kept on, according to the old method, i. e. eleven days ſooner than the ſame are now kept.

For keeping the days of the year in the ſame regular courſe as near as may be (to the true motion of the ſun) the years of our Lord 1800, 1900, 2100, 2200, 2300, or any hundredth years in time to come (which, according to the preſent method, would be Leap year, as every fourth year is) except only every fourth hundredth, whereof the year 2000 to be the firſt, are not to be deemed Leap years, but common years, of three hundred and ſixty-five days. And the years 2000, 2400, 2800, and every other fourth hundredth year, to be Leap years, of three hundred and ſixty-ſix days.

New rules are fixed, and a calendar annexed, for keeping Eaſter according to the full moons by which it is regulated, and the other moveable feaſts depending on Eaſter; and the fixed feaſts and faſts to be kept on the ſame nominal days as now. All the moveable feaſts, the moveable terms of Eaſter and Trinity, and moveable fairs, marts, &c. to be governed by Eaſter and the other moveable feaſts, as uſual, but according to the new calendar, and to be held on their reſpective days accordingly.

Fixed fairs or marts, after the ſaid ſecond of September, not to be held on the ſame nominal day, but the ſaid natural day as before, that is, eleven days later than the nominal day by the new computation.

Opening and incloſing of commons of paſture not to be accelerated by the act, but to commence on the ſame natural day they would have happened if the act had not been made, viz. eleven days later than it would have happened by the new computation, to begin on the new 14th of September above-mentioned.

The payment of rents, annuities, or money payable by virtue of any contract already made, or which ſhall be made before the ſaid fourteenth of September 1752, or otherwiſe; the time of the delivery of goods or merchandize, &c. the commencement or expiration of leaſes; the attaining the age of twenty-one years, &c. by any perſon now born, or who ſhall be born before the ſaid fourteenth

fourteenth of September; or the expiration of any apprenticeſhip or other ſervice; none of theſe, &c. to be accelerated or anticipated by the act, but to be on the ſame natural days as they ſhould have been if this act had not been made; and the ſum to be paid for the intereſt of money ſhall be according to the true number of natural days, and ſhall not at all be affected by this act.

The mention of the other acts of parliament paſſed this ſeſſion does not fall within the deſign of this hiſtory. I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that the public buſineſs being completed, his majeſty repaired to the houſe of peers on the twenty-fifth of June; and after giving the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills that were prepared for that purpoſe, he concluded the ſeſſion by a moſt gracious ſpeech to both houſes, in which he returned them thanks for the proofs they had given of their zeal and affection for him and his government, and their care and attention for the intereſts of his people: then addreſſing himſelf to the commons, he told them, that the prudence and firmneſs they had ſhewn in completing the reduction of the national debt, was as agreeable to him as that meaſure was eſſential to the ſtrength and welfare of the kingdom; and concluded with recommending to both houſes to encourage and promote a juſt reverence for government and law, and not to ſuffer thoſe good laws which were enacted there to loſe their effect for want of due execution.

Never indeed was admonition of this kind more neceſſary from the throne than at this period; for a greater ſpirit of profligacy and diſſoluteneſs now prevailed than had been known for many years paſt. Numbers of perſons were executed for the moſt ſhocking and atrocious crimes. In the courſe of this year only, one Miſs Blandy was executed for poiſoning her father, an eminent attorney at Henley upon Thames in Oxfordſhire; and Miſs Jefferies, another young gentlewoman, was executed, with Swan her lover, for murdering her uncle, a wealthy tradeſman who had retired from buſineſs, and with whom ſhe had lived for a conſiderable time. A large mob aſſembled at Tring in Hertfordſhire, and ſeizing an old woman and her huſband (each of them upwards of ſeventy years of age) under the notion of their having bewitched ſome of the neighbours, they treated them with ſuch inhumanity, by ducking and beating them, that the woman died on the ſpot, and the man in a very few days after. For this murder one Colley was hanged. Two fellows, Welſh and Jones, were diſcovered this year alſo to have been the authors of a rape and murder, for which one Coleman, a brewer's clerk, had unjuſtly ſuffered upon their falſe evidence. Thoſe wretches were ſo hardened as to be preſent at Coleman's execution, heard his declaration of his innocence, and afterwards aſſiſted in drawing the cart from under him. Both of them were hanged, confeſſing the crime.

The loſs of the prince of Wales was ſucceeded by two other heavy ſtrokes to the royal family of Great-Britain this year; for on the eleventh of October, the prince of Orange, his majeſty's ſon-in-law, paid the debt of nature, in the forty-firſt year of his age; as did likewiſe Louiſa, queen of Denmark, the King's youngeſt daughter, who expired on the nineteenth of December, in the twenty-ſeventh year of her age. The princeſs of Orange was inveſted with the government of the United Provinces, as governante, till her ſon ſhould arrive at the years of majority, and exerciſed the ſame power as her huſband had enjoyed.

Affairs on the continent continued much in the former ſituation: a ſtrong jealouſy however ſtill prevailed between the king of Pruſſia and the czarina, who ordered her miniſter at the court of Berlin, to make an abrupt departure; and his example was followed by the Pruſſian ambaſſador at Peterſburg.

The French king ſtill continued bent upon the proſecution of the ſchemes which he had formed in America; and though his ſubjects did not openly attack or moleſt any of our ſettlements, yet it was not long before they ſhewed the little regard they had to the articles of the late peace. They had been exceeding buſy ever ſince its concluſion, in ſeducing the Indians, our allies, into their intereſt; and the clandeſtine ſucceſs their perfidious dealings met with, was ſoon apparent, for in Auguſt, this year, advice came, that the French were gone from Canada, with an army of ſix hundred men, viz. four hundred French and two hundred Indians, to be augmented to one thouſand on their march, and were proceeding to the ſouth-weſtern parts of North-America, in order to ſtrengthen their own intereſt and ruin ours in thoſe parts; particularly, to deſtroy the nation of the Twightwees, who are friends to the Engliſh, and to kill a certain Virginian trader, who, by honeſt dealings with the Indians, had lately gained the affections of many, and drawn their trade that way: but having intelligence of their deſign, he ſent a belt of wampum to all the Six Nations, to excite them to oppoſe their attempts; while the French, on the other hand, were no leſs aſſiduous to draw over thoſe nations, and engage them in their intereſt. Great ſums of money, and large quantities of ſpirituous liquors were ſent to them as bribes. We alſo learnt, that the French were building forts in all parts of America to the weſtward, in the carrying-places between the lakes and rivers, and in all the moſt important places where they had the beſt proſpect to bring the Indians into dependance, and to drive us out of the fur trade: in the mean while, the better to cover their deſigns, they affected to load the Britiſh ambaſſador at Paris with more than ordinary careſſes.

The court of Spain was alſo remarkably attentive to the improvement of their marine, their commerce, and manufactures. Several Engliſh ſhipwrights who, by a moſt groſs error in political œconomy, had, at the concluſion of the late war, been diſcharged from our dock-yards, and left to ſhift for themſelves, had been allured, by the pretences of great advantages, to tranſport themſelves and families into Spain, where they built ſeveral large ſhips of war upon the Britiſh model. The Spaniſh woollen and other manufactures were alſo, by the ſkill and induſtry of ſome of our countrymen, who had ſettled there, carried to ſuch a degree of perfection, that the exportation of thoſe commodities from Britain was very conſiderably diminiſhed. Mr. Keene, the Britiſh ambaſſador at the court of Madrid, was therefore ordered by our miniſtry, to make a repreſentation, requiring, that no more Britiſh ſubjects ſhould be permitted to ſettle in Spain; and that even thoſe who had already

ready ſettled there, ſhould be obliged to quit his Catholic Majeſty's dominions: very little notice however was taken of this remonſtrance.

In the ſpring of this year, his Swediſh majeſty departed this life, in a good old age, and was ſucceeded by Adolphus Frederic, duke of Holſtein Eutin, biſhop of Lubeck. As the ſucceſſion to this kingdom may be an affair of ſome intricacy to many of our readers, the following account of it, and of the family of the deceaſed king, will not poſſibly be diſagreeable.

Frederick, the deceaſed king of Sweden, and landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, eldeſt ſon of Charles landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, was born in 1676; he was firſt married to a daughter of Frederick II. king of Pruſſia: but ſhe dying without iſſue, he eſpouſed the princeſs Eleonora, youngeſt daughter of Charles XI. king of Sweden, who, on her brother Charles XII. being killed before Frederickſhall in Norway in 1718, was elected by the ſtates queen of Sweden, on condition of reſtoring them their ancient rights and liberties; and ſhe reſigning the crown in favour of her conſort, he was elected king of Sweden, and crowned in May 1721, on the like conditions agreed to by the queen, of lodging both the legiſlative and executive power in the ſtates, and leaving the prince little more than the name of a king.

The princeſs Hedwig Sophia, eldeſt ſiſter of Charles XII. married Frederick, duke of Holſtein Gottorp, by whom ſhe had iſſue Charles Frederick, who married Anna Petrowna, eldeſt daughter of czar Peter the Great by his ſecond wife Catherine. By her he had iſſue Charles Peter Ulrick, who conſequently was heir to the crown of Sweden, and ſo declared by the ſtates on his father's death: but the czarina Elizabeth, the late empreſs of Ruſſia, having declared him her ſucceſſor to that crown, he renounced his claim to Sweden, and the ſtates declared his uncle Adolphus Frederick, duke of Holſtein Eutin and biſhop of Lubeck, ſucceſſor to the Swediſh throne. He was born in 1710, and married to the princeſs Ulrica of Pruſſia.

The day after the deceaſed king's death, viz. March 26, O. S. the prince ſucceſſor, Adolphus Frederick, was proclaimed king; and immediately, of his own accord, took an oath in full ſenate, that he would never attempt to introduce a deſpotic authority; but maintain their liberties with his blood, and govern his ſubjects in all reſpects according to the laws, and the form of government eſtabliſhed in Sweden. A ſhort time after his acceſſion, he ſent an envoy to the court of Peterſburg, to intimate his intentions to live upon amicable terms with that crown, with which notice the czarina was ſo well pleaſed, that ſhe expreſſed her ſatisfaction in a public declaration, and the good underſtanding between the two courts was perfectly reſtored.

The parliament of England was opened on the fourteenth day of November, when the king, in his ſpeech from the throne, gave the two houſes to underſtand, "That for the ſame purpoſes which ſuggeſted the treaty with the elector of Bavaria, he had now, in conjunction with the States General, concluded another with the king of Poland, elector of Saxony: he told them, that the unfortunate death of the prince of Orange had made no alteration in the ſtate of affairs in Holland; and that he had received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from the States of their firm reſolution to maintain the intimate union and friendſhip happily ſubſiſting between his majeſty and thoſe ancient and natural allies of his crown. Finally, he exhorted both houſes to conſider ſeriouſly of ſome effectual proviſions to ſuppreſs thoſe audacious crimes of robbery and violence, grown ſo frequent about the capital, proceeding, in a great meaſure, from that profligate ſpirit of irreligion, idleneſs, gaming, and extravagance, which had of late extended itſelf in an uncommon degree, to the diſhonour of the nation, and the great offence and prejudice of the ſober and induſtrious part of the people."

Addreſſes replete with expreſſions of loyalty, affection, and approbation, were returned by both houſes; and ſuch an unanimity now appeared in their proceedings, as afforded the moſt comfortable proſpect to every true lover of his country. The firſt thing the commons went upon was the caſe of Mr. Murray, who, at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion, had been diſcharged of courſe from his confinement in Newgate; on which occaſion, a great number of his friends, and amongſt others the two ſheriffs of London, accompanied him in a triumphal manner to his own houſe. This behaviour of the ſheriffs was highly reſented by the houſe, and ſome talked of ſummoning them to the bar; but by the prudence and moderation of Mr. Pelham, theſe haſty meaſures were quaſhed. It was, however, reſolved to order Mr. Murray again into cuſtody; but he had wiſely eſcaped the ſtorm, by retiring out of the kingdom; of which, when the houſe was informed, they addreſſed his majeſty to offer a reward for apprehending him, with which his majeſty was moſt graciouſly pleaſed to comply. A proſecution was alſo commenced againſt the author, printer, and publiſher of a pamphlet, entitled, "The caſe of the honourable Alexander Murray, eſq. in an appeal to the people of Great Britain:" and the ſame perſon happening to be both printer and publiſher, he was brought to his trial, but after a long hearing was acquitted by the jury.

The commons then proceeded to ſettle the ſupply. They granted two millions ninety thouſand three hundred and nine pounds for the ſervice of the current year; one million three hundred thouſand pounds towards diſcharging the national debt; three hundred one thouſand and twelve pounds for ſupplying the deficiencies of old funds; fifty-four thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-one pounds for making good the deficiencies of laſt year's grants; forty-nine thouſand two hundred and nineteen pounds for defraying extraordinary expences; and one hundred and twelve thouſand one hundred and forty-two pounds for purchaſing the charter of the African company; the whole amounting nearly to four millions ſterling.

The buſineſs of this ſeſſion was not very important. However, ſome very ſalutary laws were enacted for the encouragement of traffic, and the better regulation of the civil polity. Theſe conſiſted in an act for licenſing pawn-brokers, and for the more effectual preventing the receiving of ſtolen goods. Another for preventing thefts and robberies, and the puniſhment of ſuch perſons who kept diſorderly houſes. The operation of this bill extended to London, and twenty miles round it; and all perſons living within that circuit were required to take out licences from the juſtices of the peace, before

they ſhould preſume to open any room or place for public dancing, muſic, or ſuch other entertainment.

For the better cultivating and civilizing the Highlands of Scotland, and preventing of diſorders there for the future, an act of parliament paſſed this ſame ſeſſion, "for annexing certain forfeited eſtates in Scotland (by the rebellions in the years 1715 and 1745) to the crown unalienably, and for making ſatisfaction to the lawful creditors thereupon, and to eſtabliſh a method for managing the ſame." By this bill, his majeſty was empowered to commit the management of theſe eſtates to the care of commiſſioners, who were to have no ſalaries, but were to appoint ſtewards under them, with an allowance not exceeding five per cent. of the rental, and grant leaſes for any term not exceeding 21 years, upon a reſerved rent of three-fourths of the neat annual value, and not to amount above 20 l. a-year to any one perſon. All the ceſſees were to take the oaths to the government, and to reſide upon and cultivate the lands, and not to reſign or let them to any other perſon, nor to pay any gratuity whatſoever to any other perſon for holding them. The king may erect ſchools on the ſaid eſtates, or in the other parts of the Highlands or iſlands of Scotland, for inſtructing young perſons in reading and writing the Engliſh language, and in the ſeveral branches of agriculture and manufactures; and may erect houſes for their reception, and for carrying on ſuch manufactures by them, and for accommodating their maſters; and may apply ſuch parts of the produce of the ſaid eſtates as ſhall be neceſſary for erecting ſuch ſchools, for providing ſalaries for the teachers, for clothing and maintaining ſuch young perſons, and for ſupplying the ſchools with utenſils and materials for agriculture and manufactures, and for the raiſing flax, &c. as his majeſty ſhall direct. And the king may empower the commiſſioners to allot portions of land for the uſe of ſuch ſchools, or to apply ſuch part of the clear rent of the lands as he ſhall direct, in the purchaſe of portions of land to be allotted for ſuch ſchools.

Of this excellent law poſterity will reap the principal benefit, a beginning being already made in ſeveral parts of the Highlands for working ſchools; to which the moſt laudable ſociety in Scotland "for propagating Chriſtian knowlege in the Highlands, &c." have lent an helping hand, by erecting ſeveral ſchools, out of their own income, for the inſtruction of the children. New villages are alſo begun; manufactures, as well as agriculture, are ſet on foot, where none were known before: ſo that it is highly probable, in half a century more, the moſt uncultivated parts of that country will wear a very different aſpect. Another excellent bill was that "for the better preventing the horrid crime of murder;" by which it is enacted, "That all perſons convicted of wilful murder ſhall be executed on the next day but one following that on which the ſentence is pronounced, which it ſhall be immediately on conviction, except it fall on a Sunday, when they ſhall be executed on the Monday following: afterwards their body ſhall be delivered to the company of ſurgeons to be diſſected; or in the country, to ſuch ſurgeon or ſurgeons as the judges of aſſize ſhall direct. After the ſentence ſhall be paſſed, the murderer ſhall be fed on bread and water only, &c. &c." This new proviſion, or ſome other againſt this abominable crime, ſeemed to be greatly wanted, as murders had been ſhockingly frequent of late; and this expedient, how ineffectual ſoever it may appear in theory, hath been found in practice of very ſalutary conſequence.

The multiplicity of public funds had long been conſidered as a national grievance. The different ſtocks of annuities at three per cent. were no fewer than eight, amounting in the whole to upwards of nine millions. Thoſe at three and a half per cent. were ſix, compoſing a ſum of near eighteen millions. In order to remove the perplexity and confuſion which muſt neceſſarily attend ſuch a number of public funds, Mr. Pelham projected a bill, which was eaſily carried through both houſes, for converting the ſeveral annuities into ſo many joint ſtocks, transferable on the Bank of England, and to be charged on the ſinking fund.

On the twentieth day of March 1752, a petition was preſented to the commons by the merchants of London, ſetting forth, That ſeveral foreigners had of late years come over to England, in order to obtain private acts of parliament for their naturalization, with a view to gain ſome advantages to themſelves in point of trade; particularly to avoid the payment of the duties of aliens, on the goods and merchandizes which they imported from foreign parts into this kingdom; and that having obtained ſuch acts, they returned back to their own country, where they conſtantly reſided, and conſequently bore no part of the public taxes, nor in any manner contributed towards the ſupport of the ſtate, or at all anſwered the intention of the legiſlature. They therefore prayed that this abuſe of the favour of parliament might be prevented, by reſtraining for the future the benefit of naturalization to the time during which foreigners ſhould reſide within this realm, in ſuch manner, and under ſuch limitations, as to the houſe ſhould appear fit. This petition appeared ſo reaſonable, that the houſe thought proper immediately to grant it; and a clauſe accordingly to that purpoſe was inſerted in a naturalization bill which was then depending, and has continued ſince to be added to every bill of that nature.

I muſt not omit taking notice here, that the members of the houſe of commons came to a reſolution this ſeſſion to have their Journals printed. This was a work of great utility and neceſſity, as the knowlege of parliamentary tranſactions is ſo neceſſary to every member of either houſe, and as the charge of tranſcribing them could be defrayed by ſo few. The care of this publication was committed to Mr. Hardinge, late clerk of the houſe; and five thouſand pounds were at different times allotted him for the execution of the work, which came out tolerably accurate and correct. It were to be wiſhed, that while the legiſlature were upon this ſubject, they had turned their thoughts to the preſent method of dating acts of parliament from the years of the reigning king, without mentioning the year of our Lord, as in the laws of other nations, whereby much uncertainty and frequent miſtakes, in computing a number of years between a certain year of one king's reign to a certain year of another king's reign, or to the preſent time, are avoided. This is frequently complained of, tho' not yet remedied; and it might eaſily be done in future, by ſuperadding the year of our Lord to the year of the reigning prince.

On the twenty-ſixth of March, his majeſty having given his aſſent to ninety five public and private bills, harangued the two houſes in the uſual ſtrain; after which the parliament was prorogued. As ſoon as the ſeſſion expired, the king appointed a regency, and ſet out for Hanover, in order to concert the proper meaſures for effecting the great ſcheme he had projected for getting the archduke Joſeph choſen king of the Romans. No one event of importance ſufficient to claim a place in hiſtory, happened in Great Britain during his abſence, nor indeed in the whole courſe of this year, except the ratification of two treaties of peace and commerce between his majeſty and the ſtates of Tripoli and Tunis, on the coaſt of Barbary, concluded by the miniſtration of commodore Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle; and that the truſtees of Georgia, finding they could not ſupport that colony under its then conſtitution, ſurrendered their charter to his majeſty.

The ſeveral powers of Europe were at this time ſo intent upon their own intereſts, that very few foreign incidents of this year relate to Great Britain. The king of Portugal indeed attempted to check the vaſt exportation of gold coin out of his kingdom by the Britiſh merchants, and inſiſted upon inſpecting the books of the factory at Liſbon; but upon proper remonſtrances being made that ſuch a ſtep would be a direct contravention of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns, he declined any farther proceedings of that kind.

A miſunderſtanding aroſe this ſummer between his Britannic majeſty and the king of Pruſſia, concerning their reſpective pretenſions to the province of Eaſt Frieſland, which was at preſent in the poſſeſſion of the latter of theſe monarchs. It was propoſed by his Britannic majeſty to refer this diſpute to the deciſion of the Aulic Council; but this was rejected by Pruſſia, who at the ſame time ſtopped payment of the Sileſia loan *, which he had hitherto continued punctually to pay, and cauſed a paper to be publiſhed in juſtification of his conduct, in which he declared his motives to be, the unjuſtly ſtopping and ſeizing, by the Engliſh, of eighteen Pruſſian ſhips, and thirty-three neutral veſſels in which the Pruſſians were concerned. At the ſame time, he ordered his miniſter at London to preſent a memorial, with an account of the damages, amounting to a very conſiderable ſum, and demanding, in the moſt peremptory manner, a final diſcuſſion of the affair in three months from the date of his remonſtrance. This memorial was referred by the miniſters to the examination of his majeſty's advocate, attorney, and ſolicitor-general, who, after the ſtricteſt enquiry into, and matureſt reflection on, this matter, refuted every article of the charge in the moſt clear and perſpicuous manner; and moreover ſhewed, beyond contradiction, that after all, there was not the moſt diſtant connection between the capture of thoſe ſhips and the affair of the Sileſia loan, which was altogether a private tranſaction between the emperor and the creditors: and, finally, that by the contract with the late emperor, the whole of the loan ought to have been repaid in the year 1745; but that all the complaints brought by the Pruſſians were founded upon facts that did not happen till 1746. This report was tranſmitted to his Pruſſian majeſty, who was ſo ſenſible of the truths contained therein, that he gave up the point without farther heſitation.

The troubles in Corſica roſe to a very great height this year, there being no leſs than three parties on foot in that iſland; one for the Genoeſe, one for the French, and the third for the independency of the iſland againſt both. France was diſtracted with violent diſputes between the king and the clergy, in relation to the taxation of their revenues; and between the latter and the parliament, about matters of religious faith and practice.

The tranquillity of the North appeared to be now perfectly re-eſtabliſhed. The States-general of the United Provinces applied their whole attention to the interior polity of their dominions; and Spain was earneſtly bent upon the improvement of her commerce and manufactures: and in the autumn of this year a treaty was concluded at Madrid, between the empreſs queen and the kings of France and Spain: to which other powers, particularly the king of Sardinia, afterwards acceded, for preſerving the peace of Italy.

The courts of Vienna and Hanover ſtill continued to proſecute, in the moſt vigorous manner, their ſcheme of electing a king of the Romans: and the elector of Mentz, influenced by the majority of the college, had convoked an electoral diet for that purpoſe: but ſtrong proteſts againſt this convocation were entered by the electors of Cologne and Palatine; the latter of whom was brought over, by granting him the ſatisfaction he demanded of the empreſs-queen and his Britannic majeſty, amounting to one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, by way of indemnification for the loſſes he had ſuſtained during the war; and by procuring for him ſome other privileges which he inſiſted upon, well underſtanding his own importance on this occaſion. Yet, even after the concurrence of this prince was ſecured, the purpoſed election proved abortive, by the reſiſtance of the other princes of the empire, who thought the liberties of the Germanic body might be endangered, by the election of the ſon in the life-time of the emperor his father, ſince, as they obſerved (and certainly with great reaſon) the reigning emperor might have ſo much influence as to prevent the neceſſary capitulations to be ſigned by the king of the Romans as emperor "in futuro," being inſiſted upon: and thus their liberties by degrees be rendered precarious, and at laſt entirely ſubvered. The king of Pruſſia particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this oppoſition, perhaps from a ſecret view of obtaining the imperial dignity for himſelf, though a proteſtant, there being no law to confine it to a Roman catholic.

* The affair of the Sileſia loan was as follows: In the year 1735 the emperor Charles VI. ſtraitened for money, had by the permiſſion of the king of England, with whom he was then upon very good terms, borrowed from the ſubjects of Great Britain two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds at ſix per cent. for which he mortgaged the ſilver mines in Sileſia. By the ſeventh article of the treaty of Breſlau, which ceded Sileſia to the king of Pruſſia, that prince charged himſelf wholly with the repayment of what had been lent by the Engliſh merchants on the ſecurity of the revenues of Sileſia.

By this time the French in North America had infuſed ſuch a ſpirit of malice, cruelty, and revenge, into their Indians, that the moſt horrid barbarities were committed on the outſettlers on the frontiers of our colonies, which were all alarmed at the news they received of the proceedings of their treacherous neighbours. The French, tho' determined to carry their ambitious projects into execution, yet perceiving that, by all the aſſiſtance their Indians could afford them, they were not a match for the Engliſh in America, thought it neceſſary to ſend for recruits from France. Accordingly, nine thouſand troops, with their wives and children, were ſent from thence to Canada in the courſe of this year.

In September advice arrived in England from the Eaſt Indies, where war was carried on by the French and Engliſh companies, that colonel Clive, an officer in our company's ſervice, had obliged the French to retire from before Arcot, and had gained many other ſignal advantages over them. Theſe diſturbances in India had been occaſioned by the intrigues of the French company's officers, and by thoſe of both companies engaging too much in the quarrels of the natives.

By other advices which came ſome time after from our Weſt India ſettlements, the government had the mortification to learn, that on the fifteenth of September this year a violent hurricane, at Charles-Town in South Carolina, had driven all the veſſels in the harbour on ſhore, ruined the wharfs and bridges, and blown down a great number of houſes, &c. The damage done by this fatal ſtorm was immenſe, and plantations thirty miles round Charles-Town were ſwept clear, and had all their buildings utterly demoliſhed. Numbers of lives and much cattle were loſt: in ſhort, the devaſtation was to the laſt degree deplorable. On the thirtieth of the ſame month another violent hurricane added greatly to the diſtreſs of this ſuffering colony, though it did more damage in the country than in Charles-Town.

His majeſty being returned from his German dominions, opened the ſeſſion of parliament on the eleventh of January, 1753, with a moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne, which was anſwered by loyal addreſſes from both houſes. Then the commons proceeded to conſider the ſupplies, which, ſuch was the oeconomy of the miniſtry, amounted to very little more than two millions. As for the national debt, it now ſtood at the enormous ſum of ſeventy-four millions three hundred and ſixty-eight thouſand four hundred and fifty-one pounds fifteen ſhillings; and to diſcharge this, the ſinking fund produced one million ſeven hundred and thirty-five thouſand five hundred twenty-nine pounds ſix ſhillings.

Several bills of excellent tendency were paſſed in the beginning of this ſeſſion, viz. A bill for the better preſervation of the game, which by the infamous practices of poachers, was threatened with a total extirpation. A bill for the better regulating the performance of quarantine, in order to prevent the plague from being imported from foreign countries into Great Britain. A bill for the more effectual preventing the inhuman practice of plundering ſhips which have the misfortune to ſuffer ſhipwreck; a practice which prevailed upon many different parts of the Britiſh coaſt, to the diſgrace of the nation, and the ſcandal of human nature. A bill allowing the exportation of wool and woollen yarn from Ireland, to any port in Great Britain; and another, preſcribing the breadth of wheels belonging to heavy carriages, that the high roads of the kingdom might be the better preſerved. This is commonly known by the name of the Broad Wheel Act.

But this ſeſſion was chiefly diſtinguiſhed by an act for the naturalization of the Jews, and a bill for the preventing of clandeſtine marriages. The firſt of theſe, which made its way pretty eaſily through the houſe of lords, who ſent it down to the commons, was entitled, An act to permit perſons profeſſing the Jewiſh religion to be naturalized by parliament. It was countenanced by the miniſtry, and ſupported by petitions from ſome woollen manufacturers, and others concerned in ſhipping, who affirmed, that ſuch an act might tend greatly to encourage many perſons of wealth and ſubſtance to remove with their effects from foreign parts into this kingdom; the greateſt part of which, agreeable to the experience of former times, would be employed by them in foreign trade and commerce, in increaſing the ſhipping, and encouraging the exportation of the woollen and other manufactures of England, of which the perſons who profeſſed the Jewiſh religion had for many years laſt paſt exported great quantities.

The ſentiments of the generality of the people, however, were widely different from theſe, and never was more univerſal or violent clamour raiſed againſt miniſterial meaſures than was againſt this: the preſs teemed with the moſt abuſive and ſcurrilous publications againſt the whole Jewiſh tribe, and thoſe who were the advocates for, and ſupporters of this bill, which was repreſented as an axe laid to the root of Chriſtianity; and the whole a private and corrupt buſineſs, managed between the great people in power, and the leading men among the Jews. The lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council aſſembled, preſented a petition to parliament, in which they expreſſed their apprehenſion that the bill, if paſſed into a law, would tend greatly to the diſhonour of the Chriſtian religion, endanger the excellent conſtitution, and be highly prejudicial to the trade of the kingdom in general, and of the city of London in particular. To the ſame purpoſe another petition was alſo preſented by the merchants and traders of the city of London. Counſel was heard, evidence examined, and the bill produced violent debates, in which party prejudice and narrowneſs of opinion ſeemed to take place of real concern for the true intereſt of the nation. The bill however paſſed by a conſiderable majority in both houſes, and at length received the royal aſſent: but the minds of the people had been ſo heated with prejudices, from the miſrepreſentation of the nature and end of this act, that the government thought proper to repeal it to all intents and purpoſes, and this was the very firſt act of the following ſeſſion of parliament; although, as no ill uſe could well be made of this new privilege to the Jews, and as it might gradually have drawn hither many perſons of great ſubſtance to ſettle with their wealth amongſt us, and might conſequently farther promote the national commerce, it is not eaſy to ſee how it ſhould reaſonably have given any juſt offence

offence to moderate and reaſonable Chriſtians. But in the act abrogating this ſtatute, the grounds for the repeal were truly aſſigned, viz. "That occaſion had been taken from the firſt law to "raiſe diſcontents," and to diſquiet the minds of many of his majeſty's ſubjects."

The fatal effects of clandeſtine marriages had long been a ſubject of complaint in England. Every day produced hearings in the court of chancery, and left appeals to the houſe of peers, concerning the validity of thoſe marriages, by the irregularity of which the innocent offspring were ſometimes cut off from ſucceſſion to eſtates, though their parents had been married by mutual conſent. Deſigning people of both ſexes, though of the moſt infamous character, had it in their power to ruin the ſons and daughters of the greateſt families in England, by the hourly opportunities of being married at the Fleet, where a band of the moſt profligate wretches, wearing the habit of clergymen, and, to the diſgrace of that order, too many of them being really ſo, plied about the verge of the Fleet-market, like porters to intercept cuſtomers, and performed the ceremony of marriage without a licence, or aſking any queſtions of the two parties. Some ſhocking inſtances of young perſons ruined by theſe infamous practices, having lately been diſcovered, gave riſe to the preſent bill to prevent abuſes, which was framed under the direction of lord Hardwick, at that time lord high chancellor of England, and introduced into the upper houſe; from whence, after undergoing ſome ſlight alterations, it deſcended to the commons. There it occaſioned a moſt vehement conteſt, in which, however, all political motives and party prejudices appeared to be entirely laid aſide, and the ſpeakers for and againſt, to be actuated merely by their own private ſentiments: for many of the principal ſervants of the government differed in opinion from thoſe of the miniſtry who countenanced the bill; while, on the other hand, he was ſtrongly ſupported therein by ſome of the chiefs of the oppoſition: in fine, the diſputes were maintained with great warmth and eagerneſs, and in point of eloquence and argument the two parties were pretty equally matched; but at length, after a long and obſtinate conteſt, it was paſſed by a conſiderable majority, and in the end received the royal aſſent.

As this bill is ſtill in force; has been the ſubject of much popular clamour; and may be of uſe, eſpecially to my young readers, I have thought proper to give the ſubſtance of it here.

It ordains, "That the banns ſhall be publiſhed in the church or chapel where the parties dwell, three Sundays, in the morning, except where morning ſervice is not performed, immediately after the ſecond leſſon: if the parties live in different places, the banns muſt be publiſhed in each: and if in an extraparochial place, or where no divine-ſervice is uſually celebrated, then in the pariſh church or chapel adjoining; and the marriage muſt be ſolemnized where the banns were publiſhed.

"The miniſter is not obliged to publiſh the banns, unleſs the parties give in their chriſtian and ſur-names, the place of their abode, and the time they have dwelt in them, a week before the firſt publication; and when the banns have been thus publiſhed, the miniſter ſhall not incur eccleſiaſtical cenſure for ſolemnizing the marriage, although the parties ſhall appear to have been under age, and not to have obtained the conſent of their parents or guardians, unleſs they had previous notice of ſuch diſſent, and then he is to declare the banns void. No licence ſhall be granted where one of the parties ſhall not have dwelt at leaſt a month, a ſpecial licence by the archbiſhop excepted. If marriages ſhall be ſolemnized in any other place than a church or chapel, without a ſpecial licence; or in a public chapel without firſt having publiſhed the banns, or a licence obtained of ſome perſons properly authorized, the marriage ſhall be void, and the perſon who ſolemnized it tranſported for ſeven years, if proſecuted in three.

"Marriage by licence, when either of the ſaid parties are under age, and conſent of parents or guardians has not been obtained, ſhall be void, provided the party under age be not a widow, and the parent refuſing conſent be not a widow married again. When the conſent of a mother or guardian ſhall be capriciouſly refuſed, or the party *non compos mentis*, or beyond the ſea, the court of chancery may relieve in a ſummary way. No ſuit ſhall be had to compel a celebration, under pretence of any contract, whether the words of ſuch contract were in the preſent or future tenſe.

"All marriages to be before two witneſſes beſides the miniſter, and an entry ſhall be made in a book kept for that purpoſe, expreſſing whether it was by banns or licence, and either of the parties under age; the conſent of parent or guardian ſhall alſo be entered, to be ſigned by the miniſter, the parties, and the witneſſes. Falſe entry, licence, or certificates, or deſtroying regiſter-books, are felony in principal or acceſſary, and to be puniſhed with death. This act is not to extend to the royal family, quakers or Jews, or to affect any marriage in Scotland or beyond ſea: nor is it neceſſary, in order to ſupport a marriage by banns, to prove the reſidence of the parties, and the place where they were publiſhed; nor when by licence, to prove they had reſided where the marriage was celebrated on oath; nor ſhall any evidence be received to prove the contrary."

I cannot but think, however, that the framers of this bill might have fallen upon means to prevent the great evils and inconveniences ariſing from clandeſtine marriages, leſs harſh and ſevere to the ſubject than thoſe adopted by this act, which, after all, has been rendered in a manner ineffectual; for by a trip over to France, or a jaunt to Scotland, a wiſhing couple may, without the leaſt heſitation or interruption, be as indiſſolubly tied together as if they had been married here in England, in direct conformity to the regulations preſcribed by this act.

This ſeſſion furniſhed little more of importance, either of civil or commercial concern; but the attention of the parliament, which had ſeldom, if ever turned upon literary matters, was now directed to an extraordinary ſubject of that nature. Sir Hans Sloane, the celebrated phyſician and naturaliſt, who died in the beginning of this year, having through the courſe of many years, with great labour and expence, gathered together whatever could be procured either in our own or foreign countries, that was rare and curious in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, as well as of antiquities and maſter-pieces of art, had directed in his laſt will, that this valuable muſæum, together with his numerous library, ſhould be offered to the parliament, for the uſe of the public, on their pay-

ing the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds (ſuppoſed not to be one fourth of the real value) in compenſation to his heirs: but if the parliament ſhould not chuſe to purchaſe them, then, on the ſame conditions, they were to be offered to the academy of ſciences at Peterſburgh, and to thoſe of Paris, Berlin, and Madrid ſucceſſively; and if all thoſe ſhould refuſe them upon the above terms, the executors were directed to ſell them in ſuch manner as they ſhould think expedient. The Britiſh houſe of commons however was too jealous of the national honour to ſuffer ſo noble a collection to become the property of any other people; accordingly they readily embraced the terms of Sir Hans Sloane's will, and a bill was propoſed for purchaſing this muſæum, as alſo that valuable collection of manuſcripts, denominated from its founder Robert Harley earl of Oxford, the Harleian Miſcellany, and now offered to the public by his daughter, the dutcheſs of Portland, for ten thouſand pounds; and theſe two being joined to the famous Cottonian Library, and the king's or royal library, which had long lain neglected and expoſed to the injuries of the weather in the old dormitory at Weſtminſter, the whole was depoſited in Montague houſe, now better known by the name of the Muſæum, under the direction of truſtees and governors appointed by the parliament, from amongſt the moſt eminent perſons in the kingdom,* where this monument of national taſte and liberality is open to the inſpection of the public, under certain neceſſary reſtrictions; but without the leaſt fee or gratuity whatever being demanded or accepted.

On the ſeventeenth day of June, his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech to both houſes, which contained nothing that requires recapitulation, farther than that the ſtate of foreign affairs had undergone no alteration ſince their meeting.

The domeſtic tranſactions of this year in England conſiſted chiefly of the great and melancholy effects of ſtorms, tempeſts, and inundations, that happened in different parts; and in the continuance of that immorality and licentiouſneſs among the commonalty, which produced riots, tumults, and diſorders of various kinds, under as various pretences. In the city of Briſtol, in particular, moſt violent outrages were committed by the colliers, who raiſed an inſurrection on account of the exportation of corn, in which ſeveral lives were loſt before the public peace could be reſtored. The like tumults were raiſed in Yorkſhire, on account of the turnpikes, many of which were demoliſhed by the rabble. At Leeds the civil power having called in the aſſiſtance of the military, to ſupport the collectors of theſe tolls, the mob were ſo enraged at this circumſtance, that they broke into the town, and attacked the troops, who being at length obliged to fire in their own defence, killed nine of the rioters outright, and wounded about twenty-four; upon which the reſt fled in the greateſt terror, and the diſturbance was effectually quieted.

In the beginning of this year there happened an incident, which, though in its own nature little worthy of hiſtorical notice, deſerves to be recorded, as it ſerves ſtrongly to mark the genius of the Engliſh people. A young woman, whoſe name was Elizabeth Canning, pretended, that as ſhe was coming home at night, on new-years-day, ſhe was met under Bedlam wall by two fellows, who pulled off her gown, cap, and apron, and having gagged her, threatened her life if ſhe made the leaſt reſiſtance, and afterwards dragged her along between them to the houſe of one Mrs. Wells near Enfield Waſh, where menaces and confinement were made uſe of to induce her to turn proſtitute, which however ſhe had the courage to reſiſt. She ſaid, that an old gipſey, one Mary Squires, ſtripped her of her ſtays in Mrs. Wells's houſe; and ſhe declared, that during her confinement of near a month in that place, ſhe had no other ſubſiſtence but a quartern loaf and a gallon of water: after ſo long durance, ſhe took the opportunity to pull down ſome boards which were nailed before the window of the room ſhe was confined in, made her eſcape, and came, on the twenty-ninth of January, in a very miſerable naked condition, and almoſt deprived of her ſenſes, to her mother, a poor widow woman, who lived in Aldermanbury-poſtern.

Though nothing could be more improbable, and indeed more incredible than this ſtory, yet it operated ſo powerfully on the paſſions of the common people, eſpecially the enthuſiaſts of all denominations, that large ſubſcriptions were raiſed for proſecuting the ſuppoſed delinquents. Warrants accordingly were iſſued for apprehending Mrs. Wells, miſtreſs of the houſe at Enfield Waſh; the maid ſervant, whoſe name was Virtue Hall, and Squires, the old gipſey-woman, whom Canning charged with having robbed her of her ſtays. Virtue Hall, on her examination before Mr. juſtice Fielding, confeſſed her being witneſs to the above ill uſage and confinement: the gipſey and Mrs. Wells were hereupon ſent to priſon, and afterwards tried at the Old Bailey, where the former received ſentence of death, and the latter to be branded as a bawd, and impriſoned ſix months as an acceſſary to the fact.

Some time after, poſitive and reputable evidence being produced, that Mary Squires was at Abbotſbury in Dorſetſhire, at the very time when it was depoſed ſhe had ſtript Canning of her ſtays at Wells's houſe; and Virtue Hall having retracted her evidence before the lord mayor, then Sir Criſpe Gaſcoigne, that magiſtrate, ſurprized at the many impoſſibilities and abſurdities in Canning's ſtory, undertook to diſcuſs it to the bottom, for the ſake of truth and juſtice; in which he diſcharged himſelf with that noble reſolution and impartiality

* The truſtees are the archbiſhop of Canterbury; the lord high chancellor, or lord keeper; the lord high treaſurer, or firſt lord commiſſioner of the treaſury; the lord preſident of the council; the lord privy-ſeal; the lord high admiral, or firſt lord commiſſioner of the admiralty; the lord ſteward of his majeſty's houſhold; the lord chamberlain; the biſhop of London; the two ſecretaries of ſtate; the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons; the chancellor of the exchequer; the lord chief juſtice of the king's bench; the maſter of the rolls; the lord chief juſtice of the common pleas; the attorney general; the ſollicitor general; the preſident of the Royal-Society, and the preſident of the college of phyſicians; all of them for the time being. To theſe were added, Charles lord Cardigan; Hans Stanley, eſq. Samuel Burrows, eſq. Thomas Hart, eſq. William duke of Portland, and Edward earl of Oxford and Mortimer. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, have the nomination of all the officers, aſſiſtants, and ſervants.

which ought ever to animate the chief magiſtrate of this metropolis. Application was made to the throne for mercy, in behalf of the gipſey Squires, whoſe execution was reſpited; and his majeſty having ordered the whole affair to be laid before his attorney and ſollicitor-general, on their report, after having ſtrictly examined the witneſſes on both ſides, this poor old creature was indulged with a full pardon.

By this time the matter was ſwelled up to ſuch a pitch, as to divide the whole kingdom into two parties, who were inflamed againſt each other with the moſt outrageous ſpirit of animoſity, which was continued for almoſt a year. Pamphlets and papers innumerable were publiſhed on each ſide, in which the moſt ſcandalous liberties were taken with the characters of thoſe who were principally concerned for either party. Bills of perjury were mutually preferred; the evidences for Squires were tried and acquitted; Canning abſconded for ſome time, but afterwards ſurrendered to take her trial for wilful and corrupt perjury, at the Old Bailey; and during her trial, which laſted many days, the court adjourning from time to time, there were great mobs and riots about the ſeſſions-houſe, and the lord-mayor was often inſulted and abuſed in his paſſage to and from the court. The jury however brought Canning in guilty, and ſhe was committed to Newgate; but two of the jurymen having made oath, that the verdict they had given was not agreeable to their conſciences (for though they believed her guilty of perjury, they did not believe her guilty of *wilful and corrupt* perjury) the friends of the priſoner moved for a new trial, which point being argued next ſeſſion, before five of the judges, they gave their opinion, that the verdict was a good one, and perfectly agreeable to the evidence; and therefore in concluſion, Canning was ſentenced to be tranſported to the Britiſh colonies for ſeven years. Her departure however was, through the indiſcreet and bigotted zeal of her protectors, made rather a matter of parade and triumph, than the ſubmiſſion to a legal ſentence denounced againſt her as a culprit and impoſtor: large ſums were collected for her private uſe; a ſhip was hired purpoſely to carry her to the place of her deſtination, in which ſhe was ſupplied with every convenience that a perſon of the moſt comfortable circumſtances could require for a voyage of amuſement; and letters of recommendation accompanied her from perſons of diſtinction here at home, to others reſident in that part of the world ſhe was going to: and it has been ſince reported, that the artful jade has been married abroad, and ſettled in a manner infinitely above the moſt ſanguine expectations her general ſtate of life could ever have warranted.

The next incident that principally diſtinguiſhed this year in England, was the execution of Dr. Archibald Cameron, a native of Scotland, and brother to the famous Lochiel, a ſtaunch friend of the young pretender, and remarkably active in the late rebellion. The doctor had accompanied his brother in all his expeditions, though not in a military capacity, and had been involved in the ſame attainder with him: flattering himſelf, however, that after ſo long time elapſed, he had no danger to apprehend from detection, he ventured over this year to North Britain, in order to reclaim ſome debts due to him in that country: he was, however, diſcovered, apprehended, conducted to London, and confined in the Tower; and being afterwards brought before the court of King's-bench, the identity of his perſon was there ſworn to, in conſequence whereof he received ſentence of death, and ſuffered at Tyburn on the ſeventh of June with great fortitude and decorum; and it was thought by moſt cool and conſiderate people, that the government might have ſpared this unfortunate victim, without impairing its dignity, or derogating from its juſtice.

The Britiſh whale-fiſhery, which had for ſome years been revived and carried on with great national ſpirit, was remarkably ſucceſsful this year, not one ſhip being loſt; and the forty-eight ſail employed, brought home one hundred and forty-four fiſh and a half.

The peace of the continent continued uninterrupted by any new conteſt or diſturbance; yet the breach between the parliament and clergy of France was every day more and more widened, and had arrived to great inveteracy on both ſides; and his Moſt Catholic Majeſty declaring in favour of the prelacy, the members of all the chambers, except the great chamber, were baniſhed, and the uſual adminiſtration of juſtice ceaſed in Paris and its environs, and at length the members of the great chamber were likewiſe ſent into exile.

The internal diſſenſions, however, which prevailed among the French, did not prevent them from continuing their encroachments in America, where matters were faſt ripening to a freſh rupture between them and the Engliſh in that part of the world. Commiſſaries had indeed been appointed here at home, to ſettle with others from the French court, the different limits between the poſſeſſions of the two crowns in Acadia or Nova-Scotia, agreeable to the twelfth article of the treaty of Utrecht; but the French raiſed ſo many difficulties, in the courſe of the conference, and had recourſe to ſo many quirks and quibbles, to ſupport the unjuſt and unwarrantable claims they had thought proper of late to adopt, that our commiſſaries, ſeeing no hopes of bringing the affair to any equitable concluſion, immediately put a ſtop to the negociation, and returned to their own country.

In the mean time, the French in North-America, who had, towards the cloſe of the preceding year, been ſtrongly reinforced from Europe, diſpoſed themſelves for action early in the beginning of the ſpring. They had intelligence, that the Engliſh were building forts and raiſing plantations along the Ohio, which they apprehended to be too near their own ſettlements to be diſregarded. Some merchants in London, with others in Virginia, had obtained a grant of his majeſty of that river, to make ſuch ſettlements in the meadows and places adjacent, as they ſhould judge convenient for a plantation, and carrying on their intended trade. But the French were determined, at all events, to fruſtrate their deſign; and in order thereto, ſet up a prior claim, and inſiſted, that all that coaſt belonged to the crown of France. Accordingly they took all poſſible meaſures to diſturb the new ſettlers, and to erect forts of their own on the bank of the ſaid river: upon which, Robert Dinwiddie, eſq. governor of Virginia, wrote a letter to Mr. Contrecœur, the commandant of the French forces on the Ohio, to demand the reaſon of ſuch proceedings, and ſent it by major Waſhington: he likewiſe diſpatched meſſengers to the governors of the ſeveral Britiſh

colonies, repreſenting the dangerous ſtate of affairs, and requeſting them to raiſe forces, and form an expedition againſt the common enemy; and at the ſame time ſummoned the aſſembly of the province of Virginia, to have their advice and aſſiſtance upon this emergency. Major Waſhington having carried the governor's letter to the French commandant, and received his anſwer, returned with it; but it was ſo far from being ſatisfactory, that it convinced the governor, that the French were determined to carry their projected ſcheme into execution.

Convinced therefore that the moſt vigorous meaſures were neceſſary, in order to put a ſtop the farther progreſs of the French, his excellency began to levy troops, and wrote to the neighbouring governments to ſend their reſpective quotas of men or money, with all poſſible expedition, to his aſſiſtance. Theſe preparations took up beſt part of the preſent year; the reſult of them will be related in order of time.

The ambition and intrigues of the French court were not confined to the continent of America only; they had alſo extended themſeves to the Eaſt Indies, where they had endeavoured to embroil the Engliſh company with the Nabobs or viceroys of the Great Mogul in different parts of the peninſula intra Gangem. In order to underſtand the military tranſactions of the Engliſh company in India, the reader muſt be informed, that a Nabob is the governor of a province, or of a ſingle town and its territory, of whom there are a great number in that part of the world. Theſe Nabobs are all tributary to the Mogul emperor; but in every thing elſe they ſeem to be independent, and act as abſolute and arbitrary ſovereigns within their reſpective territories, often carrying on wars againſt one another, and ſometimes attacking the European ſettlements upon their coaſt, without any authority from the Mogul; therefore it is abſolutely neceſſary for the Europeans ſettled upon that coaſt, to court or command a regard from the Nabobs in their neighbourhood.

In theſe circumſtances, immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, monſieur Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry, obſerving that Annaverda Khan, nabob of Arcot, had a greater regard for the Engliſh than the French, he reſolved to have him depoſed. For this purpoſe he entered into a plot with Muzephur Jing and Chuenda Saib, two popular men in the neighbourhood, who raiſed an army of their friends; and being joined by a detachment of French from Pondicherry, they marched in July 1749 towards Arcot, on the plains of which city they were met by Annaverda at the head of his army; but as he had truſted entirely to his own ſtrength, without ſolliciting any aſſiſtance from the Engliſh, his army was totally routed, and himſelf ſlain. However, his ſon Mahommed Ally Khan made his eſcape, and took ſhelter in Trichenopoly, a place of great ſtrength to the ſouthward, where, at his application, the Engliſh quickly ſupplied him with men and ammunition.

Strengthened by this reinforcement, Mahommed gained ſome advantages over the enemy, who were obliged to retreat, but no deciſive blow was given. Mahommed being afterwards joined by Nazer Jing, nabob of Golconda, the two armies met, and on the twenty-fourth of March, 1750, engaged in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, when the French and their allies were defeated; and Mahommed by this victory ſaw himſelf reſtored to the nabobſhip of Arcot: but ſome miſunderſtandings having happened between Nazer Jing and the Engliſh, and alſo between Mahommed and them, they returned to Fort St. David's in Auguſt; and Mahommed being thus left alone, was attacked by the enemy, and compelled to fly for relief to Nazer Jing, who was then with his army at Arcot, and who upon this determined once more to march againſt the French, and drove them back to Gingey, a ſtrong fortreſs in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, where they were immediately ſurrounded and blockaded. During this blockade, the French found means to ſtir up a conſpiracy againſt Nazer Jing, who was ſuddenly cut off, and Muzephur his nephew was by Dupleix made nabob of Golconda in his ſtead.

As Mahommed Ally was unable to face the French and their new allies, he was obliged once more to take ſhelter in Trichenopoly, and ſollicit the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, which was at laſt promiſed, upon his agreeing to yield them ſome commercial points which had long been in diſpute. In the mean time, Muzephur Jing having taken poſſeſſion of the nabobſhip of Golconda, and appointed Chuenda Saib to be nabob of Arcot, he collected a conſiderable force, and marched to lay ſiege to Trichenopoly, after reducing ſome little forts in his way: but by this time all matters being adjuſted between Mahommed Ally and our company, a body of four hundred men was ſent under the command of captain Gingen, a Swiſs officer, to his aſſiſtance, which were joined by all the forces the young nabob could raiſe at Valconda, about ſeventy miles diſtant from Fort St. David's. Both armies being now partly equal in point of ſtrength, lay encamped in ſight of each other a whole month, during which no action of importance happened.

In order to make a diverſion, and divide the enemy's forces, the company reſolved to invade the province of Arcot with a ſeparate body of troops. On this occaſion it was that Mr. (now lord) Clive diſcovered thoſe talents which have ſince acquired him ſo great a reputation, and ſuch immenſe riches. This gentleman was the ſon of an attorney, and had entered into the ſervice of the Eaſt India company as a writer; but the plodding track of buſineſs being ill ſuited to his active genius, he made but an indifferent figure in his profeſſion; and deſpairing of ſucceeding by the pen, he now offered his ſervice as a volunteer in this expedition, which was accepted; and in the month of Auguſt, 1751, he marched from Fort St. George at the head of two hundred and ten Europeans, croſſed the country, and took poſſeſſion of Arcot without oppoſition, where he behaved with ſo much moderation and generoſity, that he gained the good-will of the natives to a high degree.

The French and their allies had by this time paſſed the river Caldaron, and encamped at Syrringham, near Trichenopoly, but had not yet forces ſufficient to beſiege it in form. The diverſion made by the party under captain Clive had the deſired effect; for Chuenda Saib's ſon was detached with a great part of their army from Trichenopoly; upon

on whoſe approach Mr. Clive ſhut himſelf up in Arcot, to which the enemy laid ſiege; and having made two breaches, they at laſt, on the thirteenth of October, made a general aſſault: but our vigilant and gallant countryman having procured intelligence of their deſign, gave them ſo warm a reception, that they were repulſed in every quarter with great loſs, and obliged to abandon the ſiege with the utmoſt precipitation. Whereupon Mr. Clive, leaving captain Kilpatrick (who had lately joined him with two thouſand Marattos from Trichenopoly) in the caſtle of Arcot, ſet out with the reſt of the troops in purſuit of the enemy; and coming up with them on the plains of Arani, gave them a total defeat on the third of December; after which he reduced ſeveral other forts, and then returned to Fort St. David's in triumph.

Here he had ſcarcely reſted a month, when advice came that the enemy had collected a new army, and were approached within nine miles of Madraſs. Upon this captain Clive was again ſent out with a body of Engliſh forces, and on the firſt day of March, 1752, came up with the enemy at Coverupante, about fifteen miles from Arcot, where he gave them another total defeat, and beſides the killed, took a French lieutenant and forty-eight men priſoners, with all the enemy's cannon, and a great quantity of warlike ſtores. The whole province of Arcot being thus cleared of enemies, except thoſe at Syrringham, captain Clive returned with his forces to St. David's, having in his way demoliſhed the new town of Dupleix, which the French governor of Pondicherry had lately cauſed to be built.

By this time major Laurence, a gallant and experienced officer, was arrived from England, to take upon him the command of the troops in the company's ſervice; and having collected all the forces that could be raiſed, he took the field, accompanied by captain Clive, and was joined by captain Gingen at Trichenopoly. The army afterwards marched towards Syrringham; and major Laurence took his meaſures ſo well, that notwithſtanding the infinite diſproportion between his troops and thoſe of the enemy under Chuenda Saib, he entirely intercepted the paſſage of all proviſions to their camp. Thus reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs, and being deſerted by moſt of the Indians, who had gone over to Mahommed Ally, Chuenda Saib in deſpair endeavoured to make his eſcape, but was taken priſoner by the nabob of Tanjore, an ally of the Engliſh company, who, in order to prevent the diſputes about who ſhould have the keeping of him, ordered his head to be ſtruck off. This event was immediately followed by the ſubmiſſion of the pent-up army, who laid down their arms, and ſurrendered priſoners of war. M. Dupleix finding all his ſchemes baffled in every quarter, recalled his regulars from the Indian army, determined for the future to act only on the defenſive.

The French Eaſt India company, diſcouraged by theſe repeated diſaſters, in order to compromiſe matters, ſent over in the beginning of this year (1753) a commiſſary, who concluded a convention with the Engliſh company; by which it was agreed that the two companies ſhould reciprocally reſtore the territories taken by the troops of either ſince the year 1748, except certain diſtricts which the Engliſh retained for the conveniency of their trade; that the nabobs advanced through influence of either party, ſhould be acknowleged by both; and that for the future neither ſhould interfere in the differences between the princes of the country.

Towards the cloſe of this year debates ran very high in Ireland, where a diſpute had occurred between the miniſtry and the parliament of that kingdom, in a caſe where the prerogative was on one ſide concerned, and the liberty of the people and the independency of parliament on the other. This affair was quickly ſwelled into a violent national conteſt, in which Mr. Boyle, the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his oppoſition to the court, which, as uſual, acquired him the denomination of a glorious patriot, &c. &c. The duke of Dorſet, who was at this time lord-lieutenant of Ireland, had indeed an arduous taſk to manage the helm of government during this political hurricane. By his prudence, however, matters were at laſt accommodated: the patriotic ſpeaker of the houſe of commons was gratified with an earldom; and the public tranquillity, which ſeemed for ſome time to have been baniſhed, was again reſtored.

The Britiſh parliament meeting on the fifteenth day of November, his majeſty, in his ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that the events of this year had not made it neceſſary for him to offer any thing in particular to their conſideration relating to foreign tranſactions: that the public tranquillity and the ſtate of Europe remained on the ſame footing in which they were at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion; and they might be aſſured of his ſteadineſs in purſuing the moſt effectual meaſures to preſerve to his people the bleſſings of peace. The addreſs did not paſs in the houſe of commons without ſome ſevere animadverſions on the inconſiſtency of this ſpeech with the real ſtate of affairs in Europe, nor without many ſpirited declarations againſt French perfidy and continental connections.

As no one tranſaction of ſufficient importance for hiſtorical notice occurred during this ſeſſion, I ſhall only obſerve, that after giving the royal aſſent to the land-tax bill of two ſhillings in the pound, to the malt-tax, mutiny, and ſeveral other bills; in particular, that repealing the act of naturalization paſſed in favour of the Jews laſt ſeſſion, his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion on the ſixth of April 1754; and ſoon after the parliament was diſſolved by proclamation, and writs iſſued for a new election.

In the beginning of March this year died the right honourable Henry Pelham, chancellor of the Exchequer, and prime miniſter ſince the reſignation of the earl of Orford, not only ſincerely lamented by his ſovereign, but alſo regretted by the nation in general, to whoſe good-will and affection he had recommended himſelf by his open and ingenuous behaviour, even while he was purſuing meaſures which ſome of them did not entirely approve. He had, a little before his death, concerted the plan of the new parliament, and imparted it to his majeſty, who had thought proper to honour it with his approbation: a reſolution was therefore taken to make as few deviations as poſſible from the ſcheme he had formed. His brother the duke of Newcaſtle was appointed firſt lord-commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and was ſucceeded as

ſecretary of ſtate by ſir Thomas Robinſon, who had long reſided as ambaſſador at the court of Vienna. The other department of this office was retained by the earl of Holderneſſe; and the function of chancellor of the Exchequer was performed, as uſual, by the lord chief juſtice of the King's Bench, until a proper perſon could be found to ſupply that important poſt; but in the courſe of the ſummer it was conferred on Mr. Legge, who acquitted himſelf therein with equal honour and ability. Several other alterations were made of importance to the public: lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, was raiſed to the dignity of an earl; the place of lord chief-juſtice of the King's Bench, becoming vacant by the death of ſir William Lee, was beſtowed upon ſir Dudley Rider, who was ſucceeded in his office of attorney-general by Mr. Murray.

The elections for the new parliament went every where in favour of the miniſtry; and the writs being returned, the parliament was opened on the tenth day of May by the duke of Cumberland, and ſome other noblemen, who acted by virtue of a commiſſion from his majeſty. Mr. Onſlow being re-choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, and approved of by the crown, the lord-chancellor made a ſpeech to the parliament, importing, "That his majeſty had given them this early opportunity of coming together, in order to complete, without loſs of time, certain parliamentary proceedings, which he judged would be for the good of his ſubjects; but he did not think proper to lay before them any matters of general buſineſs, reſerving every thing of that nature to the uſual time of aſſembling in the winter." On the fifth of June this ſhort ſeſſion was cloſed, and the parliament prorogued to the eighth day of Auguſt, and from thence by ſucceſſive prorogations to the month of November.

The Engliſh miniſtry having received nothing but evaſive anſwers from the court of France, with regard to the complaints that were made of the encroachments in America, had ſent peremptory orders to their governors in that country to repel force by force, and drive the French from their ſettlements on the river Ohio.

Thus authoriſed, governor Dinwiddie endeavoured, with a true Britiſh ſpirit, to prevail with the Virginians in his neighbouring government to arm in their own defence, and to erect a fort on the forks of the river Monongahelah, to curb the French encroachments, and to defend the Britiſh traders and property. About the ſame time the aſſembly of South Carolina gave three thouſand pounds ſterling to be applied to the defence of his majeſty's limits; and North Carolina paſſed an act for raiſing ſeven hundred men, who were to join the troops of Virginia immediately on their being ready for action: but though the two Carolinas and New York had ſent out their forces, they did not however make a junction ſoon enough to perform any thing of conſequence; and inſtead of deterring the French from their deſigns, it ſerved only as a means to provide them with arguments to make the native Indians jealous of and oppoſe the Engliſh.

Mr. Dinwiddie prevailed at laſt with his province to raiſe ten thouſand pounds and three hundred men to protect their frontiers; and the command of this ſmall regiment was given to colonel Waſhington, a young gentleman of great valour and abilities, who began his march on the firſt day of May, and went and encamped at one of our forts on the Ohio, expecting there to be joined by the troops that were coming from the other colonies. The ſieur de Centrocœur, commander in chief on the Ohio, had ſoon an eye upon him; and having intelligence that ſome waggons were on the road with proviſions for his camp, ſent out a party of forty-five men to intercept them; of which captain Waſhington being appriſed, drew forth a detachment of his men and went in queſt of the enemy, and on the twenty-eighth of May met with and engaged them. Twelve of the French were killed, and M. Jumonçelle their commander, and twenty-one taken priſoners; among whom were M. de la Force and M. Druellon, together with two cadets; with the loſs of only two men killed and one wounded. As this was the firſt ſkirmiſh we had with the French, it was looked upon as a lucky ſtroke that would encourage the Indians to be faithful to us. The French, however, not long after, had their revenge in the engagement we had with them in the meadows of the Ohio, on the third of July this year, when a body of one thouſand French and two hundred Indians advanced, under the command of M. du Villars, to attack and diſlodge him from a little fort he had run up, called Fort Neceſſity, as a temporary defence and cover for his handful of men. The Engliſh were by this time reduced to two hundred; but they ſuſtained the efforts of the enemy's whole force for upwards of three hours, and laid one hundred and fifty of them dead on the field. At length, however, he was obliged to ſurrender the fort upon capitulation; the terms of which were very honourable to him, it being ſtipulated that each ſide ſhould retire without moleſtation, and that the Engliſh ſhould march away with all the honours of war, and with their ſtores, effects, and baggage. In their retreat, however, they were terribly harraſſed by the Indians, who plundered his baggage, and maſſacred his people.

An account of this action being tranſmitted to London, our miniſtry's orders were diſpatched to the earl of Albemarle, the Britiſh ambaſſador at Paris, to complain of it as an open violation of the peace, which did not however meet with the ſame degree of reſpect as on former occaſions of complaint, the time nearly approaching for the French to pull off the maſk of moderation and peace: for, inſtead of diſavowing the conduct of their American commanders, orders were expedited for freſh reinforcements of men and ammunition to perfect their pernicious deſigns in that part of the world; and the miniſtry of England on their part ſent the neceſſary cautions to the governors and provinces in North America, exhorting them to uſe their utmoſt endeavours in reſiſting the encroachments of the enemy, by uniting in a political league or confederacy; and the governor of New York was appointed to confer with the chiefs of the Indians, and by preſents and other means to keep them ſteady to the Britiſh intereſt. This deſirable union, however, was fruſtrated, by a ſpirit of contention which prevailed amongſt the coloniſts and their reſpective governors, the particulars of which would take up too much room to inſert.

In the mean while, the French were no leſs active in New England than in the other colonies, in extending their invaſions and encroachments: their jeſuitical miſſionaries ſpread themſelves among the Indians, with the ſole view of embittering their ſpirits againſt the Engliſh, and encouraged them to commit the moſt horrible cruelties upon the unhappy perſons who fell into their hands, at a time when the people thought they were in perfect amity with them. Upon theſe advices received from ſeveral parts of the province, governor Shirley ſummoned the general-aſſembly of Maſſachuſet's Bay, and delivered himſelf in a very pathetic ſpeech upon the preſent critical ſituation of affairs; in conſequence of which, the aſſembly came to vigorous reſolutions to defend their country to the utmoſt of their power.

In Penſylvania the enemy, in the month of May this year, ſeized upon Log's Town on the river Ohio, ſurpriſed the Block-houſe and Truck-houſe, cut off all our traders but two, and carried off in goods, furs, and ſkins, to the amount of twenty thouſand pounds.

In purſuance of the reſolution of the aſſembly of Maſſachuſet's Bay, Mr. Shirley, in the ſummer of this year, 1754, marched with his troops to the eaſtern frontier, and with the conſent of the Indians built Fort Weſtern and Fort Halifax, on the river Kennebec. He alſo ſent expreſſes to the miniſtry at home, repreſenting the unhappy ſituation of the colonies, and the imminent danger to which Nova Scotia was expoſed, from the encroachments and fortifications of the French, which had been extended to the very neighbourhood of the Engliſh ſettlements, and from any ſudden atttack, which might eaſily be formed againſt that province from St. John's iſland, Cape Breton, and Canada. This remonſtrance carried great weight with it; for governor Shirley received not only the approbation of his majeſty and council for the ſervice he had performed on the river Kennebeck; but the government, in order to prevent the fatal cataſtrophe he had ſet before them, now adopted the moſt vigorous reſolutions. Officers were appointed for two regiments, conſiſting each of two thouſand men, to be raiſed in America; the command of which was given to governor Shirley and ſir William Pepperel, who had orders to concert meaſures with Mr. Lawrence, lieutenant-governor and commander in chief of Nova Scotia, for attacking the French forts in that province: but nothing could be done in this ſervice till the next ſummer, only the raiſing the two thouſand men, and receiving two thouſand ſtands of arms from London. It was alſo reſolved in his majeſty's council, to appoint a generaliſſimo for the ſervice of North America; which command was conferred on major-general Braddock, whoſe courage and military diſcipline ſeemed to point him out as the moſt proper perſon for ſuch ſervice. Orders were alſo iſſued for the embarkation of Halket's and Dunbar's regiments of foot to ſail with all expedition with general Braddock; but they did not get from Ireland till the fourteenth of January of the enſuing year.

The court of Spain changed its miniſtry this year, when the marquis de la Enſenada, a tool of France and of the Spaniſh queen-mother, was forced to reſign his place to Mr. Wall; and his Catholic majeſty ſeemed ſo much inclined to keep up peace and good harmony with England, that the diſputes about our cutting logwood in the Bay of Honduras were amicably adjuſted between the ſaid Mr. Wall, now the Spaniſh prime miniſter, and ſir Benjamin Keene, the Britiſh ambaſſador at Madrid.

No remarkable alteration occurred in the courſe of this year, in the affairs of the northern powers, to affect the intereſt of Great Britain, though the French were indefatigable in their endeavours to ſet the conduct of our court, in relation to the American diſpute, in the moſt diſadvantageous light, and to gain over the powers on the continent to her intereſt, by the means of promiſes, threats, or ſubſidies.

Our intereſt at the court of Liſbon ſeemed rather upon the decline. His Portugueſe majeſty had formed very extenſive projects of trade and commerce, and had even erected an Eaſt India company. In the mean time, he expreſſed a great diſguſt at the great quantities of gold which were annually exported from his dominions, as the balance due from his ſubjects for Engliſh commodities. He even went ſtill farther: for he impoſed ſeveral ſevere reſtrictions upon the Britiſh merchants reſiding at Liſbon, ſome of whom were impriſoned, and others had their property taken from them, under pretence of their being concerned in ſending away Portugueſe gold, for the exportation of which his moſt Faithful majeſty inſiſted on an impoſition of three per cent. an exaction ſo exorbitant, that the profits of the trade could by no means ſuſtain. It happening, however, that there was a ſcarcity of coin in Portugal, which was ſupplied from England; and the people having nothing but gold to give for this neceſſary article, the king was obliged to connive at the exportation of his coin, and the trade reverted to its uſual channel.

On the fourteenth day of November the parliament of Great Britain aſſembled, agreeable to its laſt prorogation, when his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, informing the two houſes, "That the general ſtate of Europe had undergone very little alteration ſince their laſt meeting: that he had lately received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from his good brother the king of Spain, of friendſhip and confidence: that his principal view ſhould be to ſtrengthen the foundation, and ſecure the duration of a general peace; to improve the preſent advantages of it, for promoting the trade of his good ſubjects, and *protecting thoſe poſſeſſions* [meaning North America] which conſtituted one great ſource of their wealth and commerce." The reader will readily remark of himſelf, that no mention is made in this ſpeech of the particular encroachments. This was a political omiſſion, in order to deprive the minority of all pretext for oppoſing the addreſſes of thanks, which were carried in both houſes without a debate; and the parliament ſeem to have thought that his majeſty had ſaid enough to evince his reſolution of humbling the inſolence of our perfidious neighbour; a diſpoſition which was ſo generally agreeable, that no expence was thought too great to ſecond ſo laudable a deſign. The commons accordingly unanimouſly granted, for the ſervice of the enſuing year, four millions ſeventy-three thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-nine pounds, of which one million was expreſsly given for augmenting the forces by ſea and land. They alſo voted thirty-two thouſand pounds

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as a ſubſidy to the king of Poland, and twenty thouſand pounds to the elector of Bavaria, on a ſuppoſition that France would endeavour to avail herſelf of her ſuperiority of land forces to attack Hanover; and that therefore it might be neceſſary to ſecure the aſſiſtance of ſuch ſubſidiary allies on the continent.

The court of France, alarmed at theſe unanimous and vigorous reſolutions of the great aſſembly of the nation; and apprehending the Engliſh were in good earneſt reſolved to exert themſelves againſt their encroachments in America, were at great pains once more to amuſe the Britiſh court with general declarations, that no hoſtility was intended on their part, nor the leaſt infringement of the treaty: which declarations were communicated to our miniſtry by the marquis de Mirepoix, their own ambaſſador at the court of London. The earl of Albemarle being lately dead at Paris, the French court hoped by theſe cajoling meſſages to lull us into perfect ſecurity, and if poſſible to engage us to delay, or at leaſt ſlacken, our armaments for America, till they had ſufficiently ſtrengthened their uſurpations from Europe. With this view, at the very time they were declaring their pacific intentions, and their deſire to preſerve the public tranquillity, they were buſily employed in fitting out a powerful armament at Breſt for North America, and in taking ſuch other meaſures as muſt convince every one, who would not ſhut his eyes againſt the plaineſt evidence, that they were on the eve of ſtriking ſome important blow that might ſerve as a declaration of war.

The danger that threatened on all ſides at laſt alarmed our miniſtry, and opened their eyes to the artifice of Mirepoix, and the fallacious promiſes of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and determined them to enter upon ſuch meaſures as ſhould be moſt effectual to prevent the fatal effects of the French armament.

Accordingly, on the twenty-third of January, 1755, a proclamation was iſſued to encourage ſeamen to enter themſelves on board his majeſty's ſhips of war; offering a bounty of thirty ſhillings for every able-bodied ſeaman between twenty and fifty years of age, and twenty ſhillings for every ordinary ſeaman. The ſame night there was a warm preſs below bridge; warrants for the ſame purpoſe were diſpatched to the out-ports; and public notice was given at Greenwich-hoſpital, for all the ſeamen who were willing to go to ſea to give in their names, and that they ſhould not fail of the uſual encouragements. Another proclamation was publiſhed on the eighth of February, for recalling all maſters of ſhips, pilots, mariners, ſeamen, ſhipwrights, and other ſea-faring men, his majeſty's natural-born ſubjects, from the ſervice of all foreign princes and ſtates, and prohibiting ſuch perſons from entering their ſervice: and this proclamation increaſed the bounty for ſeamen from thirty ſhillings to three pounds, and from twenty ſhillings to two pounds, who ſhould voluntarily enter before the tenth day of March next following: and further, promiſed two pounds reward to any perſon diſcovering any able ſeaman, and thirty ſhillings for every ordinary ſeaman, who ſhould ſecrete themſelves.

On the twenty-ſeventh of March his majeſty ſent a meſſage by ſir Thomas Robinſon, then ſecretary of ſtate to the parliament, importing, "That his majeſty finding it requiſite, from the preſent ſituation of affairs, to augment his forces by ſea and land, and to take ſuch other meaſures as might beſt tend to preſerve the general peace of Europe, and to ſecure the juſt rights and poſſeſſions of his crown in America, as well as to repel any attempts whatever which may be formed againſt his majeſty and his kingdoms, doubts not but that his faithful parliament will enable him to make ſuch augmentations as the emergency of affairs in this critical conjuncture may require."

Upon this meſſage, both houſes preſented very loyal addreſſes, expreſſing the utmoſt zeal and affection to his majeſty's perſon and government, aſſuring their ſovereign of their effectual ſupport, and declaring their reſolution to repel every attempt that might be made to deprive him of the juſt rights and poſſeſſions of his crown, or diſturb the tranquillity of his kingdom. It was on this occaſion that the ſum of one million, already mentioned, was appropriated to the purpoſe of augmenting the forces by ſea and land; and indeed it appears that it was high time for the nation to take alarm, if we may judge by the authentic accounts tranſmitted by M. de Coſne, our ſecretary of embaſſy at the court of France, of the formidable ſtate of the French navy at this juncture: for about the latter end of March there were at Breſt one man of war of eighty guns, four of ſeventy-four, ſix of ſixty-four, one of ſixty, one of fifty, one of forty-ſix, four of thirty, and one of twenty-four: at Toulon, one of eighty, five of ſeventy-four, three of ſixty-four, two of thirty-two, and one of twenty-four: at Rochefort, one of eighty, one of ſeventy-four, three of ſixty-four, one of fifty, and one of thirty-two guns; with a large number of land forces, ready to embark on the firſt notice: to which may be added ſeveral that had already ſailed at different times to America.

But however terrible this naval armament might appear in the eyes of the French, it gave but little uneaſineſs to the Engliſh, who with pleaſure ſaw, ready to enter upon action, riding at Portſmouth, Plymouth, Chatham, and Woolwich, one ſhip of one hundred guns, five of ninety, four of ſeventy-four, fifteen of ſeventy, one of ſixty-ſix, nine of ſixty, three of fifty, one of forty, and four of twenty guns, beſides ſloops, &c. Alſo ſhips under orders for fitting, one of one hundred guns, one of ſeventy-two, five of ſeventy, one of ſixty, and three of fifty guns. To which may be added, thoſe already ſtationed in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, in Africa, and in America. Proviſion was likewiſe made for an augmentation of our forces both by ſea and land, to the amount of thirty-five thouſand men, viz. twenty thouſand ſailors, ten thouſand marines, and five thouſand for land ſervice. The miniſtry alſo, in order to prevent the Breſt fleet from being victualled with beef and pork from Ireland, where ſix thouſand barrels had been contracted for by their agents, and were ready to be ſhipped off, gave orders for ſeizing thoſe ſtores; and an embargo was laid to prevent any from being exported, which was certainly a very prudent meaſure, as it retarded the expedition from Breſt, and obliged their victuallers to take their proviſions out of their merchantmen for the uſe of their men of war.

Mean while, ſuch was the diſpatch made in every part of the marine, that by the middle of

April

April we had a noble fleet at Spithead, well manned, and ready to put to ſea: nor did they ſtay there long; for on the twenty-third Edward Boſcawen, eſq. vice-admiral of the blue, with ten ſhips of the line and ſix frigates, having on board ſix thouſand land forces, ſet ſail to attend the motions of the French. But more certain and particular information being brought with regard to the ſtrength of the French fleet, now ready to depart from Breſt, which conſiſted of twenty-one ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and tranſports, with a great quantity of warlike ſtores, and four thouſand regular troops, under the command of baron Dieſkau, admiral Holborne was ſoon after detached with ſix ſhips of the line and one frigate, to reinforce Mr. Boſcawen.

On the ſixth day of May the French fleet, commanded by Mr. Macnamara, an officer of Iriſh extraction, ſailed from Breſt, directing its courſe for North America; but after having proceeded to a certain latitude, Macnamara returned with nine of the capital ſhips, while the reſt of the ſquadron continued their courſe under the direction of M. Bois de la Mothe and M. de Salvert. Macnamara's ſhips were afterwards victualled for ſix months, and ſailed again in the beginningof June, under the command of M. du Quay, on a cruize near the Streights of Gibraltar, and in ſuch parts of the Atlantic Ocean as might favour the return of La Mothe and Salvert, in caſe of bad news from America.

The civil tranſactions of the Britiſh ſeſſion of parliament were limited to very few objects. Several new regulations were made for encouraging and improving the whale and white herring fiſheries; and an act paſſed at the motion of Mr. Pitt, paymaſter-general of the forces for the relief of the diſabled veterans of Chelſea-hoſpital, who had long been a prey to the extortion of uſurers, from which they were now freed by this act, which ordained, that half a year's penſion ſhould be advanced the penſioners half a year before it was due, which effectually cruſhed the pernicious practice of uſury in that department. On the twenty-fifth day of April his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which, among other things, he informed them, "That he had religiouſly adhered to the ſtipulations of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and made it his care not to injure or offend any power whatſoever; but that he could never entertain the thought of purchaſing the name of peace at the expence of ſuffering encroachments upon, or of yielding up, what juſtly belonged to Great Britain, either by ancient poſſeſſion or by ſolemn treaties: that the vigour and firmneſs of his parliament, on this important occaſion, had enabled him to be prepared for ſuch events as might happen: that if reaſonable and honourable terms of accommodation could be procured, he would be ſatisfied, and in all events rely on the juſtice of his cauſe, the effectual ſupport of his people, and the protection of the Divine Providence." The parliament being prorogued, his majeſty appointed a regency, and ſet out for his German dominions, in order to try every prudent meaſure to obviate the difficulties that might ariſe in the courſe of the war from the French againſt his electoral territories. To cover theſe from any attacks or inſults, and to guard againſt the effects of a ſecret treaty which was carrying on between the courts of Vienna and Verſailles, and of which he thought he had ſome reaſon to be jealous, his majeſty concluded a ſubſidiary treaty on the eighteenth of June with the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel; by which his ſerene highneſs engaged to hold in readineſs, during four years, a body of eight thouſand men for his majeſty's ſervice, to be employed, if required, upon the continent, or in Great Britain or Ireland, but not on board the fleets, or beyond the ſeas. At the ſame time, his majeſty propoſed to renew the treaties with Bavaria and Saxony, which thoſe two houſes refuſed, on account of their connections with France. Another treaty was concluded with the empreſs of Ruſſia, who was, on certain conditions, to furniſh fifty-five thouſand horſe and foot, and fifty gallies.

The French had continued their operations on the banks of the Ohio all the winter with great diligence and activity; and had made ſuch rapid progreſs in their encroachments, that in the beginning of this year they had advanced with their camps and forts within two hundred and twenty-five miles of Philadelphia. This account filled every lover of his country with the moſt melancholy forebodings for the ſafety of America, eſpecially as the colonies ſtill continued quarrelling with their governors, and ſhewed very little alacrity to join againſt the common enemy. The nation, however, was ſomewhat relieved of its anxiety, from the diſpatches of admiral Boſcawen, who, by letters dated off Louiſburg on the twenty-ſecond of June 1755, wherein he informed the miniſtry, That on the tenth of that month the Alcide, a French man of war of ſixty-four guns and four hundred and eighty men, commanded by M. Hoquart; and the Lys, commanded by M. Lageril, pierced for ſixty-four guns, but mounted only twenty-two, and having eight companies of land forces on board, being ſeparated from the French ſquadron, fell in with the Engliſh fleet off the Banks of Newfoundland; and that a ſkirmiſh happened between the ſaid French men of war and his majeſty's ſhips the Dunkirk and Defiance, in which the Alcide and Lys were taken. The French ſhip the Dauphin Royal, which had been in company with the two above-mentioned, diſappeared in a fog. Mr. Boſcawen alſo informed, that rear-admiral Holborne, with his ſquadron, joined him on the twenty-firſt off Louiſburg.

By private letters we were further informed, that the two French men of war, taken as above, were ſent to Halifax in Nova Scotia; and that, had it not been for the fog, they had been in with the whole French fleet: that captain Howe, in the Dunkirk, coming cloſe with the Alcide, ordered her to ſtrike, and come into the admiral's fleet. The captain of her aſked, if it was peace or war? but not receiving a ſatisfactory anſwer, he repeated the queſtion, adding, that he ſhould obey no orders but thoſe of his own admiral. Upon which captain Howe, obſerving a great number of land officers, generouſly bid them withdraw, as it was not their duty to defend the ſhip; which he had no ſooner done, but he poured in a broadſide; and being yard-arm and yard-arm, and his guns double ſhotted, did terrible execution: and ſo hot was the fire, that the French officers found it impoſſible to keep their men to their quarters; ſo that in about three quarters of an hour ſhe ſtruck. There were about fifty men killed in the Alcide, and about

double the number wounded. In the Dunkirk ſeven were killed, and about fifteen or ſixteen wounded. The Lys was taken by the Defiance and Fougeux, and in both ſhips ſix hundred ſoldiers, with their officers, and fifty thouſand crowns.

Although this action was in itſelf of no great importance, yet it was productive of infinite joy to the Engliſh at home, who now ſaw that the government was determined to keep no farther meaſures with the French. Theſe latter would gladly have choſen to avoid a war, till they had accompliſhed their grand ſcheme of eſtabliſhing a communication from the Miſſiſippi to Canada by a line of forts; many of which they had already erected, and had deſtroyed one of ours on the Ohio: but when they received advice of this engagement, they immediately recalled the marquis (now duke) de Mirepoix from London, and monſieur de Buſſy from Hanover, where he had but a little time before arrived to attend his Britannic majeſty in a public character.

The advice of the ſucceſs of our fleet in the American ſeas was followed by a farther agreeable account of the deſired effect of an expedition againſt the French in Nova Scotia, which by his majeſty's command had been concerted between general Lawrence and governor Shirley, and was carried into execution with the aid of two thouſand New England men. Governor Lawrence, in a letter to ſir Thomas Robinſon, ſecretary of ſtate, dated the twenty-eighth of June, at Halifax in Nova Scotia, gave the following account of this expedition, which was publiſhed by authority.

"On the ſixteenth inſtant (June) the important fort of Beauſejour ſurrendered to lieutenant-colonel Monckton by capitulation, after four days bombardment, before his majeſty's forces had mounted a ſingle cannon upon their batteries, though that fort had twenty-ſix cannon well mounted; and the next day a ſmall fort on the river Gaſpereau, running into the bay Verte, ſurrendered alſo. In this latter fort the enemy had their principal magazine for ſupplying the French inhabitants and the Indians. In theſe forts were found a great quantity of proviſions, with arms and ſtores of all kinds." The governor then proceeds and ſays, "At colonel Monckton's firſt arrival, the French had a large number of inhabitants and Indians, four hundred and fifty of which were poſted at a blockhouſe which they had on their ſide of the river Maſſaguaſh, to defend the paſs of that river. Here they had thrown up a ſtrong breaſt-work of timber for covering their men, and had cannon mounted on the blockhouſe. At this place they made a ſtand for about an hour, but were forced by our troops with ſome loſs, leaving their blockhouſe and the paſs of the river clear for our people, who marched without further interruption to the ground intended for their encampment. As we had not men enough to inveſt the fort entirely, ſeveral got away; and when the fort ſurrendered, there remained one hundred and fifty regulars, and about three hundred inhabitants, ſeveral of whom, with their officers, were wounded. We do not yet exactly know the numbers that were killed in the fort, but we believe their loſs has not been trifling, as ſeveral lay half buried upon the parade. Colonel Monckton has new-named the fort, and called it Fort Cumberland. He gives the troops under his command great praiſe for their good behaviour, and the ſpirit and reſolution with which they acted upon this occaſion."

By this means colonel Monckton diſarmed fifteen thouſand rebel neutrals, or Acadians and Indians; and in the mean time captain Rous, of the Seahorſe, being ordered with two frigates more to attack the fort the French had lately erected at the mouth of St. John's river, the enemy abandoned it at his appearance, having burſted their cannon, blown up their magazines, and all the works they had raiſed, as much as time would permit them to do.

We had not, however, long rejoiced in the ſucceſs of the foregoing expedition, before a ſad diſaſter happened to our troops in that part of the world, which more than balanced the advantages gained by colonel Monckton and his brave New England men, and threw our American affairs into the utmoſt confuſion.

The men of war and tranſports under the command of commodore Keppel, deſtined to carry over general Braddock with his troops to America, that had ſailed from Ireland in the beginning of January this year, arrived ſafe at Virginia in April; when the general, having landed his men, immediately held a conſultation with the governors of that and the neighbouring colonies, in order to demand of them all the aſſiſtance they could give in furtherance of his projected operations. In this convention, after much debating, it was agreed, that for the preſervation of Oſwego, and reduction of Niagara, Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments ſhould march to the lake Ontario, and Mr. Shirley was charged with the execution of that part of the ſervice. General Braddock, for his part, undertook the reduction of Fort du Queſne, a French fortreſs on the river Monongahela, which runs into the Ohio; and general Johnſon was ordered to inveſt Crown Point with the provincial troops. Theſe reſolutions and plans were certainly very judiciouſly concerted; but how far they anſwered in the execution of each will be ſeen by the following account.

On the twelfth of June, 1755, general Braddock ſet out with two thouſand regular troops, paſſed the Allegany mountains, and was within five days march of Du Queſne, when ſir John Sinclair, having advanced to take a view of that fort, and to conſider the adjacent ground, remarked a ſmall eminence that was within cannon-ſhot; and the fort being built of wood, and garriſoned with one thouſand men, it was propoſed to erect a battery on the eminence, and ſet fire to the place, by throwing into it a great number of red-hot balls.

The general, however, met with a great many difficulties and obſtacles in his way: he was detained at Willis' Creek, and greatly diſtreſſed by the want of forage and proviſions. Landing the troops in Virginia was ſaid to be an unfortunate error, as neither forage, proviſions, nor any carriages, were to be had there; whereas, had they landed in Penſylvania, it would have ſaved forty thouſand pounds ſterling, and ſhortened their march ſix weeks. He was, however, promiſed one hundred and fifty waggons and three hundred horſes, with a large ſupply of forage and proviſions, to be furniſhed from the back ſettlements of Penſylvania: but after a tedious and anxious ex-

pectancy of these succours, he received, instead of one hundred and fifty waggons, only fifteen; and instead of three hundred horses, only one hundred. This disappointment, however great, was much aggravated when the waggons were unloaded; for the provisions stunk so intolerably as to prevent any possible use being made of them.

While the general was in this distress, he received an unexpected supply of five hundred pounds in provisions and wine from Philadelphia, sent him by the hands of Mr. Franklin. The Pensylvanians also advanced him a farther sum, and sent one hundred and ninety waggons, loaded each with a ton of corn and oats, four waggons with provisions and wine for the officers, and sixty head of fine cattle for the army. Having received these supplies, the general advanced with his army, and all the stores and provisions, to the Little Meadows, about twenty miles beyond Fort Cumberland, where colonel Washington had been defeated the preceding year. Here he found it necessary to leave the greatest part of his waggons, &c. under the care of colonel Dunbar, with a detachment of eight hundred men, ordering him to follow as fast as the nature of the service would admit. The general having by this means lessened the line of march, proceeded with great expedition, his corps then consisting of about twelve hundred men, together with the necessary ammunition, stores, and provisions. On July 8, he encamped within ten miles of Fort du Quesne.

In the mean time, the French who were posted at this fort, and consisted of one thousand regulars and six hundred irregulars, and a considerable number of Indians in their interest, having gained very particular intelligence of general Braddock's designs, the number and condition of his forces, and the route they were to take, no sooner found that he was advancing, after having received his last supply of provisions, than they also advanced to meet him: and having made choice of a very advantageous piece of ground, about six miles south of the fort, they formed a camp, and entrenched themselves in a very masterly manner, having a thick wood on each side of them, which extended along the route which they knew the English general must take.

Major-general Braddock was undoubtedly a man of courage and resolution; but he was haughty, positive, and difficult of access; qualities ill suited to the tempers of the people among whom he was to command. He was now near sixty miles a-head of colonel Dunbar; and his officers, particularly sir Peter Halket, earnestly besought him to proceed with circumspection, and to employ the friendly Indians in his army by way of advanced guard, in case of an ambuscade, for which that country was so well adapted. But, as if courage alone was sufficient to ensure success in all military enterprizes, the general paid no regard to this seasonable advice: he resumed his march the next day (July 9) without so much as endeavouring to procure the least intelligence of the situation and disposition of the enemy, or even taking the necessary precautions to send out scouts to visit the roads and thickets, which lay on both sides of him as well as in his front.

With this supine negligence did he advance within about three miles of the enemy's intrenchments, when they drew out of their lines; placing their irregulars in front as a forlorn hope, and fifteen hundred regulars behind to support them: they also stationed a great number of their Indians in the wood, who effectually concealed themselves behind the bushes and thickets. About noon general Braddock appeared with his troops, when he was saluted with a general discharge upon his front, and all along his left flank: upon which he gave orders to push forwards, as the enemy were in sight, though not within musket-shot; and as soon as they came near enough, the attack was begun by colonels Gage and Burton.

The Indians immediately gave the war whoop; and rising from their ambush in the thickets, discovered themselves on both sides, flanking our men in vollies, among whom they did incredible execution. The advanced guard being now between three fires, immediately gave way; but being rallied with much difficulty by the officers, they gave one fire, and then retreated in the utmost confusion, and threw Dunbar's regiment, which was behind them, into great disorder; they were with unspeakable difficulty once more rallied by the officers, many of whom were killed as they were using their endeavours to inspirit their men, who did indeed stand one more fire from the enemy, but without returning it. The general, who exerted himself as much as man could do, after having five horses killed under him, was shot through the arms and lungs, of which he died the fourth day. As soon as he dropped, both regiments fled with the utmost terror and precipitation, deserting their officers, who, though alone, kept their ground till, of sixty, five only remained who were not either killed or wounded. The provincials, who composed the rear, still stood unbroken, and continued the engagement on very unequal terms for near three hours, but were then compelled to retire. To their noble stand, however, was principally owing the safety of the regulars, who would otherwise have been all cut off in their flight.

The loss of the English in this unfortunate action amounted to seven hundred men, besides the baggage, artillery, &c. The officers suffered most in proportion, the Indians having constantly marked them out to fire at. Sir Peter Halket fell at the first fire at the head of his regiment, and the general's secretary and two of his aids de camp soon after shared the same fate. Colonel Dunbar having collected the shattered remains of his army at Fort Cumberland, continued there till the beginning of August, and then departed with his forces, except two independent companies which he left in garrison, and went to the frontiers of Pensylvania, from whence the troops were ordered away to Albany in New York by general Shirley, who upon the death of general Braddock succeeded to the chief command of the troops in America.

Colonel Dunbar was greatly blamed for not continuing at Fort Cumberland and fortifying himself there, which he might easily have done; and would then have been such a check, during the rest of the summer, upon the French and their scalping Indians, as would have prevented many of those dreadful barbarities that were committed, in the sequel, upon the now defenceless western borderers of Virginia, Pensylvania, and Maryland; who, notwithstanding the imminent danger with which they were threatened, suffered the spirit of

of oppoſition to their governors to get the better of their reaſon, and ſo divided their councils, that they could be brought to no effectual reſolutions for the public ſafety. Theſe diſputes prevailed chiefly in Penſylvania, the richeſt of theſe three provinces, between the aſſembly and the governor; and as they were of vaſt detriment to that and the neighbouring colonies in America at the time they ſubſiſted, I ſhall here give a curſory view of them, and in what manner they ſubſided.

The ſubjects of theſe diſputes were various; but the principal one was that about taxing the eſtates of the proprietors in common with thoſe of the inhabitants. The aſſembly prepared a bill in Auguſt for raiſing ſixty thouſand pounds on the preſent emergency, in which the proprietary eſtates were to be taxed with the reſt. The governor pleaded an exemption for thoſe eſtates, and the particular orders he had to refuſe any bill with ſuch a clauſe. The aſſembly and the governor were both poſitive, the one in preſſing, the other in refuſing to paſs the bill ſo circumſtanced. Many angry meſſages paſſed between them; and their animoſities roſe to ſuch a height, that all public buſineſs was at a ſtand; nor could any money be raiſed, or ſoldiers levied, for the defence of the country, as there was no money in the treaſury to pay them.

In the midſt of theſe debates many hundreds of the back ſettlers came down in a body to demand that relief to which, by the laws both of God and nature, they had a manifeſt and undoubted right. Theſe unhappy and deſerted people went firſt to the governor, who told them what he had done to gain from the aſſembly that relief which they ſollicited, ſhewing them at the ſame time an order from the proprietaries for five thouſand pounds as a free gift, to be laid out in defence of the province. They then went to the aſſembly, who were ſo moved by their diſtreſs and importunity, that dropping all their diſputes, they next day (the nineteenth of November) ſent up a bill, granting ſixty thouſand pounds, on the ſame terms the governor would have paſſed it the Auguſt before. They alſo paſſed a militia bill (which had been long in vain ſollicited of them) by which thoſe who could bear arms might be formed into regular bodies ſubject to diſcipline, and rendered more able to ſerve their country, and be a greater terror to their enemies.

Our colonies to the north of Penſylvania were more unanimous, and more diligent in their warlike preparations. The aſſembly of New York in particular voted forty-five thouſand pounds for the better defence of their country, which lay more open than any other to a French invaſion from Crown Point. With this ſupply, and the help of the eaſtern colonies, it was reſolved to adopt offenſive meaſures, and to undertake the two expeditions; one againſt the French fort at Crown Point, the other againſt Niagara, between the lakes Ontario and Erie, as had been before concerted with the late general Braddock.

The execution of the firſt of theſe was committed to the care of colonel (afterwards general) Johnſon, a native of Ireland, who had long reſided upon the Mohock river in the weſtern parts of New York, where he not only acquired a conſiderable eſtate, but was alſo beloved both by the inhabitants and the native Indians, whoſe language he had learnt, and had gained their affections by his faithful and humane behaviour towards them. General Shirley took upon himſelf the direction of the expedition againſt Niagara.

The troops deſtined for both theſe enterprizes were appointed to aſſemble at Albany, where moſt of them arrived before the end of June; but the artillery, battoes, proviſions, and other neceſſaries for the attempt upon Crown Point, could not be got ready till the eighth of Auguſt, when general Johnſon ſet out with them from Albany for the Carrying-place at Lake George (otherwiſe Lake Sacrament) where the troops had already arrived under the command of major-general Lyman, and amounted to between five and ſix thouſand, beſides Indians raiſed by the governments of Boſton, Connecticut, New Hampſhire, Rhode Iſland, and New York.

Every thing was now prepared for the march as ſoon as poſſible; and towards the latter end of the month general Johnſon advanced with his troops about fourteen miles forward, and encamped in a very ſtrong ſituation. Here he propoſed to wait the arrival of his battoes, and afterwards to proceed to Ticonderoga, at the other end of Lake George, and from thence to Crown Point, which is a fort at the ſouth end of the Lake Corlaer or Champlain. The French call it Fort Frederic.

Whilſt the general remained in the above ſituation, he received advice from ſome Indian ſcouts that the enemy, to the number of two thouſand, commanded by the baron de Dieſkau, were on their march from Ticonderoga, by way of the South Bay, towards another of our fortified camps, ſince called Fort Edward, built and garriſoned with upwards of four hundred of the New Hampſhire and New York men, by general Lyman, at the Carrying-place. General Johnſon hereupon gave notice to colonel Blanchard the commander, with orders to call in all his out-parties, and to keep his whole force within the entrenchments. Early the next morning, September 8, it was determined in a council of war, to march one thouſand men, with a number of Indians, in order to intercept the enemy in their return, either as victors, or defeated in their attempt. According to this reſolution, colonel Williams began his march about eight o'clock in the morning, with one thouſand men and two hundred Indians. This detachment in about an hour and an half were beat back by the French, and the general immediately hauled up ſome heavy cannon to a breaſt-work of trees that had been thrown up round the encampment, and made the beſt diſpoſition he could to receive the enemy.

It ſeems that M. de Dieſkau, the French general, truſting to the information of ſome deſerters from general Johnſon's camp, that it was in want of cannon, and in a defenceleſs ſtate, was prevailed upon by the common voice of his troops, when he was within four miles and an half of Fort Edward (the firſt object of his expedition) to proceed to the attack of the Engliſh camp. Though this alteration in the enemy's route ſaved Fort Edward, it had like to have proved the deſtruction of the whole detachment under colonel Williams, who in his march fell into the very mouths of the French. However, the colonel behaved with great gallantry and prudence, and at length effected a retreat to the camp.

About half an hour after eleven the enemy appeared in ſight, marching in very regular order directly

directly for our center, when, without any apparent reaſon, inſtead of attacking the breaſt-work directly, they halted about one hundred and fifty yards from the camp, where their regular troops made their grand and center attack, the Canadians and Indians in their ſervice diſperſing themſelves on our flanks. The enemy fired in platoons, but did no great execution, being at too great a diſtance, and our men defended by the breaſt-work. In the mean time our artillery, which was admirably well ſerved by captain Eyre, began to play, and quickly diſperſed the Indians and Canadians on our flanks, who fled for ſhelter to the adjacent woods.

The engagement ſoon after became general on both ſides. The French regulars kept their ground and order for ſome time with great reſolution and good conduct; but the warm and conſtant fire from our artillery and troops put them in ſome diſorder. Their fire became more ſcattered, unequal, and faint: they made ſeveral attempts to penetrate our breaſt-work, firſt on the left and then on the right, but all in vain. At length, our men and the Indians obſerving the enemy's fire to grow continually weaker, and at very conſiderable intervals, without waiting for orders from general Johnſon, jumped over their breaſt-work, attacked the enemy on all ſides, killed between ſeven and eight hundred, took 30 priſoners, whilſt the reſt fled with the utmoſt precipitation. Amongſt their priſoners was the baron Dieſkau, the French general of all the regular forces lately arrived from Europe. The whole engagement and purſuit ended about ſeven o'clock.

Our greateſt loſs, according to general Johnſon, in his letter to governor Wentworth, fell upon the party commanded by colonel Williams in the morning, in which we loſt two hundred men killed. The enemy endeavoured to ſurround the detachment; but the officers, to ſave the troops, retreated and formed with the reſt in the main battle of the day. Colonel Williams, major Aſhley, ſix captains, and many ſubalterns, with forty Indians who fought like lions, and the brave old Kendric, the Mohawk Sachem, or chief captain, were ſlain. In the camp the loſs was very ſmall; and no perſon of diſtinction fell but colonel Titcomb, who was killed. General Johnſon and major Nichols were wounded. The French general, the baron de Dieſkau, was wounded in his leg and through both his hips. He was a man in years, an experienced officer, and a perſon of high conſideration in France. He brought three thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-one regular troops under his command to Quebec, in the fleet with admiral de la Mothe. Theſe troops were partly in garriſon at Crown Point, and encamped at the advantageous places leading to it. The loſs of the French in their engagement with us amounted to near one thouſand men. Their major-general was killed, and the greater part of their chief officers.

In a ſhort time general Johnſon recovered ſo well of his wound as to walk about and regulate his army, in order to purſue the advantage he had gained over the enemy, by attacking Crown Point. This was the general expectation of the country: but whether he was not properly aſſiſted by the provinces, or ſeconded as he expected by governor Shirley, or could not get ſufficient ſupplies for the intended expedition againſt Crown Point, we are at too great a diſtance to be perfectly informed, though perhaps all theſe reaſons might concur in obliging him to delay his farther progreſs. This is certain, that his army ſtood in great want of proviſions, as might be made appear by letters both from him and other officers in his army. A reſolution was therefore taken to defer the attempt till the next year, and to return to Albany with the whole army: but although the expedition had failed in its main object, the conduct of general Johnſon was ſo well approved of here, that his majeſty was pleaſed to create him a baronet, and the parliament gratified him with a preſent of five thouſand pounds.

Governor Shirley, who had taken upon him the expedition againſt Niagara, had not the good fortune to meet with the ſame approbation. The preparations for his expedition were not only deficient, but extremely ſlow; inſomuch, that altho' his ſucceſs was manifeſtly to depend upon his beginning his operations early in the ſpring, inſtead of that, it was the end of July before he was ready to ſet out for Albany; and being alſo obliged to wait for proviſions by the way, it was the twenty-ſixth of September before he was in readineſs to croſs the Lake Ontario. In this interval a great number of Indians who accompanied him from Albany returned home; and the few that remained with him declared that it was impoſſible to croſs the lake at that ſeaſon, or at any time before the following ſummer. All his meaſures being thus diſconcerted, Mr. Shirley, after employing his troops for ſome time in building barracks, and beginning to erect two new forts, returned with the greateſt part of the troops under his command to Albany, leaving colonel Mercer with a garriſon of about ſeven hundred men at Oſwego. A miſunderſtanding likewiſe aroſe between him and ſir William Johnſon, which was carried to ſuch a height that nothing could extinguiſh their animoſities but the interpoſition of royal authority; by which Shirley was recalled from his government, and obliged to return to England to anſwer for ſuch parts of his conduct as ſhould be judged exceptionable.

In the mean time the French, exaſperated at their late defeat under the baron de Dieſkau, ſet no bounds to their rage; and, in conjunction with their ſavage Indians, redoubled their fury againſt our defenceleſs planters; and wherever we had no forts or garriſons to defend our people, there theſe monſters made their ravages and committed their barbarities, butchering men, women, and children, and whole families, in the moſt cruel manner; though it muſt be allowed, that by the victory at Lake George ſome of the Indian tribes were attached more firmly to us, particularly the Cherokees, a nation bordering on South Carolina, who concluded a treaty with the governor of that province in the courſe of this year.

Having taken this view of the proceedings of our governors of the ſeveral provinces of America to drive the French from their encroachments there, let us now return to England to behold the vigorous meaſures purſued by the government, in reſentment of the perfidious dealings of the French in regard to this nation.

The unprovoked hoſtilities committed by them in America ſo exaſperated the nation, that our miniſtry thought it a juſtice due to the honour of his majeſty's crown and kingdom, to repay the French in their own coin: and while they leaſt ſuſpected

any thing of the kind, to ſtrike ſuch a blow as would deprive them at once of the means to mann their fleets. Accordingly, in the month of September a reſolution was taken in council, and the lords of the admiralty were ordered to authoriſe and command the ſeveral captains and commanders in the royal navy, to ſeize and bring into port all manner of French ſhips, whether men of war or merchantmen: and, in order more effectually to animate the workmen in the dock-yards to proceed with alacrity in the building and repairing the many ſhips ordered to be put into commiſſion, his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland went this ſummer to Portſmouth, where he was received with the greateſt honours; and lord Anſon, with other lords of the admiralty, viſited that place, and ſeveral other ports in the kingdom, in order to forward the maritime preparations, which were carried on with ſuch diligence and alacrity, that before the end of this year the Engliſh navy amounted to one ſhip of an hundred and ten guns, five of an hundred guns each, thirteen of ninety, eight of eighty, five of ſeventy-four, twenty-nine of ſeventy, four of ſixty-ſix, one of ſixty-four, thirty-three of ſixty, three of fifty-four, twenty eight of fifty, four of forty-four, thirty-five of forty, and forty two of twenty; four ſloops of war of fourteen guns each, two of ſixteen, eleven of fourteen, thirteen of twelve, and one of ten; beſides a great number of bomb-ketches, fire-ſhips, and tenders; a force ſufficient to oppoſe the united maritime ſtrength of all the powers in Europe: whilſt that of the French, even at the end of this year, and including the ſhips then upon the ſtocks, conſiſted only of ſix ſhips of eighty guns, twenty-one of ſeventy-four, one of ſeventy-two, four of ſeventy, thirty one of ſixty-four, two of ſixty, ſix of fifty, and thirty-two frigates.

Mean while, in conſequence of the orders for repriſals, our cruizers exerted themſelves ſo effectually, that before the cloſe of the year they had taken three hundred of the French merchant ſhips, and about eight thouſand of their ſailors. By theſe captures the French found themſelves on a ſudden deprived of a great body of ſeamen, and a very large property in trade; the with-holding of which diſtreſſed their people, and ruined many of their merchants. The outward-bound merchant ſhips were inſured at the rate of thirty, and their homeward-bound at the rate of fifty per cent. while the Engliſh paid no more than the common inſurance. This intolerable burden was ſeverely felt by all ranks of people. Amongſt them their miniſtry was publicly reviled even by their parliaments; and the French name, not long ſince the terror of Europe, was now become its contempt. But this violent proceeding, without a formal declaration of war on the part of Great Britain, was loudly impeached of injuſtice by the French court, and not greatly approved by many candid and thinking people at home.

However, to keep up the ſpirit of the nation, and conciliate the affections of the people, a reſolution was taken to employ thoſe admirals who had rendered themſelves ſo popular by their courage and ſucceſs towards the concluſion of the late war. Accordingly, ſir Edward Hawke was ſent with eighteen ſail of men of war on a cruize to the weſtward, to wait for the French fleet under the command of M. du Guay, who had put into Cadiz, and was expected ſhortly to return to Breſt. Sir Edward, however, miſſed of the French fleet, which got ſafe into that harbour on the third day of September; upon advice whereof he was called home. In the October following another fleet of twenty-two ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and ſloops, was ſent upon another cruize under admiral Byng, with a view, as was ſaid, to intercept the ſquadron commanded by La Mothe, in its return from America, after landing M. de Dieſkau with his troops there: but this fleet likewiſe returned to Spithead about the latter end of November, without having been able to effect any thing, to the no ſmall diſguſt of the nation. Commodore Frankland was ſent this ſummer with a ſquadron to the Weſt Indies.

As to our affairs in the Eaſt Indies, the miniſtry had in the preceding year diſpatched rear-admiral Watſon and rear-admiral Pocock with a ſquadron of capital ſhips, and colonel Aldercorn's regiment on board, to ſupport our intereſts beyond the Line, which was no ſooner known to the court of France, who dreaded the conſequences of a war with the Engliſh on that trading coaſt, and were beſides grown jealous of Dupleix's aiming to raiſe himſelf to the dignity of an independent eaſtern prince, and to eſtabliſh his government at their expence, than they reſolved to clear themſelves of this powerful commander, and to eſtabliſh a good harmony between the two companies in that part of the world: with this view they diſpatched M. Godeheu, with a commiſſion of commiſſary-general and governor-general of all their ſettlements, with inſtructions to ſuperſede M. Dupleix in his government, and to do his endeavours to conclude a pacific treaty with the governor of Madraſs, and with the other Engliſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Coromandel. M. Godeheu executed his commiſſion with dexterity and honour. His propoſals were highly acceptable to the Engliſh; and on the twenty-ſixth of December, 1754, articles of a proviſional treaty, and articles and ſtipulations of a truce were ſigned between governor Saunders, preſident for the honourable Eaſt India company on the coaſt of Coromandel, and the ſieur de Godeheu, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's commiſſary. But this gentleman returning home ſoon after, M. de Leyrit his ſucceſſor acted in ſuch a manner as to convince the Engliſh that the tranquillity was not founded on ſo ſolid a baſis as they expected; for early in this year (1755) it appeared that the French, in direct contravention to the proviſional treaty, were endeavouring to acquire the dominion of all the Decan, or province of the hither peninſula of India. They alſo took poſſeſſion of the fort of Golconda; and Leyrit ſupported the Polygor of Velloure, the ſtrongeſt fort of the province, againſt his ſovereign the nabob Mahommed Ally Khan, our ally, threatening, by a letter to the governor of Madraſs, and by marching three hundred French and as many ſeapoys from Pondicherry, to oppoſe the Engliſh employed by the nabob to collect his revenues from the tributary princes that held under him. Our fleet under Watſon and Pocock was then ſailed upon an expedition to reduce the ſtrong places of the famous pirate Angria, on the Malabar coaſt, from whence he had for many years infeſted our trade in the Eaſt Indies, and greatly endangered borh our navigation

tion and that of the Dutch, and other European nations, to that part of the world.

I ſhall now reſume the account of the ſtate of affairs in Europe. The French court, as ſoon as they heard of admiral Boſcawen's taking their two men of war, complained loudly at the court of Madrid of this tranſaction as a moſt unjuſtifiable proceeding, which threatened a diſſolution of all faith amongſt nations. This produced a ſpirited memorial from ſir Benjamin Keene, our miniſter at that court, importing, that it was well known that the French fleet carried troops, ammunition, and every thing neceſſary for defending the countries which the French had unjuſtly ſeized in America, and of which the Engliſh claimed the property: that the rules of ſelf-defence authoriſe every nation to defeat any attempt that may tend to its prejudice: that this right had been made uſe of only in taking the two French men of war: and that the diſtinction of place might be interpreted in favour of the Engliſh, ſeeing the two ſhips were taken on the coaſts of the countries where the conteſt aroſe.

The diſpoſition or the policy of the Spaniſh court happened to be ſuch at this time, that they turned a deaf ear to all the remonſtrances of France, and gave our ſovereign the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of its friendſhip, and of its intention to concern itſelf no farther in the differences between him and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty than as a mediator, if required, to accommodate matters. The French, however, ſtill kept up an appearance of moderation: and although our cruizers continued to diſtreſs their trade, not only in the ſeas of America, but alſo in thoſe of Europe, by taking every ſhip they could meet with; yet the politic adverſary, to have a fair pretext to repreſent England as the aggreſſor, were ſo far from retorting theſe hoſtile proceedings, that their miniſtry, hearing that one of their ſhips of war had taken the Blandford, of twenty guns, with Mr. Littleton on board, going to his government of Carolina, and carried her into Nants, ordered the governor to be immediately ſet at liberty, and ſhortly after releaſed both the ſhip and crew: but notwithſtanding this ſhew of moderation, and that they were ſolliciting every court in Europe to interpoſe their mediation to prevail with his Britannic majeſty to compromiſe the differences between France and England; yet they did not neglect the neceſſary preparations for war, but uſed double diligence in getting their ſquadrons ready for ſea, lined their coaſts oppoſite to England with troops, and prepared ſeveral flat-bottomed boats at Calais, Dunkirk, and ſeveral other ports, as if they really deſigned an invaſion of England. They alſo made ſure of our old ally the empreſs-queen, by means of the count d'Aubeterre, envoy-extraordinary from their court to that of Vienna, who entered into a ſecret negociation with the imperial miniſter, and promiſed, in the name of his maſter, that if the empreſs-queen would ſecond the views of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, ſhe might command all that was in his power againſt the king of Pruſſia, of whom ſhe, at this time, affected to be more than commonly jealous.

In the midſt of this hurry his majeſty returned from his electorate, which he left on the eighth of September, and he arrived at his palace of Kenſington on the fifteenth of the ſame month.

By this time the public received ſome intimation of the negociations of France with the empreſs of Germany: whereupon his Britannic majeſty, to put the matter out of all doubt, ordered his miniſter at the court of Vienna to demand the auxiliaries which he had a right unto by treaties from her Imperial majeſty: but that princeſs not only refuſed to perform thoſe engagements, under the pretence, that as the conteſt between us and France was not a *caſus fœderis*, or clauſe in our alliance with her; but afterwards, when required by England to defend her barrier towns in the Low Countries, ſhe excuſed herſelf from the ſervice, under a pretence of her fears from the king of Pruſſia.

On the thirteenth of November his majeſty met his parliament, and opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he informed the lords and commons, "That the moſt proper meaſures had been taken to protect our poſſeſſions in America, and to recover ſuch parts of them as had been uſurped or invaded: that to preſerve his people from the calamities of war, as well as to prevent a general flame from being lighted up in Europe, he had always been ready to accept of reaſonable and honourable terms of accommodation; but that none ſuch had been offered by France: that he had alſo confined his views and operations to hinder France from making new encroachments, or ſupporting thoſe already made; to exert his people's right to a ſatisfaction for hoſtilities committed in time of profound peace; and to diſappoint ſuch deſigns as, from various appearances and preparations, there was reaſon to think had been formed againſt his kingdoms and dominions: that he believed no impartial power could object to proceedings ſo abſolutely neceſſary for the defence and ſecurity of his people: that his good brother the king of Spain beheld with concern theſe differences; and the part which he had taken in the common welfare of Europe, made him earneſtly wiſh the preſervation of the public tranquillity, and had induced him to give the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of his firm reſolution to continue in the ſame pacific ſentiments: that he himſelf had greatly increaſed his naval force, and augmented his army in ſuch a manner as might be leaſt burthenſome to his ſubjects: and finally, that he had concluded a treaty with the empreſs of Ruſſia, and another with the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, which ſhould be ſubmitted to their peruſal."

In the houſe of lords, the duke of Marlborough preſented the form of a very long and explicit addreſs of thanks for the approbation of the houſe, which was ſeconded by the earl of Marchmont. It occaſioned violent debates, and was thought to have been one of the moſt extraordinary ever preſented by that houſe. It was in ſubſtance as follows: "They thank him for his royal firmneſs, in not yielding to any terms of accommodation with France that were not reaſonable and honourable, and for exerting his royal care ſo powerfully in the protection of his colonies: they acknowlege his majeſty's wiſdom and goodneſs in increaſing his naval armaments, in augmenting his land forces, with ſo much regard to the eaſe of his people, and in generouſly giving encouragement to that great body of his brave and faithful ſubjects, with which his American provinces happily abound, to exert their ſtrength on this important occaſion: they obſerve, with pleaſure, the pacific declarations of his Catholic majeſty; promiſe their moſt zealous and

vigorous aid and concurrence in this juſt and national cauſe, and to aſſiſt him in diſappointing or repelling all ſuch enterprizes as may be formed not only againſt his kingdoms, but alſo againſt any other of his dominions, *although not belonging to the crown of Great Britain*, in caſe they ſhould be attacked on account of the part which his majeſty has taken for maintaining the eſſential intereſts of his kingdoms."

The terms in which this addreſs was couched gave infinite offence to, and was vehemently combated by, the lords in the oppoſition, headed by earl Temple, who inſiſted that in the firſt part of it the wiſdom of the houſe was proſtituted, by engaging to approve of the treaties of Ruſſia and Heſſe-Caſſel, which they had not ſeen, and which they apprehended could be of no uſe to Great Britain: and in the ſecond part, they ſaid the houſe would be guilty of the greateſt indiſcretion, by conſenting to meaſures which manifeſtly engaged this nation in a continental connection, for the defence of Hanover, that could not be ſupported by Great Britain; and would be ſo far from being of advantage to us at ſea or in America, that it was to be feared it might in the end diſable the nation from defending itſelf in other parts of the world. But the court party, upon putting the queſtion, carried their addreſs by a great majority of voices, and it was accordingly preſented, and met with a moſt gracious anſwer from his majeſty.

The addreſs in the houſe of commons was replete with the ſame expreſſions of zeal, gratitude, and warm aſſurances to ſupport his majeſty. Nay the ſame, or nearly the ſame words, relating to the defence of his majeſty's foreign dominions, were propoſed to be inſerted in this addreſs, which was oppoſed ſtrenuouſly by ſeveral gentlemen in high poſts under the government, particularly by Mr. Legge, the chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. William Pitt, pay-maſter of the forces: but after a long debate, the form was approved by a conſiderable majority, and the addreſs was preſented, which met with a like gracious return from the throne with that of the upper houſe.

It was ſomewhat ſtrange to ſee two perſons who held ſuch conſiderable places under the government, oppoſe, as they did upon almoſt every occaſion, the ſecretary of ſtate, who was ſuppoſed to know and ſpeak the ſentiments of his maſter: but the truth is, that there was a very ſtrange jumble of parties in both houſes; and it ſoon appeared that the public buſineſs could not go on unleſs another ſecretary of ſtate was appointed in the room of ſir Thomas Robinſon, who, though a man of integrity and virtue, and a favourite with his ſovereign, was not poſſeſſed of talents equal to the duties of his office, eſpecially at ſo critical a juncture as that in which the nation now found itſelf. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Henry Fox, ſecretary at war, though they ſcarce ever agreed in any other point, united in oppoſing his meaſures; and their intereſt was ſo great in the houſe, and their abilities ſo univerſally acknowleged, though of very different kinds, that they were always ſure of forming a party ſufficient to clog the wheels of government, when matters went contrary to their inclinations. Mr. Pitt had, beſides the advantage of his high poſt under the government, the additional weight of having in both houſes many able men who were his friends or relations, particularly Mr. Legge, chancellor of the Exchequer, above-mentioned, the earl Temple, and the Grenville family, and almoſt all of them enjoying places under the government likewiſe. Sir Thomas himſelf therefore very wiſely and dutifully reſolved to take off ſome part of the oppoſition; and of his own accord, the very ſecond day of the ſeſſion, reſigned the ſeals of ſecretary of ſtate into his royal maſter's hands, who delivered them to Mr. Fox. About the ſame time Mr. Legge, diſguſted with the new ſyſtem of foreign meaſures, threw up his poſt of chancellor of the Exchequer, which was conferred on ſir George Lyttleton, and lord Barrington ſucceeded Mr. Fox as ſecretary at war. Mr. Pitt was ſoon after diſmiſſed from his employment, and the earl of Darlington and Mr. Hay appointed joint paymaſters-general in his ſtead. Earl Gower was made keeper of the privy-ſeal, and the duke of Marlborough maſter-general of the ordnance. This was called the miniſtry with Mr. Fox at the head; but few of them were conſulted in the adminiſtration of the more important affairs.

When the treaties with Ruſſia and Heſſe-Caſſel came to be conſidered in the houſe of commons, ſome of the members propoſed referring them to the examination of a committee; but this motion was rejected, in conſideration of his majeſty's having contracted them with a view to avert the ſtorm that threatened his electoral dominions, on account of our quarrel with the French. The new miniſtry alſo, in order to reconcile the nation the better to theſe treaties, took advantage of the march of a large body of French troops down to their coaſts, to inſinuate, that the ſubſidiary troops might ſoon be found neceſſary to be brought over hither for the defence of our iſland againſt the French invaſion. In fine, the queſtion being put upon each of theſe treaties, they were approved by a majority of three hundred and eighteen againſt one hundred and twenty-ſix in the lower houſe, and by eighty-four againſt eleven in the upper. After this the commons proceeded to adjuſt the ſupplies for the enſuing year, when they voted fifty thouſand ſeamen, including nine thouſand one hundred and thirty-eight marines, together with two millions ſix hundred thouſand pounds for their maintenance, and thirty-four thouſand two hundred and ſixty-three land forces, with 930,600 l. for their ſupport. One hundred thouſand pounds were voted as a ſubſidy to the empreſs of Ruſſia, fifty-four thouſand one hundred and forty pounds to the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel *, and ten thouſand pounds to the elector of Bavaria.

* In the courſe of this year the proteſtant intereſt received a ſevere blow, by the defection of prince Frederic of Heſſe-Caſſel (ſon to this landgrave, and ſon-in-law to his Britannic majeſty, whoſe daughter, the princeſs Mary, he had eſpouſed) who on the ſeventh of March abjured the proteſtant faith, and turned Roman catholic: whereupon the king of Great Britain and the States-general, at the requiſition of the old landgrave and the ſtates of Heſſe-Caſſel, guarantied the proteſtant religion and ſucceſſion in that landgraviate.

I muſt

I muſt here ſtop to commemorate a moſt awful event which happened in this month of November, and proved fatal to many places, occaſioned by an almoſt univerſal convulſion throughout the known world, which was far from being unnoticed even in theſe kingdoms, where the waters in many places were agitated in a moſt ſurpriſing manner: but in Spain and Portugal the greateſt miſchief was ſuſtained by this tremenduous earthquake; and the proud city of Liſbon, capital of Portugal, was almoſt totally deſtroyed, with near ſeventy thouſand inhabitants of all countries, though happily not above ten or twelve Engliſh were amongſt the number. This fortunate circumſtance, with reſpect to thoſe of our nation, ſeems to have been owing to the day on which this fearful viſitation happened, viz. the firſt of November, which is the feſtival of All-Saints, and is appointed at Liſbon for the celebration of the Auto da Fé *; and as in that day inſults are frequently offered to proteſtants if met in the ſtreets, moſt of the gentlemen of the Engliſh factory go the night before to their country houſes, and do not return till the next day, when every thing is quiet. To this unhappy bigotry, which brings many of the country inhabitants to Liſbon to ſee the ſhew, the great loſs of the Portugueſe, and the preſervation of the Engliſh, may therefore be reaſonably attributed: but though the Engliſh were thus ſafe in their perſons, almoſt all the houſes they occupied were deſtroyed by the dreadful conflagration which accompanied the earthquake; and the greater part ſaved nothing but a little caſh and ſome of their books.

When this dreadful convulſion began, which was between nine and ten in the morning, the weather was ſerene, and the ſky without a cloud in it. The two firſt and moſt dreadful ſhocks continued for the ſpace of a quarter of an hour; after which the water of the river Tagus, which runs along by the city, roſe perpendicularly above twenty feet, and ſubſided to its natural bed again in leſs than a minute. It is agreed on all hands, that the fire which ſucceeded the earthquake was the principal cauſe of the total ruin of the city. It was occaſioned by the vaſt quantities of fires lighted on that particular day on the altars of every church, chapel, and in every convent and private houſe; and many villains alſo confeſſed, on their executions for pillaging the ruins, that they had ſet fire to many places in the city to facilitate their depredations. The waverings of the earth were from eaſt to weſt, which is the courſe of the Tagus from Liſbon to the ocean; the whole bed of which river is in all probability altered; for the principal quay of the city, built extremely ſtrong of marble, cramped with irons, and jointed, ſunk at once fifty fathoms below the ſurface of the water. The earth opened in abundance of other places in the kingdom, as at Alcantara, Sacavem, and Setuval, or St. Ubes: out of ſome of the chaſms iſſued water, from others a ſulphureous vapour, and from others proceeded nothing but air. Of three hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, which Liſbon was ſuppoſed to contain at the time of the earthquake, about ſeven thouſand (ſome accounts made them nearer ten thouſand) periſhed by this calamity, and the ſurvivors, deprived of their habitations, and deſtitute even of the neceſſaries of life, were obliged to ſeek for ſhelter in the open fields.

His majeſty had no ſooner received intelligence of this melancholy event from his miniſter at the court of Madrid, than he ſent a meſſage to the houſe of lords, acquainting them with the ſame, and deſiring their concurrence and aſſiſtance in relieving the unhappy ſufferers. To which the lords returned a dutiful addreſs, expreſſing their juſt ſenſe of his majeſty's royal concern for the great misfortune that had befallen the kingdom of Portugal, and for his generous compaſſion of the unhappy ſufferers; and aſſuring his majeſty of their hearty concurrence and aſſiſtance in ſending ſuch ſpeedy and effectual relief as might be ſuitable to ſo afflicting and preſſing an exigency. Accordingly the parliament, to the honour of Britiſh humanity, ſoon after voted a gift of one hundred thouſand pounds; and likewiſe ſent twenty thouſand barrels of rice, a great quantity of corn and flour, and a large cargo of beef from Ireland, and many other neceſſaries for the relief of the diſtreſſed people of Portugal, to be at the diſpoſal of his Portugueſe majeſty; who was ſo ſenſibly affected with this inſtance of Britiſh generoſity, that, as a proof of his gratitude, he ordered M. de Caſtres, the Engliſh reſident at his court, to give the preference in thoſe ſupplies to the Britiſh ſubjects who had ſuffered by the earthquake. Accordingly, about a thirtieth part of the proviſions, and two thouſand pounds in money, were ſet apart for that purpoſe; and his Portugueſe majeſty returned his thanks in the warmeſt terms to the Britiſh crown and nation.

About this time the Eſperance man of war, of eighty guns, belonging to the French, ſailing from Rochefort to Breſt to be completely manned, was taken with three hundred men on board, by the Orford, of ſeventy guns, captain Stevens, after three hours engagement, and brought by him into Plymouth. In ſhort, matters were come to ſuch a length between us and France, that it was daily expected war would be declared either by the one ſide or the other. The French court, however, did not chuſe to do it firſt, for fear they ſhould drive their own people, already oppreſſed almoſt beyond human ſufferance, into mutiny and rebellion: and we had our reaſons for not being the firſt to proclaim war, leſt we might be deemed the aggreſſors, and conſequently have given our allies a pretence to refuſe their ſuccours, in caſe they ſhould be demanded in the courſe of the war. On theſe or the like principles both courts ſeemed to act. At laſt the French bethought themſelves of an expedient to oblige our miniſtry to give ſuch an eclairciſſement concerning their intentions as ſhould amount to a preciſe declaration, which was, by ordering Mr. Rouillé, ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs in France, to write the following letter or memorial to Mr. Fox, ſecretary of ſtate to his Britannic majeſty.

* Or, Act of Faith; in which the convicts of the inquiſition go in proceſſion through the city; and frequently proteſtants and others are burnt alive by the ſentence of this infernal tribunal.

" SIR,

" By order of the king my maſter, I have the honour to ſend you the following memorial, &c.

" The king is able to demonſtrate to the whole univerſe, by authentic proofs, that it is not owing to his majeſty that the differences relating to America have not been amicably accommodated.

" The king being moſt ſincerely deſirous to maintain the public peace, and a good underſtanding with his Britannic majeſty, carried on the negociation relative to that ſubject with the moſt unreſerved confidence and good faith.

" The aſſurances of the king of Great Britain's diſpoſition to peace, which his Britannic majeſty and his miniſtry were conſtantly repeating, both by word of mouth and in writing, were ſo formal and preciſe, that the king could not, without reproaching himſelf, entertain the leaſt ſuſpicion of the ſincerity of the court of London's intentions.

" It is ſcarce poſſible to conceive how theſe aſſurances can be reconciled with the orders for hoſtilities given in November 1754, to general Braddock, and in April 1755 to admiral Boſcawen.

" The attack and capture, in July laſt, of two of the king's ſhips in the open ſeas, and without a declaration of war, was a public inſult to his majeſty's flag; and his majeſty would have manifeſted his juſt reſentment of ſuch an irregular and violent proceeding, if he could have imagined that admiral Boſcawen acted by the orders of his court.

" For the ſame reaſon the king ſuſpended at firſt his judgment of the piracies that have been committed for ſeveral months, by the Engliſh men of war, on the navigation and commerce of his majeſty's ſubjects, in contempt of the law of nations, and the regard they reciprocally owe to each other.

" The ſentiments of his Britannic majeſty gave the king room to expect, that at his return to London he would diſavow the conduct of his admirals and naval officers, and give his majeſty a ſatisfaction proportioned to the injury and the damage.

" But ſeeing that the king of England, inſtead of puniſhing the robberies committed by the Engliſh navy, on the contrary encourages them, by demanding from his ſubjects freſh ſupplies againſt France; his majeſty would fall ſhort in what he owes to his own glory, the dignity of his crown, and the defence of his people, if he deferred any longer the demanding of a ſignal reparation for the outrage done to the French flag, and the damage done to the king's ſubjects.

" His majeſty therefore thinks proper to apply directly to his Britannic majeſty, and to demand from him immediate and full reſtitution of all the French ſhips, as well men of war as merchant men, which, contrary to all law and all decorum, have been taken by the Engliſh navy, and of all the officers, ſoldiers, mariners, guns, ſtores, merchandizes, and in general of every thing belonging to theſe veſſels.

" The king will always chuſe to owe to the king of England's equity, rather than to any thing elſe, that ſatisfaction which he hath a right to demand; and all the powers in Europe will undoubtedly ſee in this ſtep which he hath determined to take, a new and ſtriking proof of that invariable love of peace which directs all his counſels and reſolutions.

" If his Britannic majeſty orders reſtitution of the veſſels in queſtion, the king will be diſpoſed to enter into a negociation for that farther ſatisfaction which is legally due to him, and will continue deſirous, as he hath always been, to have the diſcuſſions relating to America, determined by an equitable and ſolid accommodation.

" But if, contrary to all hopes, the king of England refuſe what the king demands, his majeſty will regard this denial of juſtice as the moſt authentic declaration of war, and as a formed deſign in the court of London to diſturb the peace of Europe."

Verſailles, Dec. 21, 1755.

The haughty terms in which this memorial was conceived, and the apparent incongruity of this correſpondence between two nations ſo far engaged in hoſtilities as Great Britain and France were at this time, would not permit his Britannic majeſty to anſwer this memorial otherwiſe than by his ſecretary of ſtate. Mr. Fox therefore, by the royal command, ſent to Mr. Rouillé the following anſwer, dated at Whitehall, January 13, 1756.

" SIR,

" I received on the third inſtant the letter, dated the twenty-firſt paſt, with which your Excellency honoured me, together with the memorial ſubjoined to it. I immediately laid them before the king my maſter; and by his command have the honour to inform your Excellency, that his majeſty continues deſirous of preſerving the public tranquillity: but though the king will conſent to an equitable and ſolid accommodation, his majeſty cannot grant the demand that is made of immediate and full reſtitution of all the French veſſels, and whatever belongs to them, as the preliminary condition of any negociation; his majeſty having taken no ſtep but what the hoſtilities begun by France, in a time of profound peace (of which he has the moſt authentic proofs) and what his majeſty owes to his own honour, to the defence of the rights and poſſeſſions of his crown, and the ſecurity of his kingdoms, rendered juſt and indiſpenſible.

" I have the honour to be, &c."

At the ſame time, a refutation was drawn up of the charges brought in the French memorial againſt the Engliſh nation, and was tranſmitted to the Britiſh ambaſſador at each of the ſeveral courts of Europe, in order to be publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of the world, but is too long to be inſerted here.

However, in conſequence of theſe memorials and Mr. Fox's anſwer, the French king's orders were publiſhed at Dunkirk, for all Britiſh ſubjects to leave his dominions before the firſt of March, except ſuch as might obtain his permiſſion to remain. Another edict was publiſhed at the ſame time, inviting the French ſubjects to fit out privateers, offering a premium of forty livres (about thirty-ſix ſhillings Engliſh) for every gun, and as much for every man they ſhould take from the enemy; and promiſing, that in caſe a peace ſhould be ſpeedily concluded, the king would purchaſe all the ſaid privateers at prime coſt. Purſuant to the above orders, the Engliſh veſſels in the ſeveral ports of France were ſeized, and their crews ſent to priſon.

The fortifications at Dunkirk had already begun to be repaired, and a great number of artificers and ſeamen were employed in equipping a formidable ſquadron at Breſt; and a ſtrong body of forces were collected, as well as a conſiderable number of tranſports, in order to infuſe into the people of this kingdom a belief of an intended invaſion. It has been too much the foible of this nation to be terrified with every motion our neighbours the French make on the coaſt of the Channel. They took us therefore on our weak ſide: nor did they forget on this occaſion to play off their old ſcarecrow the pretender againſt us; for in an article from Paris in the public papers of the beginning of September, we were told that the chevalier de St. George's eldeſt ſon had been two months in that city; that he had ſeen the king and the miniſtry, and had offered to hazard his perſon again to ſecond the reſentments of that court. It was added, that an embarkation was talked of for Scotland. This and a thouſand other vague reports of the like nature, were the pure effects of French policy, to confound our intelligence, and keep us upon a wrong ſcent till they ſhould be ready to ſtrike the grand blow they really meditated, the reduction of Minorca; of which more in its place.

Our miniſtry, however, appear to have been ſo prepoſſeſſed with the belief that the French intended an invaſion of theſe kingdoms, that when the parliament reaſſembled after Chriſtmas receſs, lord Barrington, as ſecretary at war, on the twenty-ſecond day of January 1756, laid before the houſe an eſtimate for defraying the charge of ten new regiments of foot, over and above the thirty-four thouſand two hundred and ſixty-three land ſoldiers already ordered to be raiſed; and the ſum of ninety-one thouſand nine hundred and nineteen pounds ten ſhillings was voted for this purpoſe: and upon another eſtimate preſented by the ſame noble lord, and founded on the ſame ſuppoſed neceſſity of augmenting the army, the farther ſum of forty-nine thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-eight pounds was voted for defraying the charges of eleven troops of light dragoons, and eighty-one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-eight pounds were voted for the charge of a regiment of foot to be raiſed in America for the year 1756, two hundred and ninety-eight thouſand five hundred and thirty pounds for the maintenance of our forces already eſtabliſhed in our American colonies, and ſeventy-nine thouſand nine hundred and fifteen pounds for ſix regiments of foot from Ireland, to ſerve in North America and the Eaſt Indies. In a word, including ſeveral other ſums, as well for defraying the expence of the army and navy as for other purpoſes, the whole of the ſupplies granted by parliament in this ſeſſion amounted to ſeven millions two hundred twenty-nine thouſand one hundred and ſeventeen pounds four ſhillings and ſix-pence. For raiſing this ſum, beſides the malt-tax and the land-tax at four ſhillings, the whole produce of the ſinking fund, from the fifth of January 1756, until it ſhould amount to one million five hundred fifty-five thouſand nine hundred fifty-five pounds eleven ſhillings, was ordered to be applied, together with a million to be raiſed by loans on Exchequer bills at three per cent. one million five hundred thouſand pounds to be raiſed by the ſale of redeemable annuities at three and a half per cent. and five hundred thouſand by a lottery at three per cent.

Sundry very good laws were enacted this ſeſſion for the better ſupporting ourſelves againſt the deſigns of the enemy, and for the encouragement and regulation of Britiſh commerce and navigation in general; ſuch as, an act "to enable foreigners to ſerve as military officers in America;" an act "for ſupplying mariners on board of ſhips of war and merchantmen;" an act "for granting bounties on Britiſh and Iriſh linen exported;" an act "for the encouragement of fiſheries in Scotland;" an act "for ſecuring and encouraging the trade of his majeſty's ſugar colonies in America;" an act "for regulating workmens wages employed in the woollen manufacture;" and an act "for the encouragement of ſeamen, and the more ſpeedy manning the royal navy."

While the parliament of Great Britain was thus proceeding with the public buſineſs, the whole ſyſtem of affairs in Europe took a new and ſudden turn. His Pruſſian majeſty having got intelligence that a ſecret negociation was carrying on between the courts of Peterſburg, Vienna, and Verſailles, which had for its object the partition of a part of his dominions; and fearful that if the Ruſſians, taken by the late treaty into the pay of Great Britain, ſhould get footing in Germany, he muſt be reduced to a very precarious ſituation; he therefore emitted a public declaration by his miniſters in all the courts of Europe, "That he would oppoſe with his utmoſt force the entrance of any foreign troops into the empire, under any pretence whatſoever."

This ſpirited declaration of his Pruſſian majeſty, and the favourable reception which that prince had given the duke de Nivernois, who had been lately ſent from France to Berlin to propoſe a new alliance between the two courts, gave his Britannic majeſty the moſt uneaſy apprehenſions for his electoral dominions, in caſe ſuch an alliance ſhould take place: and as nothing but neceſſity had induced the king to apply for Ruſſian auxiliaries, he thought it moſt adviſable to fall in with the views of his nephew, eſpecially as they had now but one common intereſt, the preventing of foreign troops being introduced into Germany.

Advances were accordingly made on the part of our court to the king of Pruſſia, with ſuch advantageous propoſals as made him entirely relinquiſh all thoughts of a further negociation with the Grand Monarch; and a convention was concluded in the month of January between their Britannic and Pruſſian majeſties, importing, "That having maturely conſidered, that the differences which had lately ariſen in America might eaſily extend much farther, and even reach Europe; having, moreover, always the welfare and ſafety of Germany, their common country, much at heart; and being extremely deſirous to maintain its peace and tranquillity, they had, as the moſt effectual means of obtaining this ſalutary end, agreed upon a convention of neutrality, by which they reciprocally bound themſelves not to ſuffer foreign troops, of any nation whatſoever, to enter into Germany or paſs through it during the troubles aforeſaid, and the conſequences that might reſult from them; but to oppoſe the ſame with their utmoſt might, in order to ſecure Germany from the calamities of war, defend her fundamental laws and conſtitutions, and preſerve her peace uninterrupted."

The belief of an intended French invaſion began now to prevail more and more. It was currently

rently reported from the Hague that the troops, to the amount of one hundred and forty battalions, were to be tranſported in flat-bottomed boats: that M. de Belleiſle was to command the expedition, who was already, with the prince de Soubiſe, making their circuit along the French coaſt: that eighty thouſand men were marching to Dunkirk; and that a large fleet of men of war were actually in Breſt road, ready to put to ſea, under the command of M. du Perrier. About the ſame time advices were received, that great preparations had been making at Toulon for ſome months for the execution of an important expedition, calculated to deprive the Britiſh marine of its preſent opportunities of carrying on hoſtilities againſt the French in the Mediterranean. This enterprize was ſaid to be a deſcent upon the iſland of Minorca, to be made with twenty-five thouſand men, a great train of artillery, and ſupported by a fleet of eight ſail of capital ſhips; and that the whole would be ready to put to ſea by the beginning of April at fartheſt. The ſame advice was confirmed by ſir Benjamin Keene, our ambaſſador at the court of Madrid, by ſundry well-authenticated letters from the Hague, and at laſt from the governor of Minorca, general Blakeney, himſelf, who, in a letter to Mr. Fox, dated February 7, and received March 6, 1756, expreſſes himſelf thus: "I cannot be too early in acquainting you, ſir, that by different informations from France and Spain, there is great reaſon to believe the French intend very ſhortly to make an attack upon this iſland. In conſequence, I have called a council of war; and we were unanimouſly of opinion, that conſidering who theſe informations came from, and the reports every-where about, which ſeemed to tally with them, this iſland ought with the greateſt ſpeed to be put in the beſt ſtate of defence it can."

All theſe informations, however, were totally diſregarded by our miniſtry, who ſtill affected to interpret all the motions of the French, in every part of their kingdom, to be deſtined either againſt the Britiſh iſles, our plantations in America, or againſt Hanover; and they prevailed on his majeſty to ſend a meſſage to the houſe of lords on the twenty-third of March, ſignifying, "That he had received repeated advices from different places and perſons, that a deſign had been formed by the French court to make an hoſtile invaſion upon Great Britain or Ireland; and that the great preparations of land forces, ſhips, artillery, and warlike ſtores, then notoriouſly making in the ports of France oppoſite to the Britiſh coaſts, left little room to doubt of the reality of ſuch a deſign: that he had not only augmented his forces by ſea and land to put his kingdom in a poſture of defence; but that he had alſo, in order farther to ſtrengthen himſelf, ordered tranſports to bring over hither a body of Heſſian troops; and doubted not that he ſhould be ſupported by his parliament in all ſuch further meaſures as ſhould be conducive to an end ſo eſſential to the honour of the crown, the preſervation of the proteſtant religion, and the laws and liberties of theſe kingdoms."

It muſt, I am perſuaded, give the reader ſome ſurprize, not to find the leaſt notice taken in this meſſage of the advices concerning the hoſtile preparations in the ſouth of France for invading Minorca, or of any meaſures taken or intended by the miniſtry for its defence. This meſſage was indeed pretty ſeverely animadverted upon by ſeveral members of both houſes, who violently oppoſed the bringing ſuch a diſgrace upon this nation as the tranſporting hither a body of foreign mercenaries to defend her and fight her battles. However, the miniſterial influence prevailed; and both houſes preſented their addreſſes, expreſſing their indignation at ſo daring an attempt as the invaſion of theſe kingdoms; and aſſuring his majeſty that they would with unſhaken zeal, vigour, and unanimity, ſtand by him againſt all his enemies, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes.

The miniſtry did not ſtop here; for in a very few days after Mr. Fox made a motion in the lower houſe, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, beſeeching him, that for the more effectual defence of this iſland againſt the threatened attack by a foreign enemy, he would be graciouſly pleaſed to order twelve battalions of his electoral troops, together with the uſual detachment of artillery, to be immediately brought into this kingdom. This motion was agreed to by the majority, the addreſs preſented, his majeſty's compliance obtained, and ſuch expedition was uſed, that in the courſe of the next month both Hanoverians and Heſſians arrived in England, and were diſtributed in camps in different parts of the kingdom. Unſpeakable, however, was the indignation which the greater part of the nation expreſſed againſt the miniſtry, who, by neglecting the eſtabliſhment of a regular militia (for which a bill had been prepared and offered by the honourable Charles Townſhend in the courſe of this ſeſſion, but rejected) had reduced Great Britain to ſo low an ebb of diſtreſs, as to oblige her to have recourſe for ſafety and protection to the aſſiſtance of foreign auxiliaries. The rabble, who are ever in extremes, were inflamed to ſuch a degree of animoſity againſt theſe foreigners, that nothing could have reſtrained them from violent acts of outrage but the exemplary modeſt and inoffenſive conduct by which the Germans, as well private men as officers, diſtinguiſhed themſelves.

While theſe meaſures were purſuing to guard againſt the impending danger, colonel Yorke, our ambaſſador in Holland, had orders to demand of the States-general the ſix thouſand troops which, by treaty, they were obliged to furniſh to England, when attacked or threatened by any of her enemies. Accordingly, on the thirteenth of February, he delivered a memorial for that purpoſe, but too long to have a place here. M. d'Affry, the French ambaſſador, preſented to their High Mightineſſes a counter-memorial, in which he inſiſted, that the Engliſh had no right to claim the aſſiſtance of their allies, as they were inconteſtably the aggreſſors; and deſired their High Mightineſſes would explain themſelves categorically on the part they intended to take in the preſent diſpute. The States-general, in anſwer to this demand, obſerved, that conſidering their ſituation, the bad ſtate of their finances, and the decay of their commerce, nothing could be more agreeable to them than a neutrality, which they were determined to preſerve until obliged to depart from it by good faith, and the religion of inviolable engagements they lay under by treaties to ſeveral powers. This anſwer was by no means ſatisfactory to the court of Verſailles; and therefore M. d'Affry was ordered to deſire their High Mightineſſes to explain themſelves with

greater preciſion, intimating, that although his moſt Chriſtian majeſty deſired not to multiply the calamities of war, yet he could no longer reckon among the number of his friends thoſe powers who, far from fulfilling the defenſive engagements they have contracted with him, would make a common cauſe with, and furniſh ſuccours to, his enemies.

Mean while, the Engliſh tranſports arrived in the Maeſe, and Mr. Yorke continued to inſiſt on the embarkation of the ſix thouſand men demanded. The States upon this were prodigiouſly embarraſſed. They ſaw themſelves reduced to this unavoidable dilemma: if the republic granted the ſuccours demanded, ſhe would thereby declare France the aggreſſor; if ſhe refuſed them, then the French would gain their point, and the court of England be diſobliged, which might prove of as bad conſequence on the other ſide, with regard to their commerce. While their High Mightineſſes were in this perplexity, his Britannic majeſty foreſeeing that, ſhould they comply with his demands, they would expoſe themſelves to the reſentment of the French king, which they were in no condition to oppoſe; and probably willing, at the ſame time, to obviate the affront of a refuſal, generouſly releaſed them from their obligation, and conſented to their neutrality.

By this time the Britiſh court were convinced, that the French ſquadron which had been ſo long preparing at Toulon, was deſigned for the reduction of Minorca: upon certain intelligence of which, they ſeemed to rouſe as from a deep lethargy. Hitherto, by a moſt ſhameful neglect, they had been ſo far from ſupplying that important garriſon with a proper reinforcement, that they had not even ſent thither the officers belonging to it, who, to a conſiderable number, were in England upon leave of abſence; nor were any directions given for the tranſporting of them until the French armament was ready to make a deſcent upon the iſland. And now, like perſons ſuddenly awakened from a ſound ſleep, they did every thing with hurry, precipitation, and confuſion. The notion of an invaſion had taken ſuch deep hold of their minds, that even at this critical juncture, when it ſo much behoved us to ſend a ſquadron which in all reſpects ſhould be ſuperior to the French fleet in the Mediterranean, they declared they could ſpare only ten ſhips; and even theſe were but in a very indifferent condition, and unprovided with either hoſpital or ſtore-ſhips. They alleged afterwards, indeed, in their excuſe, that they had been informed that the French would not be able to equip at Toulon above ſix or eight ſhips of the line, otherwiſe they ſhould have made the ſquadron ſtronger.

The command of this important ſervice was given to admiral George Byng. He was ſon of ſir George Byng, afterwards viſcount Torrington, one of the beſt ſeamen England ever produced; and the admiral himſelf had long experience in the navy. His abilities were unqueſtionable, and he had riſen to the rank he then held without any reproach. Mr. Weſt, a gentleman univerſally reſpected for his knowlege, ability, and reſolution, and lately made an admiral, was ſent with him as ſecond in command. The orders Mr. Byng received, previous to his ſailing, ſufficiently diſcover how ignorant our miniſtry were of the force or deſtination of the Toulon ſquadron: for the admiral was therein directed, among other things, to endeavour to learn, on his arrival at Gibraltar, whether any French ſquadron had paſſed through the Streights; and that, being certified in the affirmative, as it was probably intended for North America, he ſhould immediately detach rear-admiral Weſt to Louiſbourg or the iſland of Cape Breton, with ſuch a number of ſhips as, when reinforced by thoſe at Halifax, might conſtitute a force ſuperior to that of the enemy.

On the ſeventh day of April the two admirals ſailed from Spithead for the Mediterranean with the ten following ſhips; the Ramillies (admiral Byng's own ſhip) of ninety guns; the Buckingham (on board of which Mr. Weſt had his flag) of ſeventy; the Culloden, of ſeventy-four; the Trident, Captain, Lancaſter, Revenge, Intrepid, Defiance, and Kingſton, from ſixty to ſixty-ſix guns each, having on board a regiment of ſoldiers to be landed at Gibraltar, with major-general Stuart, the lord Effingham, and colonel Cornwallis, whoſe regiments were in garriſon at Minorca, about forty inferior officers, and near one hundred recruits, as a reinforcement to St. Philip's fortreſs. Admiral Byng, after a tedious voyage, occaſioned by calms and contrary winds, did not arrive at Gibraltar till the ſecond of May. There he found captain Edgcumbe, with the Princeſs Louiſa, a ſixty gun ſhip, and a ſloop; and from his account ſoon perceived that things wore a very different aſpect from that which had been given them in England: for Mr. Edgcumbe, who had, by a fortunate neglect of the French, eſcaped out of the harbour of Mahon with three ſhips while they were landing on the other ſide, informed the admiral, that inſtead of ſix or eight ſhips of the line, which it was pretended were the moſt the enemy could ſend to ſea from Toulon, their ſquadron from that port really conſiſted of 12 ſhips, from ſixty-four to eighty-four guns; four frigates, from twenty-four to twenty-ſix; beſides ſloops, and five bomb-veſſels, under the command of M. de la Galiſſoniere, with a great number of tranſports, carrying a body of fifteen thouſand land forces, which had ſailed from Toulon the tenth day of April, juſt three days after Mr. Byng ſailed from St. Helen's; and that his armament had already got poſſeſſion of all Minorca, except St. Philip's caſtle. The difference in the real ſtate, as well as the aſpect of things, will in ſome meaſure account for part of that conduct for which admiral Byng was ſeverely treated afterwards.

But before I proceed to relate the particulars of this unhappy expedition, I ſhall juſt take notice, that on the twenty-ſeventh of May his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion of parliament in England with a ſpeech, in which he thanked his parliament for the vigorous and effectual ſupport they had given him; and acquainted them, that the injuries and hoſtilities which had been for ſome time committed by the French againſt his dominions and ſubjects, were then followed by the actual invaſion of Minorca, though guarantied to him by all the great powers of Europe, and particularly by the French king: that he therefore found himſelf obliged, in vindication of the honour of his crown, and of the rights of his people, to declare war in form againſt France: that he relied on the Divine Protection,

and the vigorous aſſiſtance of his faithful ſubjects, in ſo juſt a cauſe.

Admiral Byng having, on his arrival at Gibraltar, received the above information of the enemy's operations and ſtrength on the iſland of Minorca and its coaſt, ſo very different from what he had been made to expect, iſſued orders, on the very day of his arrival, for all the ſhips of his ſquadron to complete their proviſions and water with the utmoſt expedition. On the third the admiral went on ſhore, to communicate to the governor of Gibraltar his orders relative to a battalion of troops to be ſent on board his fleet from the garriſon, in order to reinforce the caſtle of St. Philip's. Major-general Fowke, the governor of Gibraltar, had alſo received inſtructions upon this head from the ſecretary at war, in three different letters: but either from ſome obſcurity in thoſe orders, or imagining that by ſending away ſuch a detachment he ſhould too much weaken his own garriſon, he did not think proper to part with any of his troops to the admiral, who thereupon ſailed without them on the eighth of May, with thirteen ſhips of the line and three frigates, including commodore Edgcumbe's ſmall ſquadron that he had found at Gibraltar, and ſome cruizers that joined him while there.

It has been already intimated, that the French fleet ſailed from Toulon on the tenth of April with twelve ſail of ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and other armed veſſels and tranſports, carrying fifteen thouſand men, under the orders of the marſhal duke de Richelieu, who was to command in chief by land on this expedition, while the count de la Galiſſoniere with his fleet was to prevent any ſuccours being thrown into the fort from ſeaward, and to give battle to the fleet ſent from England for its relief. On the eighteenth of April this armament arrived before Ciudadella, a caſtle ſituate in a port at the weſt end of the iſland of Minorca, about thirty miles from Port Mahon, where the troops were landed without the leaſt oppoſition from the Engliſh, who had evacuated that place on the firſt appearance of the enemy, as altogether untenable againſt ſuch a force.

Major-general Blakeney, governor of Minorca, on certain notice of the approach of the French fleet, took every precaution neceſſary for the defence of Port Mahon and Fort St. Philip; and as he had but about two thouſand five hundred regular troops, he judged it better to collect them all into one body, than to let them be diſperſed in ſmall corps to garriſon the leſſer forts on the iſland, which he well knew muſt all ſubmit one after another to the ſuperior force of the enemy. He therefore withdrew them all, and ordered that they ſhould ſpoil the roads, fell trees, and lay every obſtruction in the way by which the French muſt paſs on their march to Mahon, in order to render their acceſs as difficult as poſſible thereto. At the ſame time, he directed all the cattle upon the iſland to be driven within the walls of Fort St. Philip; and his orders were ſo punctually executed, that after Richelieu had landed his troops and all his cannon, he found the road, which lay the whole length of the iſland (and no other practicable) ſo totally ruined, that it was impoſſible to draw them along. Beſides, he was quite unprovided with beaſts of draught, having brought none with him, and thoſe upon the iſland being all ſecured. Under this diſappointment, he was neceſſitated to reimbark his heavy artillery, and ſend it by ſea to Cape Mola, at the entrance of the harbour of Mahon, the place where he intended to erect his batteries.

On the arrival of the French in the iſland, the governor ſent a trumpet with a letter to marſhal Richelieu, to demand the reaſon of this hoſtile invaſion, as there was no declaration of war between the two crowns? To which he received for anſwer, that the French modelled their behaviour by that of the Engliſh, who had taught them a new way of making war without a declaration, by taking two of the king's ſhips in America the preceding year, and ſtill continuing to make prizes of ſeveral of the French merchant ſhips, ſailing in ſecurity upon the ocean under the faith of treaties.

The French marſhal met with ſo many obſtacles in forming the ſiege of Fort St. Philip, that he could not open the trenches before the night between the tenth and eleventh of May, which was upwards of three weeks from his landing. The reaſon of this ſlow progreſs appears to have ariſen from the vanity of the French miniſtry, or that of their general, who had neglected to provide ſuch a number of engineers as the ſervice afterwards required, imagining that the bare ſight of the French army would ſtrike terror into the handful of men immured with their governor in Fort St. Philip. The marſhal had erected his batteries firſt at Cape Mola, at ſuch a diſtance on the other ſide of the harbour, that they could do no execution. He was therefore neceſſitated to change his plan of attack, and to make his approaches on the ſide of St. Philip's-town. Having planted his new batteries, and inveſted the place, Richelieu ſent his compliments to general Blakeney, offering him his own terms if he would capitulate. The brave general returned his compliments, and ſaid, it would be time enough to talk of that when they ſhould be near enough to ſhake hands together; and immediately ordered his ſtandard to be fixed on the moſt conſpicuous part of the caſtle, and to be nailed as faſt as poſſible, declaring it ſhould not be taken down while he and five men remained alive. But we muſt ſuſpend for the preſent our account of the farther progreſs of this memorable ſiege, till we have related the ſucceſs of admiral Byng's expedition for its relief.

Mr. Byng, before he left Gibraltar, tranſmitted to the lords of the admiralty an account of the ſituation in which he had found affairs in the Mediterranean; and in his letter made uſe of ſome impolitic expreſſions, which were afterwards exaggerated, and conſtrued to his ruin. This letter conſiſted of two parts; the former contained a poſitive impeachment of the miniſtry, for their not ſending a fleet to the aſſiſtance of Minorca ſooner; for (as he expreſſes himſelf) had he arrived at that iſland before the French had landed, he ſhould in all probability have been able to have prevented their getting footing there. He complains of having been ſent out from England not fully provided; and that when he arrived at Gibraltar, the place was wholly unprovided with magazines for ſupplying the neceſſities of his fleet: that the careening wharfs and ſtorehouſes had been ſuffered to run to decay and ruin, although this was the only place for the king's ſhips to careen at, and to be ſupplied with neceſſaries, when Mahon was inveſted. The latter part does as good as tell them, that they had ſent him upon an impracticable ſervice; and that

if it miſcarried, as in all probability it would, it muſt be laid to their charge, who had not ſent a land force ſufficient to raiſe the ſiege, as well as a fleet that was inferior to the enemy's.

Few miniſters can bear to be ſchooled by their officers, whom they have in general been accuſtomed to conſider as mere tools of the ſtate, to do its buſineſs without preſuming to judge of the propriety or impropriety of the ſervice they may be ordered upon, or the counſels that have planned it. It muſt be ſuppoſed then, that Mr. Byng's letter to the admiralty was by no means pleaſing to thoſe at the helm. It was ſome time before they could rightly determine what they ſhould do with it; ſuppreſs it altogether they could not; and the publiſhing it, they feared, would ſet their conduct in a very arraignable light. However, as they ſaw that Minorca muſt fall, they endeavoured to ſhift the blame upon Byng alone, for which purpoſe he himſelf had furniſhed ample matter in his letter, where he very impoliticly declared, that he thought the ſucceſs of his expedition very doubtful. This was interpreted, and induſtriouſly propagated, as a certain prognoſtic that Mr. Byng had no deſire to fight or hazard any thing to relieve Fort St. Philip. As the populace are ever ready to embrace the invidious ſide of a report, this conſtruction was univerſally adopted; and the nation was leſs ſurpriſed than incenſed when the news arrived of Mr. Byng's ill ſucceſs. But to reſume his hiſtory.

The wind continuing eaſterly after the Engliſh fleet left Gibraltar, it did not arrive on the coaſt of Minorca till the nineteenth of May, at break of day, when the admiral, about five in the morning, diſpatched captain Hervey in the Phœnix, with two other frigates, a-head of his fleet, to take as cloſe a view as poſſible of the harbour's mouth, and to obſerve in what place it was practicable to throw any ſuccours into the caſtle. Captain Hervey was alſo charged with a letter to general Blakeney, acquainting him that the fleet was arrived to his aſſiſtance; and deſiring to know, by the return of the officer, what place the general would think proper to have the officers and recruits landed at; as alſo, in what other manner he could be of moſt effectual ſervice to the garriſon. Captain Hervey had not been diſpatched above four hours, and there being only light breezes of wind, was not yet out of ſight, when the French ſquadron appearing in the ſouth-eaſt quarter, the admiral thought it adviſeable to call in the Phœnix and the other frigates, and then bore away for the enemy, and made the general ſignal to chace. For want of ſufficient wind, however, the line of battle could not be formed ſo properly as otherwiſe it might have been. About ſix in the evening the enemy, to the number of ſeventeen ſhips, thirteen of which appeared to be very large, advanced in order, but tacked at ſeven, in order to gain the weather-gage. Mr. Byng, in order to preſerve that advantage, as well as to make ſure of the land-wind, in the morning tacked alſo, being then about four leagues off Cape Mola.

The twentieth in the morning, the weather proving hazy, the enemy's fleet was not to be ſeen at day-break; but about noon it came in ſight, and each ſide prepared for action. The line of battle being formed on both ſides, and our fleet being ranged oppoſite to that of the French, the admiral made the ſignal for engaging: upon which the van under rear-admiral Weſt bore down; and cloſing upon the enemy, attacked them with ſuch fury, that the five headmoſt ſhips of the enemy which were oppoſed to him broke their line, and ran away to leeward, out of gun-ſhot. Had the van been properly ſeconded, there ſeems the greateſt probability that the Britiſh fleet would have gained a complete victory, and Minorca would have been relieved: but the reverſe happened; and the conduct of Mr. Byng on this occaſion, though perhaps not ſo very bad as his enemies endeavoured to repreſent it, was ſtill very exceptionable, and ſuch as furniſhed matter for his ſubſequent ruin; for though he had under him a fine ninety gun ſhip, through a too rigid obſervance of diſcipline, or elſe through timidity, he forbore to bear down with his diviſion to the ſupport of the van; and the enemy's center keeping their ſtation, rear-admiral Weſt could not improve his advantage, without expoſing himſelf to the danger of ſeeing his communication with the reſt of the line entirely cut off. In the beginning of the action the Intrepid, in Mr. Byng's diviſion, ſuffered ſo much in her rigging and hull that ſhe could not be managed, and drove on the ſhip that was next in poſition: upon which the admiral made the ſignal for his diviſion to throw all a-back, in order to avoid confuſion; by which the rear was ſtill farther ſeparated from the van, and retarded from cloſing with and engaging the enemy. Mr. Byng alſo, when preſſed by the captain of his own ſhip to bear down, declared that he would not act but with his line entire; and was never properly engaged, though he received ſome few ſhots in his hull. This heſitation of his, though proceeding from a care of his majeſty's ſhips, and, as he declared, to avoid the error Matthews had fallen into in the Mediterranean fight, by breaking the line of battle, and expoſing his own and other ſhips of his fleet to a fire they could not ſuſtain, was certainly ill timed, and gave the French admiral, who was very deſirous to put an end to the engagement, an opportunity to edge away with an eaſy ſail to join his van, which had been defeated, and made the beſt of its way off; and though, towards the end of the action, when the French were manifeſtly flying, the admiral bore down with his diviſion, yet the French ſhips, which were quite clean, were ſoon out of reach of ours, which were very foul, and altogether unfit for the purſuit of ſo nimble an enemy.

The Engliſh fleet continued four days on the place of battle, to repair their damaged ſhips and make them fit for action, in caſe the French ſhould think proper to renew their attack: but no enemy appearing, a council of war was held to conſult on the meaſures moſt proper to be purſued, when it was *unanimouſly* reſolved, that as they had not land forces on board ſufficient for the relief of Fort St. Philip; and as the French fleet might poſſibly be ſailed to Gibraltar to attack that important fortreſs, it was more expedient to return thither to prevent the execution of ſuch a deſign, than to ſtay where they were ſure it was out of their power to aſſiſt the garriſon at Minorca. This reſolution was likewiſe taken in an unfortunate hour; for if they had remained on their ſtation but one day longer, they might have intercepted a large convoy of proviſions and heavy artillery which Richelieu had ſent for

from France, and without which, in all probability, he would never have been able to reduce the place.

The admiral was about a month in his paſſage back to Gibraltar, where he found commodore Broderick, who had been ſent from England with five ſhips of the line to reinforce him; and it was intended, after having ſupplied the fleet with proper neceſſaries, to go and face the enemy once more: but before the admiral was ready for ſailing, the Antelope, a fifty gun ſhip, arrived in the bay, with ſir Edward Hawke, admiral Saunders, and ſeveral navy captains; alſo the earl of Panmure and lord Tyrawley. The two admirals had orders to ſuperſede, to put under arreſt, and to ſend home the admirals Byng and Weſt, and ſeveral other officers of the fleet; and lord Tyrawley had the like orders in regard to general Fowke, and thoſe land officers who had ſigned the council of war for returning with the fleet to Gibraltar. Admiral Hawke obeyed his orders, and on the ninth of July ſent the ſtate priſoners on board the Antelope, who brought them home to England, where we ſhall leave them to their deſtiny, and return to the ſiege of Fort St. Philip.

On the twelfth day of May, about eight at night, the enemy opened two bomb batteries, with which they began to play againſt the caſtle; and from this time to the fourteenth an inceſſant fire was kept up on both ſides from mortar and cannon, the French continuing to erect new batteries in every ſituation whence they could annoy the enemy. On the nineteenth of this month the garriſon were elated with joy at the ſight of the Britiſh ſquadron; and Mr. Boyd, commiſſary of the ſtores, ventured to paſs in a ſmall bark with ſix oars from St. Stephen's Cave, through a ſhower of cannon and muſket-balls, into the open ſea, in order, if poſſible, to get on board the ſquadron, to give Mr. Byng intelligence of affairs in the iſland; but was obliged to return, on being chaced by two of the enemy's tartans, and got ſafe back by the ſame route he had paſſed. Short-lived was the joy with which the ſight of our fleet had inſpired the brave, but unfortunate garriſon; for, to their inexpreſſible ſurpriſe and diſappointment, in two days after they beheld the French ſquadron return quietly to their ſtation off Cape Mola, and no Engliſh ſhips were to be ſeen. This, added to a general diſcharge or feu de joye in the French camp, perſuaded them that Mr Byng had been worſted, and obliged to retire, by the French fleet under La Galiſſoniere.

Diſcouraging as ſuch an event muſt have been to people under the circumſtances of the beſieged, it in no wiſe damped their courage and vigour, which rather increaſed with their labour and danger. By this time they were inveſted with an army of twenty thouſand men, and plied inceſſantly from ſixty-two battering cannon, twenty-one mortars, and four howitzers, beſides the ſmall arms which fired upon them continually from the windows of the houſes in the town of St. Philip. Nevertheleſs, the loſs of men within the fortreſs was very inconſiderable, the garriſon being moſtly ſecured in the ſubterranean works, which were impenetrable to ſhells or ſhot. From the ſeventh of June to the fourteenth the fire from the fort was weak; but on the fifteenth the beſieged made a greater fire on the enemy than ever they had done ſince the ſiege began, ſo that they were obliged to draw back. In ſhort, they managed their cannon and ammunition ſo judiciouſly, that they fired none till they were ſure, and ſeemed to let the French erect their batteries only to have the pleaſure of demoliſhing them. The French miners likewiſe deſiſted from their attempts of undermining the works, the difficulty of piercing the rock having at length ſubdued their patience, and fruſtrated their hopes of ſucceſs in this point. The garriſon, however, by this time were reduced to two thouſand five hundred men, while, on the contrary, the enemy's army, which had been conſtantly reinforced by troops, ammunition, &c. was ſtronger than at the beginning of the ſiege; and the duke de Richelieu, fearing that the prolongation of the ſiege ſo far beyond the time his court was taught to expect being maſters of Minorca, might give his enemies a handle to leſſen his abilities in his ſovereign's eſteem, thought he had nothing left but to puſh matters with the utmoſt vigour; and having, by dint of an unremitting fire, made a practicable breach in one of the ravelins, and demoliſhed moſt of the ſtrong forts and defences round the place, on the twenty-ſeventh day of June it was reſolved to try the effects of a general aſſault that very night. Every thing being diſpoſed for this purpoſe, the artillery continued to batter the forts till ten o'clock in the evening, when ceaſing all on a ſudden, one cannon-ſhot, and four bombs thrown into the caſtle, announced the ſignal for beginning the aſſault. The enemy advanced with great intrepidity, and their commander the duke de Richelieu is ſaid to have led them up to the works in perſon.

The beſieged behaved like heroes, diſputing the ground inch by inch. The aſſailants were mowed down as they approached with grape-ſhot and muſquetry, and ſeveral mines were ſprung with great effect, ſo that the glacis was almoſt covered with the dead and wounded. The French nevertheleſs perſevered in the attack with uncommon reſolution; and though repulſed on every other ſide, at length made a lodgment on the Queen's Redoubt, which had been greatly damaged by their cannon. Anſtruther's Redoubt was alſo taken by aſſault, and the Argyll Redoubt by eſcalade. Lieutenant colonel Jefferies, the ſecond in command, and indeed the principal acting man in the fort, was ſuddenly ſurrounded and made priſoner, as he was hurrying with a hundred men to the relief of the redoubts. Major Cunningham alſo, who had particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf during the ſiege by his courage, ſkill, and activity, though he had the good fortune to preſerve his liberty, was ſo much wounded that he was not able to continue on duty.

Thus the governor was deprived of his two principal aſſiſtants, one being taken, and the other diſabled. However, the enemy might have been perhaps diſlodged from the poſts they had ſeized, had a vigorous effort been made for that purpoſe, before they had leiſure to ſecure themſelves; but Richelieu, like a true Frenchman, had recourſe to ſtratagem to effect what he could not accompliſh by force, and ordered a parley to be beat, in order to obtain permiſſion to bury the dead and relieve the wounded, which lay in heaps about the place of action. This was impoliticly granted; and the uſe the enemy made of this humane indulgence was

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to ſecure the lodgments they had made, by introducing into them a conſiderable number of troops, through a ſubterranean paſſage which had been opened by a ſhell, and not diſcovered by the beſieged till the day cleared up; and then it was too late to diſpute the poſſeſſion with the ſucceſsful enemy, who by this paſſage had now opened to them a communication with all the other ſubterranean places, and by them with all the out-works. Upon this diſcovery the governor, while the ceſſation of hoſtilities yet continued, ſummoned a council of war, who having duly conſidered the impracticability of maintaining a fortreſs of ſuch an extent by ſuch a thin garriſon, againſt ſuch numerous forces, in poſſeſſion of ſuch advantageous poſts, and the little proſpect there was of receiving any aſſiſtance from the Engliſh fleet; and the officers of the artillery all declaring that the works were in a ſhattered ruinous condition, and irrepairable in the preſent ſtate of the garriſon, the majority, upon all theſe conſiderations, declared for a capitulation, as the only means to preſerve the remains of ſo brave a garriſon, and the lives of a conſiderable number of his majeſty's ſubjects. This reſolution being taken, the chamade was beat; a conference enſued, and very honourable conditions were granted to the garriſon, in which a very high encomium was paid to the bravery of the governor; marſhal Richelieu declaring therein, that he had been induced, by the noble defence made by the governor and the garriſon, to grant them ſuch generous terms, which intitled them to march out with all the honours of war, and to be conveyed by ſea to Gibraltar. The articles of capitulation being ſigned, and the hoſtages given, the French were put in poſſeſſion of the gate, as well as two of the forts; but the garriſon remained in the other works till the ſeventh day of July, when they embarked.

Thus ended this famous ſiege, which will ever ſtand in the records of hiſtory as a perpetual monument of Britiſh bravery and Britiſh negligence: for, had the garriſon been properly reinforced in time, or had a ſufficiently powerful fleet been ſent out at firſt with Mr. Byng, there is great probability the French would never have been maſters of it.

Immediately after the execution of the articles of capitulation, M. de la Galiſſoniere ſailed back to Toulon, and in a lucky hour he made his retreat; for in a few days after the ſurrender of the fort, ſir Edward Hawke's fleet, amounting to twenty-three ſhips of the line, made its appearance off the iſland: but Galiſſoniere was gone, and the Britiſh admiral had the mortification to ſee the French colours flying upon St. Philip's caſtle. But although thus diſappointed in his hopes of encountering the enemy's fleet and relieving our own garriſon, he at leaſt aſſerted the empire of Great Britain in the Mediterranean, by annoying the commerce of the enemy, and blocking up their ſquadron in the harbour of Toulon. Having continued for ſome time on this ſervice, he returned with the homeward-bound fleet to Gibraltar, from whence, about the latter end of the year, he ſet ſail for England with part of his ſquadron, leaving the reſt to protect our trade in thoſe ſeas, which ſuffered greatly from the French privateers, which now began to ſwarm there. General Blakeney did not go to Gibraltar with the firſt diviſion of the garriſon, that he might have the more time to reſt himſelf after the incredible fatigue and anguiſh of mind he had undergone. He arrived in England in the month of November; and tho' it has been generally thought that his merit was, by the partiality of the times, over-rated, in the ſame proportion that the miſconduct of the unhappy Byng was exaggerated; yet his late majeſty, who doubtleſs was perfectly well informed of every part of the attack and defence of Fort St. Philip, looked upon his conduct in ſo favourable a light, that, among other diſtinguiſhed marks of his regard and favour, he was pleaſed to honour him with the dignity of a peer of Ireland, by the title of Lord Blakeney, of Mount Blakeney in the county of Limerick, of which place the general was a native.

I ſhall now proceed to a conciſe repreſentation of the operations and tranſactions of our arms in diſtant parts of the world; and firſt, of the ſtate of our affairs in America, which we broke off at the end of the year 1755.

The plantations, during the whole winter, were in the utmoſt diſorder. The ſavage Indians ranged uncontrouled among the unguarded planters on the exterior parts of the colonies, whom they plundered, murdered, ſcalped, and uſed with the moſt inhuman cruelties. The parties that were ſent out againſt them were often worſted, or fell into their ambuſhes. The cries and miſeries of thoſe who eſcaped were for ſome time ineffectual to procure them relief, although the governors of the ſeveral colonies were not inſenſible of the cruel uſage of the people, and endeavoured with all their power to apply a remedy. With this view they were, during the winter, very intent in making due preparations for a vigorous campaign in the ſummer; and yet we ſhall find the enemy was very little annoyed, or any memorable exploits or expeditions performed by our forces, though numerous enough; nor our back ſettlements much better ſecured than they were before, ſave that a few forts were built, and that the Delawar and Shawaneſe Indians were pacified, and prevailed upon to lay down the hatchet, with which they had done ſo much miſchief. General Shirley being recalled from his government of Virginia, his majeſty was pleaſed, early in the ſpring of this year, to appoint John earl of Loudon (a Scots peer) general and governor in chief of that colony, and general and commander in chief of all his forces in North America. We ſhall leave his lordſhip in his voyage thither, to take a view of affairs in Nova Scotia, where the enemy met with ſeveral rebuffs.

General Lawrence, who had been remarkably ſucceſsful in his attempts to humble the French, who had made prodigious encroachments on this infant colony, purſued his advantage, and ſet about extirpating the French neutrals and Indians there, who refuſed to conform to the laws of Great Britain, or to ſwear allegiance to king George, and had actually engaged to join, in the ſpring of this year, the French troops that were expected to arrive from Old France as early as poſſible, on that coaſt or at Louiſbourg. General Lawrence did not only purſue theſe dangerous inhabitants with fire and ſword, laying the country waſte, burning their dwellings, and driving off their ſtock; but he thought it expedient, for his majeſty's ſervice, to

transport the French neutrals, so as entirely to extirpate a people that only waited an opportunity to join the enemy. He accordingly distributed about seven thousand of them among the British colonies; in which distribution too many were transported to those colonies where they might, with great ease, get to the French forts on the back of our provinces on the south of the bay of St. Lawrence.

It was in the most rigorous season of the year that these poor wretches were thus transported, without money or effects to help themselves; so that each government into which those neutrals were sent, found itself loaded with a very great expence for their maintenance. This occasioned some very warm altercations between the general and the aggrieved governments, who accused him of having acted in an arbitrary manner, by thus imposing upon them a charge they were so little able to defray. As one expedient to maintain them, therefore, it was proposed to sell them with their own consent; but when this was mentioned to them, they unanimously rejected it with the utmost indignation. They alleged, that they were prisoners, and expected to be maintained as such, and not forced to labour. They said, they had not violated their oath of fidelity which by the treaty of Utrecht they were obliged to take: that they were ready to renew that oath; but that an oath of obedience was required of them, which was a new thing, and by which, they apprehended, they should be obliged to bear arms against the French, which they thought they could not be compelled to do. Thus general Lawrence cleared the country of the French neutrals; and the Indians in their interest, who had been very troublesome, being most of them Roman catholics, retired to Canada for protection, which established peace in Nova Scotia for a time.

The departure of lord Loudon from England was attended with such delays, that before he reached the army in North America (which was in the latter end of July) the marquis de Montcalm, who had been appointed to succeed the baron de Dieskau in the command of the French forces in that country, had time to arrive at Canada from France with three thousand men, and to take the field before us, notwithstanding the navigation of the river St. Lawrence being shut up with ice till the month of May. To this delay was principally owing the capture of Oswego, the key of the Lake Ontario, which was the most disastrous event that could have befallen our American affairs at this juncture. General Abercrombie had been dispatched in the beginning of March this year from England with two regiments, and with orders to supersede general Shirley; but it was so long before he arrived in America, that notwithstanding the preparations which had been made by the provincials under Mr. Shirley to open the campaign early this year, in order to reduce the fort of Niagara, to cover the borders of New York, and to secure the navigation of the Lake Champlain, by the conquest of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, they were obliged to halt at Albany for the arrival of a commander in chief, and of the regular forces from England, till the latter end of June, when general Abercrombie arrived and took the command: but even then, though he approved of Mr. Shirley's plan, yet he thought the season too far advanced to promise success, in so extensive an operation, with what forces he had under his command. He therefore waited the arrival of lord Loudon; and by that determination this year was lost, and the French left to strengthen their posts, and to distress our settlements unmolested.

Nor did they fail to improve the opportunity; they formed a camp at Ticonderoga, where, and at Crown Point, they had three thousand troops, and were daily increasing their numbers; and as they were well apprised that the English army could not undertake any expedition till the arrival of lord Loudon, which they knew could not happen till too late in the season for us to attempt Crown Point, or take any measures to prevent their progress, M. Montcalm resolved upon the siege of Oswego.

Oswego is a town of the Iroquois or Five Nations, in Canada, situate on the west side of the Lake Ontario, or Frontenac, three hundred and twenty-one miles west of Albany. Hither the English use to resort, to purchase of the distant Indians their skins and furs. It was a place of the greatest importance to us, not only for intercepting the commerce of the enemy, but also for impeding their hostile movements; and was, moreover, the only place on which we could build vessels for the navigation upon that great lake or inland sea, to preserve our interest and correspondence with the Indians that had not declared against us. Yet, notwithstanding the consequence this place was of to us, and the great advantage the possession of it would give the enemy in all their future operations, it had been so shamefully neglected, that the French might have made themselves masters of it the preceding year, but for some reasons of policy which then with-held them.

No sooner, however, did general Abercrombie receive certain advice that the French had determined upon the siege of this place, and that a large body of them were occupied on the eastern shore of the Lake Ontario, than he ordered a regiment of regulars, under the command of major-general Webb, to march to its relief. In the interim, lord Loudon arrived at Albany on the twenty-third of July; and although he greatly approved of Mr. Abercrombie's orders, yet the people of New England, New York, and the adjacent provinces, who had assembled an army of seven thousand men in order to attack Crown Point, insisted so peremptorily and obstinately on the executing of that measure, previous to all other operations, that altho' they were at last prevailed with to consent to the march of general Webb, the altercation on this matter took up so much time, that it was the middle of August before the regiment could set out from Albany. This period of inactivity on our side gave the enemy such an unlooked-for opportunity to complete their plan, that by the time general Webb got to the Carrying-place, between the Mohawk's River and Wood's Creek, he had the mortification to receive certain advice of the French having made themselves masters of Oswego and of Fort Ontario on the fourteenth of August, in four days after opening the trenches before them; and had made the garrison, and three hundred workmen and sailors employed to defend the passes to these forts, prisoners of war, who were sent to Montreal. The taking of Oswego struck a

damp upon all the Britiſh colonies, as that was the place of ſtrength they could depend upon to prevent the invaſions of the French and Indians into their territories.

Monſieur de Montcalm, after his ſucceſs at Oſwego, took the route to Crown Point, with a deſign of forcing his way through the New England army, under the command of general Winſlow at Fort William-Henry, in which ſickneſs had made great havock, in order to ſeize on Albany. He knew our forces were much divided, and that general Webb was on his way to Oſwego with his regiment. But lord Loudon, appriſed of the deſign of the foe, ordered the ſeveral poſts that way to be abandoned, and with all the regulars proceeded to ſupport the New England men. He alſo ordered up the recruits of the Royal American regiment, being upwards of fifteen hundred men, and received a reinforcement from New England, which increaſed his army to the number of about eleven thouſand; ſo that M. Montcalm could not reap all the advantages he promiſed himſelf from the reduction of Oſwego. Soon afterwards the army went into winter-quarters.

About the ſame time that Oſwego fell into the hands of the French, Fort Granville, on the Juncata river (one hundred and fifty miles weſt of Philadelphia) was taken by ſurprize by the French and Indians, in the abſence of the garriſon, which had marched out a day or two before on an expedition, having left but twenty-four men in it for its defence.

In the Eaſt Indies the Britiſh fleet under admiral Watſon was employed with ſucceſs this year, in an expedition againſt the famous pirate Tulgaee Angria, the ſcourge of thoſe ſeas, whoſe territories, from a neſt of pirates, was become a ſort of empire, ſubſiſting much in the ſame manner on that coaſt as the ſtates of Barbary, which ſprang from a like original, have made themſelves formidable to ſeveral of the European powers. His piracies, which had continued for a long time, he now carried to ſo audacious a length, that it became an intereſting concern to humble this common enemy. Accordingly admiral Watſon, with four capital ſhips of war, beſides bomb-ketches, and ſeven or eight of the Eaſt India company's ſhips, ſailed in the beginning of March from Bombay to attack Angria in his ſtrong fort of Geriah, who, ſtruck with terror at the appearance of ſuch a formidable fleet, ſo far beyond his apprehenſions, ſoon ſurrendered, and gave up his caſtle, with one hundred and thirty thouſand pounds of treaſure in it, as alſo all his fleet, which lay in the harbour, and with which he had for ſo many years reigned a terror to the maritime powers of Europe frequenting thoſe ſeas, as well as to his neighbouring ſtates on the Malabar coaſt.

Our ſucceſs on this coaſt, however, was greatly counter-balanced by our loſſes in other parts of the Eaſt Indies. The reader may remember, that we left the French commandants, at the cloſe of the laſt year, ſeeking for a pretence for rekindling the war on the coaſt of Coromandel. Accordingly, Monſieur de Buſſy having received a reinforcement of five hundred Europeans under Mr. Law, began the year (1756) by falling upon and making a conqueſt of Ingeram, Baudermalauka, and Vizigapatam factories, belonging to the Engliſh. This having been foreſeen, the greateſt part of the company's effects were ſhipped off from the two former places immediately upon the freſh alarm of hoſtilities; and Vizigapatam being in no condition to withſtand an army of ten thouſand men, Europeans and Indians, with thirty pieces of cannon, which M. de Buſſy brought againſt it, it ſurrendered by capitulation. By the capture of this place the French obtained entire poſſeſſion of the coaſt, from Ganjam to Maſſulipatam. Nor did this misfortune come alone; for this ſame year Calcutta, and all the ſubordinate ſettlements or factories of our Indian company in Bengal, were taken and deſtroyed by Surajah Dowla, a new nabob of that province, who had been ſpirited up by our enemies to extirpate the Engliſh factories within his dominions, under various ſlight pretences of being treated with diſreſpect by governor Drake, of a right to certain duties which were refuſed by the company, and of their having given protection to certain perſons who had fled from his tyranny.

About the end of May, 1756, this Surajah Dowla took the field with an army of thirty thouſand horſe, thirty thouſand foot, and between three and four hundred elephants. His firſt operation was againſt Caſſumbazar, a large town, ſituate in a very healthy and fruitful iſland of the Ganges, about one hundred miles above Huguely. He ſummoned the fort to ſurrender; but his demand not meeting with a compliance, and expecting a reſolute and powerful oppoſition, the cunning nabob had recourſe to ſtratagem to facilitate his intentions; and by propoſing a truce for an amicable determination of the ſubject of complaint, he inveigled Mr. Watts, the chief of the factory, to his tent, under pretence of a conference, with a ſafe-conduct, as alſo two other gentlemen of the council; and having got them in his power, he treated them with the utmoſt indignity, and hurried them away to Muxadabad, and threatened to put them to death if the factory did not inſtantly ſurrender. Theſe menaces had the deſired effect: the fort was put into his hands on the fourth of June, the people of which he treated extremely ill, ſending them alſo to Muxadabad, the capital of Bengal, to be confined in different priſons and dungeons.

Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, the haughty eaſtern prince determined to proceed immediately with all his force againſt our principal ſettlement of Calcutta; before which place he appeared on the ſeventeenth of June, having driven the advanced guards from the paſſes into the fort. Mr. Drake, the governor, who was a quaker, reſigned the buſineſs of fighting to Mr. Holwell his ſecond; and taking with him all the treaſure he could collect from the merchants, and the company's books, he retired with the ladies, and ſeveral other perſons, on board the ſhips which laid off in the Ganges. Mr. Holwell reſolutely kept within the place, which he declared he would defend to the laſt extremity, though the party that fled on board had carried one hundred ſoldiers from the garriſon with them. The attack of the enemy, however, was ſo briſk, and their numbers ſo infinitely ſuperior, that reſiſtance ſeemed a madneſs; and the ſecond day Mr. Holwell would gladly have made an honourable and ſafe retreat on board the ſhips; for

for which purpoſe he intended to have demanded a capitulation: but the ſhips were now fallen ſeveral miles below the fort, and no boat was left in which the beſieged could attempt an eſcape. This the nabob knew, and therefore would not hearken to any terms for the ſurrender of the place, the gates of which were opened to him on the evening of the nineteenth, when the Moors ruſhing in, killed all whom they firſt met with, ſtripped the reſt naked, and, by their brutal ſovereign's order, crammed one hundred and forty-ſix into a dungeon, called the Black-hole, only eighteen feet ſquare, and with but two windows in it, where one hundred and twenty-three of them died before morning, being ſmothered by the exceſſive heat. Mr. Holwell was in the number of thoſe who ſurvived, and with his companions was ſent priſoner to Muxadabad, with circumſtances of ſuch inhuman treatment as would be too ſhocking to repeat. After ſome time, however, they were releaſed, as was likewiſe Mr. Watts, and the reſt of the gentlemen who had been carried by the tyrant from Caſſumbazar, who afterwards ſent pioneers to raze Calcutta to the ground; and wrote to the governor of Madraſs, that no Engliſh ſubject ſhould for the future preſume to ſettle within his territory of Bengal.

Let us hence return to take a ſurvey of the tranſactions in Europe.

The two nations of England and France had hitherto been committing hoſtilities upon one another without any formal declaration of war, the French fleet in America, and the Engliſh afterwards by way of repriſals in the open ſeas: but the Engliſh miniſtry finding many inconveniencies attending this method of proceeding, adviſed his majeſty to declare war, without any further delay, which was done accordingly on the eighteenth of May, in the uſual form. This was anſwered by a like declaration of the French court, dated at Verſailles, June 9; either of which would take up too much room to inſert here.

It was generally hoped that the war, thus kindled between France and England, would have been confined to the two nations at variance: but ambition knows no bounds. France no ſooner underſtood that a treaty was concluded between his Britannic majeſty and the king of Pruſſia, than ſhe ſtruck up an alliance with empreſs-queen of Hungary, under the name of a treaty of friendſhip and neutrality, by which the contracting parties reciprocally obliged themſelves to the guaranty of all their dominions in Europe, and to furniſh each other with eighteen thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, or with a proportionable ſum of money, in caſe of any attack from any power whatever. To this treaty the neighbouring powers were invited to accede, with the moſt ſolemn aſſurances that the contracting parties had no other view than to preſerve the general tranquillity of Europe. But an alliance between the houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria was deemed ſo unnatural, and their intereſts ſo incompatible, that notwithſtanding theſe pacific declarations, it was eaſy to ſee that France could have no other view in it than to prevent the Pruſſian monarch from defeating any attempt that ſhe might be inclined to make againſt his Britannic majeſty's electoral dominions. As to the queen of Hungary, ſhe had long regretted the loſs of Sileſia, and only waited a convenient opportunity to diſpoſſeſs the king of Pruſſia of this province. For this purpoſe, as I have elſewhere obſerved, ſhe had entered into a ſecret treaty with the empreſs of Ruſſia ever ſince the concluſion of the peace in 1748, whereby the latter engaged to aſſiſt her Hungarian majeſty with one hundred thouſand men, whenever required; who for the ſame reaſon gladly laid hold of this opportunity, by ſtriking up an alliance with France, of increaſing her forces by ſuccours from that court, not doubting that, by ſuch powerful aſſiſtance, ſhe ſhould be enabled not only to recover Sileſia, but even to ſtrip the king of Pruſſia of part of his dominions. The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, is ſaid to have been likewiſe partly concerned in the ſame ſcheme, for which he ſeverely ſuffered in the ſequel.

His Pruſſian majeſty foreſaw the ſtorm that threatened him. It is even ſaid, that early in the ſpring of this year he received certain intelligence that the two imperial powers intended to unite their forces in order to attack his dominions: he therefore determined to uſe every method in his power to prevent it. In what manner he effected this will ſoon appear in the courſe of this hiſtory. At preſent, the domeſtic affairs of Great Britain demand ſome portion of our attention.

It has been already mentioned that admiral Byng, on his arrival at Gibraltar, was ſuperſeded in his command by ſir Edward Hawke, and ſent home priſoner; as was alſo his ſecond in command rear-admiral Weſt, ſeveral of the captains of the fleet, and general Fowke, with ſome of the land officers belonging to the garriſon of Gibraltar. The priſoners all arrived on the third day of July at Portſmouth, where Mr. Byng was immediately put under arreſt, and ſoon afterwards conveyed to Greenwich, and committed to the cuſtody of the governor of the hoſpital, by whom he was kept ſtrictly confined till the time of his trial by a court-martial, which was delayed by the abſence of many evidences in the Mediterranean, required both in his favour and againſt him. Admiral Weſt and lieutenant-general Fowke were ordered up to London, where the admiral met with a moſt gracious reception from his royal maſter; but general Fowke was ordered to take his trial for diſobeying his majeſty's orders, tranſmitted to him by the ſecretary of war, relating to the embarkation of a battalion of troops to be ſent in the fleet with Mr. Byng to reinforce Fort St. Philip.

The court-martial commiſſioned to try the general conſiſted of two generals, eleven lieutenant-generals, and three major generals, general ſir Robert Rich being preſident. Mr. Fowke, in his defence againſt the above charge, urged, that his orders were not abſolute, but diſcretionary; and that the execution of them was left to his and Mr. Byng's diſcernment and judgment, for which he particularly referred to a letter from the ſecretary of war to him, as commander in chief of Gibraltar; the whole tenor of which imported a diſcretionary power remaining in him as to the execution of thoſe orders. He moreover defended the ſteps he had taken in with-holding the forces, by ſhewing, that if he had made the detachment of a battalion, and put it on board the fleet, he ſhould not then have had much more than two reliefs of men (ſo wretchedly was this important garriſon

garriſon provided with defence) and this at a time when there was the greateſt reaſon to believe that the place was in danger of being attacked. Notwithſtanding this defence, and that the three letters from the ſecretary at war produced in court appeared to contain inſtructions that were very confuſed, at leaſt, if not contradictory, his judges found him guilty of the charge; and he was ſentenced to be ſuſpended for the ſpace of one year; a ſentence which was not only confirmed by his majeſty, but alſo accompanied with a diſmiſſion from his ſervice: nor was he reſtored during the courſe of this reign, though his caſe was generally thought to have been very hard.

In reſpect to the unhappy admiral Byng, no method had been left untried to inflame the nation to a degree of frenzy againſt him, by repreſenting him as the ſole cauſe of the diſgrace in the Mediterranean, and the loſs of Minorca; the importance of which (however little it ſeems to have claimed the attention of our miniſtry in the beginning) was now repreſented in the moſt ſtriking colours. Admiral Byng had, before his return to Gibraltar, diſpatched a letter to the admiralty, containing the particulars of the action off Minorca, and of the reſolutions of the council of war he had ſummoned. This letter, however, was not made public till ſome days after ſir Edward Hawke was ſent out to ſuperſede him; and even then it was curtailed, and mutilated in an extraordinary manner, ſeveral paſſages being ſuppreſſed which tended to his own juſtification, or contained any reflection upon the negligence or inattention of the miniſtry. This proceeding was certainly very unfair. Accordingly, the admiral's friends did not fail to publiſh his letter entire, with ſome remarks not very favourable to thoſe who had thus garbled it.

His adverſaries, however, had got the populace on their ſide; and there was not a ſpecies of libelling, in proſe or verſe, that was not exhauſted to render him odious. They ridiculed and refuted the reaſons he had given for returning to Gibraltar after his ſhameful rencounter with the French ſquadron: they inveighed againſt his inſolence, his folly, his cowardice, and his miſconduct: they even ſtuck not at making royalty itſelf an inſtrument of their artifice, by inſinuating that his majeſty had prognoſticated Byng would not fight, from the contents of his firſt letter from Gibraltar. In a word, they exerted themſelves ſo ſtrenuouſly in maintaining and increaſing the popular deluſion, that no notice was taken of the miſconduct of the miniſtry, while Byng was pointed out as the object of univerſal deteſtation. Addreſſes upon addreſſes were tranſmitted from all parts of the kingdom to the throne, particularly from the city of London, calling aloud for an examination into the cauſe of the infamy that had befallen the Britiſh arms by ſea, and of the loſs of the important iſland of Minorca, which by its ſituation drew to Great Britain the reſpect of Spain, the confidence of Italy, and the ſubmiſſion of the piratical ſtates of Barbary.

His majeſty, ever attentive to his faithful ſubjects, commanded an immediate examination into the cauſes of the loſs of Minorca. We have already ſeen the puniſhment inflicted on Mr. Fowke; and now the whole magazine of political arts having been exhauſted to fix the charge of cowardice, treachery, and treaſon, againſt the devoted admiral, he was at length ordered to prepare for his trial; the place appointed for which was on board his majeſty's ſhip the St. George, in Portſmouth harbour; and the court was compoſed of four admirals and nine captains, whoſe names the reader will find at the foot of the page *. They ſat thirty one days, Sundays excepted, (viz. from the twenty-eighth of December to the twenty-ſeventh of January) examining witneſſes, and hearing the priſoner's defence. As this trial is in almoſt every one's hands, it would be needleſs to enter into a minute detail of particulars. Let it ſuffice then to ſay, that the court, upon ſumming up the evidence, were of opinion, "That admiral Byng did not do his utmoſt to relieve St. Philip's Caſtle, in the iſland of Minorca, then beſieged by the forces of the French king;" and then came to the following reſolution, That the admiral appears to fall under the following part of the twelfth article of the Articles of War, to wit, "Or ſhall not do his utmoſt to take or deſtroy every ſhip which it ſhall be his duty to engage; and to aſſiſt and relieve all and every of his majeſty's ſhips which it ſhall be his duty to aſſiſt and relieve:" and as that article poſitively denounces the puniſhment of death on the delinquent, without any alternative left to the diſcretion of the court, under any variation of circumſtances, they adjudged him to be ſhot to death. But it having fully appeared, by the evidence of lord Robert Bertie, lieutenant-colonel Smith, captain Gardiner (captain of the admiral's own ſhip the Ramillies) and other officers of the ſhip who were near the perſon of the admiral, that they did not perceive any backwardneſs in him during the action, or any marks of fear or confuſion, either from his countenance or behaviour; but that he ſeemed to give his orders coolly and diſtinctly, and did not ſeem wanting in perſonal courage: from theſe and other circumſtances, the court being induced to believe that his miſconduct aroſe neither from *cowardice* nor *diſaffection*, did therefore unanimouſly think it their duty to recommend the ſaid admiral John Byng to his majeſty, as a proper object of mercy †. Alſo, when they made a report of the ſentence of death they had paſſed on the admiral, they added thereto the following remonſtrance to the lords of the admiralty in his favour:

"We the underwritten, the preſident and members of the court-martial, aſſembled for the trial of admiral Byng, believe it unneceſſary to inform your lordſhips, that in the whole courſe of this long trial, we have done our utmoſt endeavours to come at truths, and to do the ſtricteſt juſtice to our country and the priſoner; but we cannot help laying the diſtreſſes of our minds before your lordſhips on this occaſion, in finding ourſelves

* Thomas Smith, eſq. vice-admiral of the red, preſident; Francis Holbourne, eſq. rear-admiral of the red; Henry Norris, eſq. rear-admiral of the white; Thomas Broderick, eſq. rear-admiral of the blue; captain Holmes, captain Boys, captain Simcoe, captain Bentley, captain Dennis, captain Geary, captain Moore, captain Douglas, and the honourable captain Auguſtus Keppel.

† See Report of the Court-martial.

ſelves under the neceſſity of condemning a man to death, from the great ſeverity of the twelfth article of war *, part of which he falls under, and which admits of no mitigation, even if the crime ſhould be committed by an error in judgment only; and therefore, for our own conſciences ſakes, as well as in juſtice to the priſoner, we pray your lordſhips, in the moſt earneſt manner, to recommend him to his majeſty's clemency."

In conſequence of this recommendatory remonſtrance from the court-martial, and the petitions of lord Torrington, nephew to the unhappy admiral, and other perſons of high diſtinction allied to his family, the lords of the admiralty applied to his majeſty that the opinion of the twelve judges might be taken, whether the ſentence of the court-martial was legal? The ſentence was accordingly referred by the king to the judges, who declared it legal; in conſequence of which, a warrant was ſigned by the lords of the admiralty for carrying it into execution: but it was again ſuſpended, at the requeſt of ſeveral members of the court-martial, who alleged, that they had ſomething to diſcloſe relative to the ſaid ſentence which greatly affected their own conſciences; and application was made to the houſe of commons by one of the members, praying the aid of parliament to be releaſed from his oath of ſecrecy, in order to diſcloſe the grounds why ſentence of death had paſſed upon the ſaid admiral. Upon this, a bill for releaſing the members from their oath of ſecrecy was ordered into the houſe of commons, and paſſed that houſe; and a reſpite was ſent to admiral Byng for a fortnight: but when the bill came into the houſe of lords, and when the members were examined there, the ſame was rejected; ſo that this and every other tentative to get the admiral reprieved from his ſad fate all proving ineffectual, he was, purſuant to his ſentence, executed on the fourteenth of March, 1757, on board his majeſty's ſhip Monarque, in Portſmouth harbour. A few minutes before he was called out of the cabin to die, he gave a paper to Mr. Brough, the marſhal of the admiralty, who attended him, in which he declared himſelf "a victim, deſtined to divert the indignation and reſentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper objects." In his laſt moments, he behaved with a dignity and fortitude that never yet inſpired a breaſt conſcious of guilt or infected with cowardice.

Thus ended the enquiry into the conduct of general Fowke and admiral Byng; the one of whom was broke and diſmiſſed his majeſty's ſervice, for not following inſtructions which contradicted themſelves; and the other ſuffered an ignominious death for following the advice and opinion of a council of war, and for not having done every thing that was perhaps poſſible to have been done for diſtreſſing the enemy, and relieving the fortreſs they had beſieged. I have collected the proceedings of this remarkable affair together into one point of view, though they were, by ſeveral incidents, protracted nine months or thereabouts; as well that the reader might have a more diſtinct and clear idea of them, as to prevent any unneceſſary digreſſions that would break in upon the chain of other events †.

As the ſucceſs of the war now begun ſeemed to depend chiefly on a naval force, it will not be improper to give the ſtate of the royal navy of Great Britain at the time it was declared, which was as follows:

1ſt Rates.	5	ſhips of	100 guns.
2d Rates.	8		90
3d Rates.	11		80
	6		74
	29		70
	4		66
	3		64
4th Rates.	34		60
	32		50
5th Rates.	18		40 to 44
6th Rates.	57		20 to 24
	36	ſloops of	10 to 16
	3	bomb veſſels.	

In all two hundred and forty-ſix ſhips great and ſmall; of which one hundred and thirty-two were of the line; beſides a number of yachts, hoys, tranſports, ſmacks, lighters, and hulks.

Within a few weeks after the declaration of war at Paris, the world was preſented with the following ſtate of the French marine, publiſhed by authority.

6	ſhips of	80 guns.
27		74
5		70
25		64
3		60
9		50 to 54
34		24 to 30

In all one hundred and nine ſhips, of which ſixty-nine were of the line.

The court of Spain alſo, though laviſh in declarations of her pacific intentions, was augmenting her navy from the ſhattered ſtate it was left in by the laſt war, till it at this time amounted to

46 ſhips of the line
22 frigates
12 xebeques
2 packet-boats
4 bomb-veſſels
4 fire-ſhips
5 gallies

In all ninety-five veſſels, carrying four thouſand fifty-one guns.

The zeal of the people of England for their ſovereign's ſervice and the honour of their country was never more warmly expreſſed than on the occaſion of declaring war againſt France. Addreſſes

* By the twelfth article of war, 22 Geo. II. "Every perſon in the fleet who, through cowardice, negligence, or diſaffection, ſhall, in time of action, withdraw or keep back, or not come into the fight or engagement, or ſhall not do his utmoſt to take or deſtroy every ſhip which it ſhall be his duty to engage, and to aſſiſt and relieve all and every of his majeſty's ſhips, or thoſe of his allies, which it ſhall be his duty to aſſiſt and relieve, every ſuch perſon ſo offending, and being convicted thereof by the ſentence of a court-martial, ſhall ſuffer DEATH."

† The reſt of the officers, as well of the fleet as army, who had been ordered home with the admiral and general, were upon their reſpective trials all honourably acquitted.

were preſented to the king from the city of London, the merchants, and by moſt of the trading towns and corporations in the kingdom. All ranks and degrees of men ſeemed unanimous in their reſolution to aſſiſt his majeſty in any meaſures he ſhould judge proper to be taken to annoy the enemy, and defend the kingdom. The landholders and corporations not only ſubmitted with chearfulneſs to the great ſupplies appointed by parliament, but alſo raiſed great numbers of men for the ſervice of their country, by voluntary contributions and large premiums. Nay, a number of public-ſpirited merchants of the city of London taking into conſideration the great utility that would ariſe to the naval ſervice by training up a young nurſery of ſeamen, from whence the government might, on any ſudden emergency, always draw an immediate ſupply of hands to man their ſhips, formed themſelves into that laudable aſſociation, known by the name of the Marine Society; and contributed conſiderable ſums of money for equipping ſuch orphans, friendleſs and forlorn boys, as were willing to engage in the ſervice of the navy. In conſequence of this truly patriotic plan, many thouſands of wretched vagrants were reſcued from miſery, and rendered uſeful members of ſociety, of which they muſt have proved the peſt and reproach but for this humane interpoſition.

The firſt home expedition againſt the enemy, after the declaration of war, was that againſt the iſland of Chauſe, about two or three leagues diſtant from Granville in Lower Normandy, conducted by captain Howe in the Dunkirk, with three frigates, who on the fourteenth of July came to an anchor before the fort which defended the iſland, and was garriſoned by one hundred men, who did not give the Engliſh much trouble; for juſt as captain Howe had cleared his ſhip for action, the governor came on board and ſurrendered, without firing a gun. The iſland of Chauſe belonged to the farmers-general, but is inhabited only by tradeſmen, and produces ſcarce any thing but wine. We kept the iſland ſome few days, then demoliſhed the fort and other buildings, nailed up the cannon, and carried off all the live cattle, wine, and other effects of any value. After which the ſhips threw a few bombs into Granville, which did ſome execution; but not having a ſufficient ſupply to do all the miſchief they might have done, they returned to Spithead.

All this time, however, our trade ſuffered heavily from the enemy's cruizers, who were ſo numerous, and ſo properly ſtationed for intercepting our homeward bound merchantmen, that by Michaelmas this year the French had taken two hundred and thirty of our ſhips; amongſt which was the Warwick man of war and four privateers; one ſhip with eight hundred ſoldiers for New York, and another with eighty-eight people on board for Newfoundland. We had indeed, in the ſame ſpace of time, taken from the French two hundred and fifty-one ſhips, amongſt which were the Arc-en-Ciel, a man of war of fifty guns, a rich Martinico man, four ſhips with about three hundred ſoldiers and proviſions on board for North America; but allowing the difference of value between the Engliſh and French cargoes, we had at this time little to boaſt of, and our trade was notoriouſly neglected.

Our adverſaries the French, on the contrary, left no method untried to ſecure their navigation and commerce, by endeavouring to engage neutral ſhips in their ſervice, when the circumſtances of war might make it dangerous or impracticable to carry on a communication with their colonies. With this view his moſt Chriſtian majeſty licenſed Dutch ſhips to trade with, or to carry the produce of their iſlands, from which, in common with other natives, he had excluded them in times of peace; and the Dutch on their ſide aſſumed a right which they pretended to claim on the faith of treaties, to carry the goods of our enemies, though at the ſame time the French king, by an ordinance, dated July 8, 1756, laid them and all other neutral nations under the ſevereſt prohibition not to carry Britiſh property. The Britiſh court, however, ſhewed a becoming ſpirit on this occaſion; for his majeſty's ſhips of war had orders to keep a ſharp look-out for Dutch ſhips that ſhould be found tranſporting either ſoldiers, arms, ammunition, or contraband goods, to any of the territories or plantations of the French king. Accordingly, a great number of them were brought into the Downs in the courſe of this year, laden with maſts, yards, &c. for the uſe of the enemy, of which the Dutch complained as a very great hardſhip; but we ſhall have occaſion to treat of this affair between us and their High Mightineſſes more at large hereafter. Events of a more ſtriking nature now claim our attention.

The empreſs of Ruſſia, highly diſcontented with the treaty his Britannic majeſty had made in the beginning of this year with the king of Pruſſia, without communicating the ſame either to herſelf or her miniſters, carried her reſentment of this proceeding ſo far as to renounce the late treaty ſhe had concluded with Great Britain, and to reject the tender of the firſt payment of the ſtipulated ſubſidies. Not only ſo, but ſhe acceded publicly to the treaty of Verſailles, and ſoon after put thoſe very troops in motion againſt the king of Pruſſia which Great Britain had agreed to take into her ſervice, in order to prevent foreign troops from entering into Germany. The empreſs-queen, on her ſide, alarmed at the very extraordinary military preparations which his Pruſſian majeſty had been for ſome time making throughout his dominions, aſſembled a conſiderable body of troops to guard againſt a ſurprize. At the ſame time, ſhe ordered her miniſter at foreign courts to preſent a reſcript in her name, in which ſhe diſclaimed all hoſtile intentions in the augmentation of her forces, declaring that it was intended only for a ſecurity to her own dominions, which ſhe ſaw threatened with an approaching invaſion: that in the late treaty ſhe had concluded with the court of France, the maintaining the treaty of Weſtphalia in full force was abſolutely and clearly ſtipulated: and that, notwithſtanding certain reports had been induſtriouſly propagated that her alliance with the court of France contained ſecret articles, calculated for the total ſuppreſſion of the proteſtant religion, ſhe ſolemnly declared that ſhe had contracted no engagements with that court which could in the leaſt affect the proteſtant intereſt, or infringe the liberties of the Germanic body. In the ſame piece, which was dated the thirteenth of July, 1756, ſome reflections were thrown out againſt the king of England (as elector of Hanover) and his

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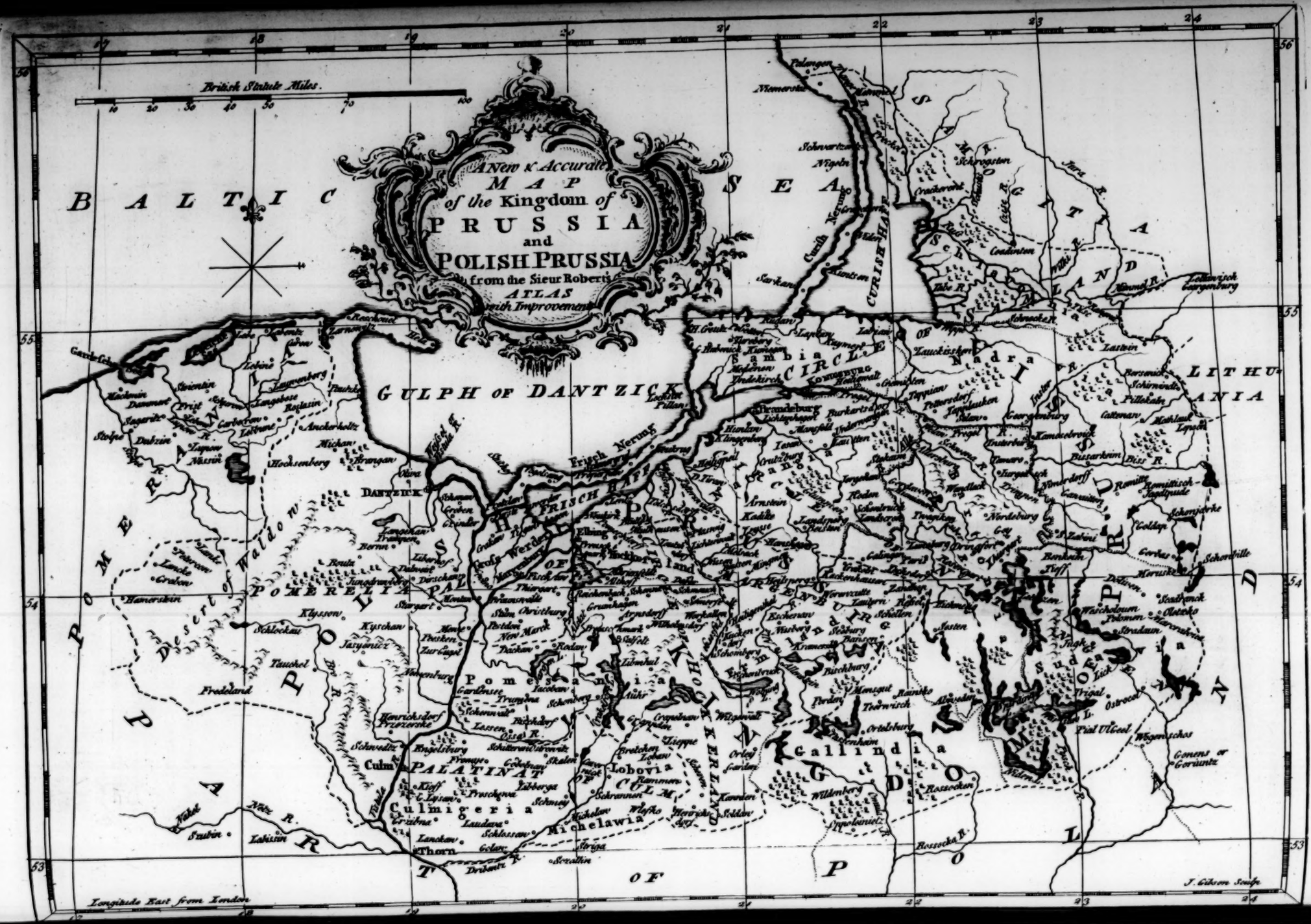
A New & Accurate
MAP
of the Kingdom of
PRUSSIA
and
POLISH PRUSSIA
from the Sieur Robert's
ATLAS
with Improvements
British Statute Miles.
BALTIC SEA
GULPH OF DANTZICK
FRISCH HAFF
CURISH HAFF
POMERANIA
Desert of Waldow
POMERELIA
PALATINATE
Culmigeria
Michelawia
Pomesania
Lobovia
Sambia
CIRCLE
Nadrauia
Galindia
Sudauia
LITHUANIA
DANTZICK
Culm
Thorn
Marienburg
Elbing
Braunsberg
Konigsberg
Memel
Tilsit
Insterburg
Gumbinen
Pillau
Pillkallen
Rastenburg
Lyck
Rhein
Neidenburg
Soldau
Strasburg
Graudenz
Schwetz
Fredeland
Longitude East from London
J. Gibson Sculp.

Pruſſian majeſty, as having entered into a league on theſe groundleſs ſuggeſtions againſt the houſe of Auſtria. The courts of London and Berlin did not ſuffer this reſcript to go long unanſwered. His Britannic majeſty gave orders to his miniſter at the diet of Ratiſbon to preſent a memorial in his name, as elector of Hanover, juſtifying his treaty with the king of Pruſſia, which he declared to have been entered into in conſequence of the empreſs-queen's refuſal of the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaties when demanded, to guard againſt the deſigns of France upon his electoral dominions, which for ſome time had been too glaringly diſplayed for any one to be miſtaken therein; and that neither himſelf nor his Pruſſian majeſty had any farther views in the treaty in queſtion than to form an alliance for the ſecuring their reſpective dominions, and preſerving peace and tranquillity in the empire.

His Pruſſian majeſty in his memorial retorted upon the empreſs-queen the charge of being the aggreſſor, declaring that the military preparations he had made had been only in conſequence of the great armaments which ſhe herſelf had ſet on foot for ſome time paſt all over her dominions: that he had greater reaſon to be attentive to theſe diſpoſitions, as he had received undoubted intelligence at the ſame time of the march of a conſiderable body of Ruſſians towards Courland; and that theſe military motions, on the part of the two imperial crowns, having obliged him to demand of the empreſs-queen a categorical anſwer, whether they were deſigned againſt him or not? her imperial majeſty had thought proper to return thereto a very ambiguous, dry, and unſatisfactory anſwer, which ſerved only to confirm his majeſty in his ſuſpicion of a deſign being formed againſt his dominions; and that therefore it became his indiſpenſible duty to take every meaſure which ſhould appear moſt proper to guard againſt ſuch an inſult. Soon after delivering this memorial to the imperial diet, his Pruſſian majeſty ordered M. Klingraaf, his miniſter at the court of Vienna, to aſſure the empreſs-queen that he would inſtantly put a ſtop to all his military preparations, provided ſhe would promiſe that his dominions ſhould not be invaded either this year or the next. This requeſt, not to be moleſted for two years by one who had a right to claim the ſecurity of peace by the faith of treaties, was far from being impertinent or imperious. Nevertheleſs, her Imperial majeſty diſdaining, as ſhe ſaid, to be thus challenged and dictated to by a prince of the empire, returned a more haughty and leſs ſatisfactory anſwer to this demand than ſhe had done to the former.

The moment his Pruſſian majeſty was adviſed of this conduct of the court of Vienna, which he ſeems to have all along ſuſpected, and therefore had held himſelf in readineſs to take the field at all events; he loſt no longer time in fruitleſs negociations, but immediately put his troops in motion, and ordered his miniſter at Dreſden to demand of the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, a paſſage for his army through Saxony: to which the latter forbore giving any determinate anſwer; and dreading, as he had reaſon to do, the conſequences of admitting the army of a doubtful friend, and of a prince who had already given ſufficient intimations of his being well acquainted with the private engagements ſubſiſting between the Saxon cabinet and the two empreſſes againſt him, collected his whole forces with all poſſible diligence, and ordered them to fortify themſelves in the ſtrong fortreſs of Pirna, till he could receive ſuch relief from his confederates as the nature of his diſtreſs, and of their common cauſe, required. He then ordered a written anſwer to be delivered to M. de Malzahn, the Pruſſian miniſter, in which, among other things, he ſaid, that he flattered himſelf the king of Pruſſia would reſt ſatisfied of his intention not to take any part in the differences that have ariſen between his Pruſſian majeſty and the empreſs queen, and not require any thing of his Poliſh majeſty or his ſubjects, contrary to the liberty of a prince of the empire, or that ſhould oblige him to have recourſe to the Germanic body and the guarantees of the treaties of peace for the due execution of thoſe treaties. This declaration was ſent to the king of Pruſſia by lord Stormont, the Britiſh miniſter, accompanied by the count of Salmont, one of the Saxon miniſters: but his Pruſſian majeſty, who was already determined in the conduct he was to purſue, would admit of no other alternative than that of his Poliſh majeſty ſeparating the army he had aſſembled, and ſending the troops encamped at Pirna back into quarters.

The truth ſeems to be, that the fate of Saxony was at all events to anſwer the deſigns of Pruſſia; for upon the king of Poland's refuſing (as it was very natural to think any one in his circumſtances would) to diſband all his forces, the Pruſſian monarch immediately marched two armies into Saxony, one directing its route to Leipſic, under prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic, and the other to Dreſden; which latter place, as the leaſt tenable, was abandoned by the king of Poland, who taking with him his two ſons, Xaverius and Charles, fled before his invader to his ſtrong camp at Pirna, the queen of Poland and the reſt of the royal family remaining in Dreſden.

Beſides the two armies that marched into Saxony, the king of Pruſſia at the ſame time aſſembled two others in Upper and Lower Sileſia, which poſſeſſed themſelves of the paſſes communicating with the circles of Buntzlaw and Konighen-Gratz, beſides a large body of troops aſſembled at Glatz, and another kept in Pruſſia to oppoſe the Ruſſians. His Pruſſian majeſty, on entering the Saxon territories, publiſhed a manifeſto to juſtify his conduct. No ſooner had he ſeized upon Dreſden, the capital of the electorate, than he ſent an officer to the queen of Poland, to demand the keys of the archives, the cabinets, and the treaſures of her huſband. The queen was forced to ſubmit to this demand; but at the ſame time, having aſſembled all the foreign miniſters, ſhe begged of them, with tears in her eyes, to repreſent to their reſpective courts how rigorouſly the court of Saxony was treated by the king of Pruſſia. Deaf, however, to all her complaints, that monarch gave orders for blowing up and demoliſhing the fortifications of Wirtemberg, and Torgau to be fortified; at which place he eſtabliſhed the government under a Pruſſian miniſtry, after turning out all the Saxon miniſters of ſtate and members of the council. He appointed baron Wyllech governor of Dreſden, who ſeizing upon all the Saxon officers found in that city, obliged them to ſwear not to ſerve againſt the Pruſſians, before he would grant them their liberty;

liberty; and ſtripping the city of all the artillery, arms, and ammunition found therein, he ſent them down the Elbe to Magdebourg. Such a conduct ſufficiently ſhewed that his Pruſſian majeſty was determined to treat this wretched electorate in the ſame manner as the dominions of an open enemy.

Nor did the city of Leipſic, of which prince Ferdinand had taken poſſeſſion, experience any milder treatment. The inhabitants were obliged to provide the Pruſſian army with proviſions at a ſtated price (far ſhort of their coſt) on pain of military execution; and an order was iſſued for the payment of all taxes and cuſtoms to the king of Pruſſia. In this extreme diſtreſs his Poliſh majeſty filled all the courts of Europe, in amity with Saxony, with the moſt pathetic memorials againſt theſe proceedings; proceedings indeed which ſtruck moſt of them with aſtoniſhment; but none more ſo than his Britannic majeſty, the faithful ally of Pruſſia, who was ſo far from being in the ſecret of this invaſion, that he publicly avowed, and in ſome ſenſe proteſted againſt it. His Pruſſian majeſty, aware of the difficulties in which his conduct towards Saxony would embroil him, immediately circulated a memorial through Europe, in which it was declared, "That the ſteps he had taken were the pure effects of neceſſity, and of that regard which every one owes to his own ſafety; and that among the papers belonging to his Poliſh majeſty of which he had poſſeſſed himſelf, he had found the original treaties, letters, &c. which had paſſed between the courts of Peterſburg, Vienna, and Dreſden, which would enable him to prove unanſwerably the plot which had been formed by thoſe powers to ſtrip him of a great part of his dominions; but that, by the vigorous meaſures he had taken, the iniquitous ſchemes of an ungrateful and ambitious court (meaning that of Saxony) had been happily diſcovered, and their taking effect prevented."

The Saxon army continued ſtill encamped near Pirna, in a place almoſt inacceſſible, and very ſtrongly fortified. The king of Pruſſia being joined by prince Ferdinand's army from Leipſic, cloſely inveſted the Saxon camp, and at the ſame time meaſures were taken to engage the Auſtrians who were coming to their aſſiſtance. The paſſes into Bohemia were all occupied by advanced guards of Pruſſians, and a detachment from the army was encamped at Auſig, on the ſouth ſide of the Elbe, under field-marſhal Keith. By this means the Saxon camp was hemmed in, in the manner of a blockade, and thoſe troops reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions, while the Pruſſians were plentifully ſupplied with every neceſſary. This haſtened the march of an Auſtrian army under the command of count Brown, a general in whom the court of Vienna placed the greateſt confidence. The king of Pruſſia, whoſe vigilance nothing could eſcape, had early notice of their intended march, and determined to diſconcert their meaſures. Accordingly, his majeſty ſet out from his camp at Seidlitz on the twenty-eighth of September, and took upon himſelf the future conduct of the forces encamped at Auſig, which conſiſted only of twenty-five thouſand men, the king having been obliged to leave the main body of his troops in the neighbourhood of Pirna, in order to keep the Saxons blocked up.

His Pruſſian majeſty being arrived in marſhal Keith's camp, put his army in motion without delay, being reſolved to march in queſt of count Brown. He formed a van-guard of eight battalions, ten ſquadrons of dragoons, and eight ſquadrons of huſſars. He put himſelf at the head of this body, and marched to Tournitz, leaving orders for the reſt of his army to follow in two columns, the one by the way of Preſcobot, and the other the ſame way the van-guard had taken. From Tournitz he marched with his van towards Welhmina, where he arrived that evening (the 30th) an hour before ſun-ſet. From thence he could deſcry the Auſtrian army, with its right wing at Lowoſchutz, and its left extended towards Egra. That very evening the king himſelf occupied with ſix battalions a hollow and ſome riſing ground which commanded Lowoſchutz, and which the Auſtrian general had by a great overſight neglected to ſecure, but which his Pruſſian majeſty reſolved to make uſe of the next day, in order to march and attack the enemy. His army arrived in the night at Welhmina, where the king only formed his battalions behind one another, and his ſquadrons in the ſame manner, which remained all night in this poſture, the king himſelf not going to reſt, but keeping watch (covered only with his cloak) before a little fire at the head of his troops.

On the firſt of October at day-break his majeſty took with him his general officers, and ſhewed them the ground which he intended to occupy with his army, viz. the infantry, forming the firſt line, to occupy two high hills and the bottom between them, ſome battalions to form the ſecond line, and the third to be compoſed of the whole cavalry. The Auſtrians, however, who had by this time diſcovered their error in neglecting thoſe advantageous poſts, now prepared to diſpute the poſſeſſion of them; and notwithſtanding the king made all poſſible diſpatch in ſtrengthening the wings of his army upon theſe hills, and that the infantry were no leſs diligent in ſecuring their poſt at the right, yet the enemy's Pandours, Croatians, and grenadiers, who were poſted in vineyards incloſed with ſtone walls, ſo harraſſed the left wing as it was forming, that it was obliged immediately to come to engagement.

The Pruſſians, however, continued advancing with great firmneſs, till they came to the declivity of the hills towards the enemy, from whence they ſaw the town of Lowoſchutz filled with a great body of infantry, and a large battery of twelve pieces of cannon in front; their cavalry were formed chequer-wiſe, and in a line between Lowoſchutz and the village of Sanſchitz. His majeſty having ſpent ſome time in reconnoitring the diſpoſition of the enemy, gave orders to his cavalry to begin the attack by falling upon the enemy's horſe, which were drawn up in their front. This attack was made with ſuch vigour, that the Auſtrian cavalry preſently gave way; but the enemy keeping up a terrible fire from ſeveral pieces of cannon, and from a great body of infantry which they had poſted in ſome hollow places behind their horſe, the Pruſſians could not purſue their advantage without running into needleſs danger; and therefore returned and formed again behind their line of infantry. They ſoon returned to the charge, however, which they maintained with ſuch ſpirit and

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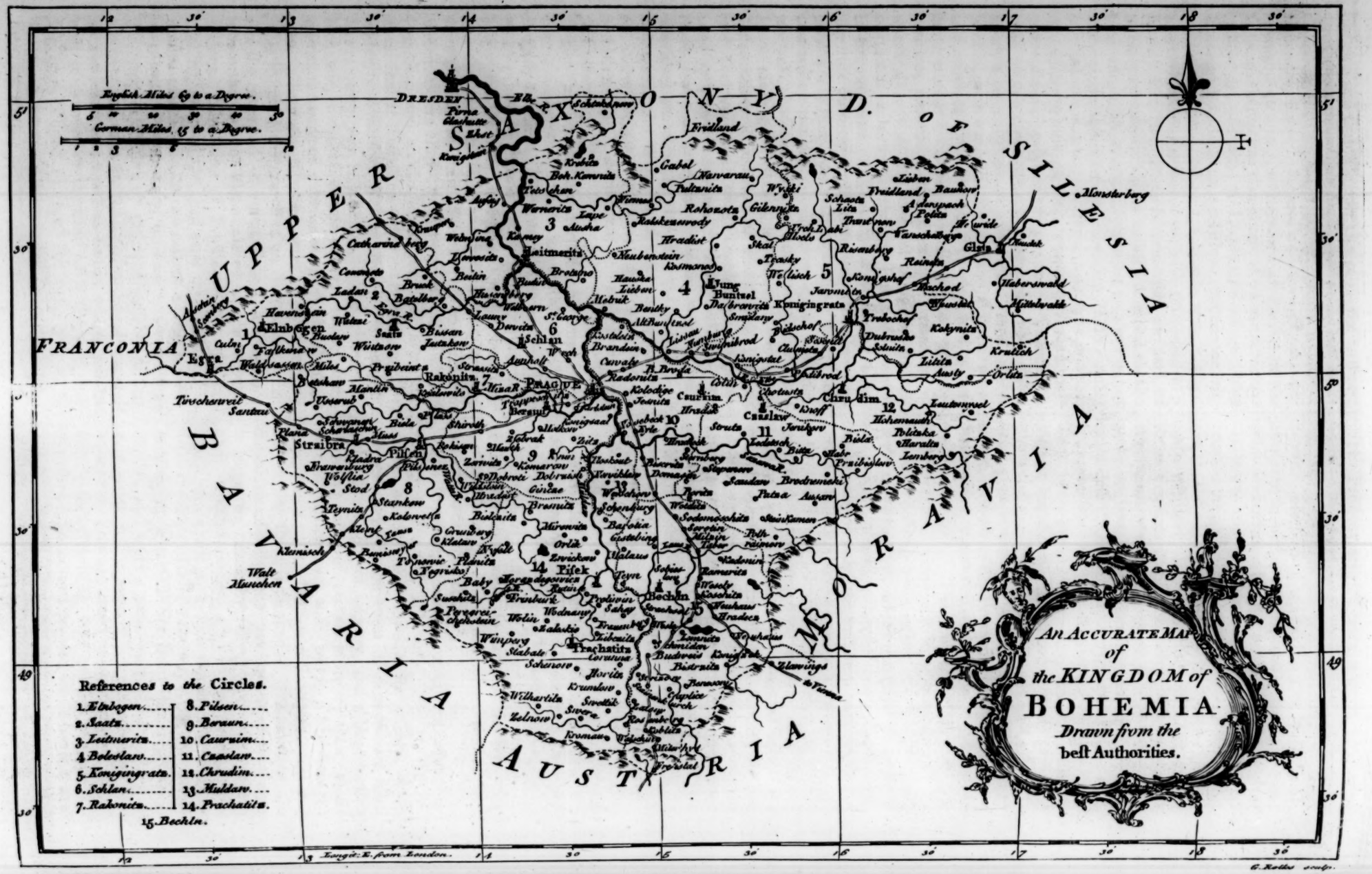
An Accurate Map
of
the KINGDOM of
BOHEMIA
Drawn from the
best Authorities.
References to the Circles.
1. Elnbogen
2. Saatz
3. Leitmeritz
4. Bolestaw
5. Konigingratz
6. Schlan
7. Rakonitz
8. Pilsen
9. Beraun
10. Caurzim
11. Caaslaw
12. Chrudim
13. Muldaw
14. Prachatitz
15. Bechin.
English Miles 69 to a Degree.
German Miles 15 to a Degree.
DRESDEN
SAXONY
UPPER
LUSATIA
SILESIA
FRANCONIA
BAVARIA
AUSTRIA
MORAVIA
PRAGUE
Pilsen
Strabra
Leitmeritz
Schlan
Rakonitz
Caurzim
Caaslaw
Chrudim
Pisek
Bechin
Konigingratz
Longit: E. from London.

a reſolution, that in ſpite of the fire of above ſixty pieces of cannon, which played upon them from the hollow ways and ditches, they totally defeated the whole Auſtrian cavalry, and even drove the infantry from the ditches in which they were poſted. At the ſame time, by a maſterpiece of generalſhip, the king ordered the whole infantry to march on gradually, and then on a ſudden to wheel about and attack the town of Lowoſchutz in flank. This ſervice was performed with equal courage, conduct, and ſucceſs, as the former, amidſt a moſt terrible fire of cannon, and the reſiſtance of a body of infantry prodigiouſly ſuperior to themſelves. The Pruſſians ſet fire to the ſuburbs of the town, carried the poſt, and put the whole Auſtrian army to flight.

Count Brown finding the battle irreparably loſt, retired to the other ſide of the Egra, and pitched his camp at Budin, while his Pruſſian majeſty kept the field of battle, and eſtabliſhed his head quarters at Lowoſchutz. The army of the Auſtrians was ſixty thouſand ſtrong; that of the king of Pruſſia, as I have already obſerved, did not exceed twenty-five thouſand. The battle laſted from ſeven in the morning till three in the afternoon. The loſs of the Pruſſians was two thouſand killed and wounded; among the former were one general of infantry, two major-generals of cavalry, and one colonel of the grenadiers. The loſs of the enemy was computed to amount to between ſix and ſeven thouſand killed and wounded, and five hundred taken priſoners; amongſt whom was prince Lobkowitz; five pieces of cannon and three pair of colours fell alſo into the hands of the victors *.

The king, after gaining his point by diſabling count Brown from marching to the relief of the Saxons under his blockade, ordered his victorious troops to return into that electorate, and join that body of his forces employed in this ſervice. The wretched Saxons, on their part, ſeeing all hopes of relief by the way of Bohemia totally cut off, their proviſions being alſo exhauſted, and famine ſtaring them in the face, were reduced either to attempt an eſcape by ſtratagem, or to lay down their arms and ſurrender themſelves to the king of Pruſſia.

An eſcape was moſt eligible, and they attempted it in the following manner: on the twelfth day of October, as ſoon as the day was ſhut in, they ſecretly threw a bridge of boats over the Elbe, near Konigſtein. At nine o'clock, having removed almoſt all their artillery to the laſt mentioned place, they ſtruck their tents, and by ſeven next morning his Poliſh majeſty and the whole Saxon army paſſed the river undiſcovered, or at leaſt unmoleſted. This plan was concerted with count Brown, who, to facilitate the execution, ſecretly left his camp at Budin; and with a conſiderable body of horſe, having marched ſixteen German miles, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Konigſtein the ſame day; and the day before general Nadaſti arrived with about ſix thouſand irregulars, which he poſted in ſuch a manner as to prevent the eight Pruſſian battalions that were encamped on that ſide the Elbe, at Lemon, from being joined by the Pruſſians that were at Scandau.

This diſpoſition greatly facilitated the paſſage of the Saxons, which was likewiſe concealed by the darkneſs of the night, and a thick fog on the ſucceeding morning; ſo that it was near nine o'clock before the Pruſſians at Seidlitz knew that the Saxons had left their camp. The Auſtrian general, however, was again guilty of an overſight on this occaſion, in neglecting to reconnoitre the country through which he was to eſcort the Saxon army. This neglect ruined the whole plan; for as ſoon as the Saxon advanced-guard had, with great difficulty, got about half way up a ſteep mountain over-againſt Konigſtein, they found that the Pruſſians had already made themſelves maſters of all the defiles, and that it was impoſſible for them to force their way. The Saxon army now finding themſelves ſurrounded on every ſide, and that their crafty enemy having foreſeen their deſign, had ſuffered them to march into this toil, that he might the more eaſily ſecure them, they offered to capitulate, which was accordingly agreed to, and they ſurrendered themſelves priſoners to his Pruſſian majeſty. A propoſal was then made to them to enliſt under the Pruſſian banner, which the greateſt part of them accepted, took the oath of fidelity to the conqueror, and were incorporated amongſt his troops.

Thus deprived of all his military ſtrength, the unfortunate king of Poland found it in vain longer to ſtruggle with his fate: he therefore ſubmitted to be ſent, with the queen his conſort, to Warſaw in Poland; thus in a manner abdicating the electorate of Saxony, which fell under the government of the king of Pruſſia.

While the Auſtrian and Pruſſian armies were in the field, the emperor was engaged by his conſort

* It is worthy of remark, that in this battle, which opened the firſt campaign of a moſt bloody war, the two commanders in chief who fought againſt each other were originally ſubjects of the Britiſh crown.

Count Brown, who was at the head of the Auſtrians, was a native of Ireland, and had riſen to the high rank he held in the imperial army entirely by his great military abilities, which he had diſplayed on ſeveral occaſions, but more particularly in the laſt war the court of Vienna had waged againſt the king of Pruſſia.

Field-marſhal Keith, who commanded under the king of Pruſſia, was younger ſon of George Keith, earl Mariſchal of Scotland, and born in that kingdom in 1698. When he was only ſeventeen years of age, he entered with his brother lord Mariſchal into the rebellion of 1715. The defeat of his party obliged him to ſeek his fortune abroad; and he obtained a commiſſion in the Iriſh brigade, commanded by the duke of Ormond in Spain. Here he continued about ten years; but being recommended to Catherine I. the empreſs of Ruſſia, then reigning, ſhe received him in a moſt diſtinguiſhed manner, and in a little time advanced him to the rank of lieutenant general. In the war that broke out between Ruſſia and Turky in that reign, he gave ſuch proofs of his courage and military ſkill, that his reputation at the court of Peterſburg greatly increaſed, inſomuch that the czarina ſent him to the court of London, upon the return of the peace, in quality of her ambaſſador-extraordinary. His embaſſy being finiſhed, he was ſent into Finland againſt the Swedes, over whom he gained the famous victory of Wilmanſtrandt.

After the peace of Abo in 1743, he was appointed ambaſſador-extraordinary to compliment the king of Sweden on the election of a ſucceſſor to the crown; but the expences he incurred while in this high ſtation ſo far impaired his fortune, that finding he could not ſupport the dignity of a marſhal with the Ruſſian pay, he accepted of an invitation from the king of Pruſſia, who gave him a penſion over and above his pay, and admitted him his companion in a private tour through Germany, Poland, Hungary, and other places, in diſguiſe, and placed the greateſt confidence in his abilities and integrity.

to iſſue three imperial decrees in full diet at Ratiſbon againſt his Pruſſian majeſty: the firſt, ſummoning him to withdraw his troops from the electorate of Saxony; the ſecond, commanding all the vaſſals of the empire employed by the king of Pruſſia to quit that ſervice immediately; and the third, forbidding the members of the empire to ſuffer any levies of ſoldiers for the Pruſſian ſervice to be made within their reſpective juriſdictions. The French king's miniſter at the diet declared, that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, conſidering the proceedings of the king of Pruſſia as a direct breach of the rights and liberties of the empire, was determined to ſuccour, in the moſt effectual manner, the empreſs-queen, and other princes of the empire who had been inſulted and injured by him, and for that purpoſe would forthwith ſend ſuch a number of troops to their aid as might be thought ſufficient to maintain the liberty of the Germanic body. The like declaration was alſo made on the part of the czarina of Ruſſia. The miniſters of the empreſs-queen, both at London and at the Hague, demanded in her name the ſuccours thoſe two powers were bound, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, to afford the houſe of Auſtria, which was peremptorily refuſed by both nations. The French were all this time labouring hard to throw the whole blame of the war, on the eve of breaking out in Germany, upon the treaty ſigned between Great Britain and Pruſſia at the beginning of this year, and to perſuade the catholic princes that their alliance was formed with a particular intention to deſtroy the Romiſh intereſt and religion in Germany: and upon this aſſertion, which the court of France gave the authority of an inconteſtible fact, a convention was now concluded with the emperor, which regulated the number and ſervice of the forces to be ſent from France into Germany.

The ſeaſon being now ſo far advanced, his Pruſſian majeſty cantoned his forces in the neighbourhood of Seidlitz, and along the Elbe towards Dreſden. His other army, which had entered Bohemia under the command of the count de Schwerin, retired to the confines of the county of Glatz, where they were alſo diſtributed into winter-quarters; and thus this ſhort, but moſt active campaign, was finiſhed by the beginning of November.

During theſe tranſactions on the continent, our loſſes and diſgraces both in the Mediterranean and North America, and the advantages gained upon us both by ſea and land, occaſioned great murmurings and heart-burnings among the people in England, who imagined they ſaw a great deal of miſmanagement, as well in the directive as in the executive part of the government. Their diſcontents appeared not only in their addreſſes to the throne, but likewiſe in the inſtructions which the members of a great number of corporations gave to their repreſentatives in parliament; the general purport of which was, to make a ſtrict enquiry into the cauſes of our miſcarriages; how the large ſums that were granted in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament had been applied; and to paſs a militia-bill, whereby the hiring of ſubſidiary forces for the defence of the kingdom, on any future emergency, might no longer ſubſiſt. Some complained of the weak and ill-concerted meaſures of the miniſtry; others, of the treachery, ignorance, and cowardice of our commanders, both at ſea and land; that no wiſdom or policy could be ſeen in our counſels; and, in ſhort, that the nation was on the very brink of deſtruction, into which it muſt inevitably fall, if the conduct of affairs was ſtill continued in the ſame hands.

So repeated, ſo loud and vehement were the clamours of the people, and of all perſons, high and low, againſt the pilots of the helm, that at length they reached the royal ear. His majeſty, ever glad of an occaſion to convince his Britiſh ſubjects that he had their intereſt, glory, and advantage at heart, ſuperior to all other conſiderations, proceeded as far as he in prudence thought adviſable, to make ſuch alterations in the miniſtry as might pleaſe his people. Accordingly, in November the duke of Devonſhire was appointed firſt commiſſioner of the Treaſury, in the room of the duke of Newcaſtle; the right honourable Henry Bilſon Legge was made chancellor of the Exchequer, inſtead of ſir George Lyttleton. By another commiſſion for the marine department, the place of firſt lord of the admiralty, filled by lord Anſon, was given to earl Temple, brother-in-law to Mr. Pitt; and the right honourable George Grenville was made treaſurer of the navy. Lord-chancellor Hardwicke having reſigned the ſeals, they were put in commiſſion; and, laſtly, to the infinite joy of the whole nation, who now began to idolize Mr. Pitt, that gentleman was appointed one of his majeſty's ſecretaries of ſtate, in the room of Mr. Fox. The fears of an invaſion being now perfectly ſubſided, and Hanover thought in more danger than Great Britain, orders were iſſued for ſending home the Hanoverian and Heſſian troops, whoſe abode here had occaſioned great diſturbance and uneaſineſs.

A few days after the adopting theſe agreeable meaſures, his majeſty, on the ſecond of December, met his parliament, and by a gracious ſpeech from the throne, in great meaſure obviated all applications which the repreſentatives of the people had been inſtructed by their conſtituents to make.

He began "by expreſſing his hope, that, under the guidance of Divine Providence, the union, fortitude, and affection of his people, would enable him to ſurmount all difficulties, and vindicate the dignity of his crown and the rights of his ſubjects againſt the ancient enemy of Great Britain. He aſſured them that the ſuccour and preſervation of America conſtituted a main object of his attention and ſolicitude; and obſerved, that the growing dangers to which the Britiſh colonies might be expoſed, from the late loſſes in that country, demanded reſolutions of vigour and diſpatch. He ſaid, that an adequate and firm defence at home ſhould maintain the chief place in his thoughts; and that in this great view he had nothing ſo much at heart as to remove all grounds of diſſatisfaction from his people: that for this end, he earneſtly recommended to the care and diligence of the parliament the framing of a national militia, planned and regulated with equal regard to the juſt rights of his crown and people; an inſtitution which might become one good reſource in times of general danger. He obſerved, that the unnatural union of councils abroad; the calamities which, in conſequence of this unhappy conjunction, might, by irruptions of foreign armies into the empire, ſhake its conſtitution, overturn

turn its ſyſtem, and threaten oppreſſion to the proteſtant intereſt on the continent, were events which muſt ſenſibly affect the minds of the Britiſh nation; and had fixed the eyes of Europe on this new and dangerous criſis. He then informed them, that the body of his electoral troops, which were brought hither at the deſire of his parliament, he had now directed to return to his dominions in Germany, relying with pleaſure on the ſpirit and zeal of his people in defence of his perſon and realm. He ſaid, that he fully confided in the wiſdom of his parliament, for preferring more vigorous efforts, though more expenſive, to a leſs effectual, and therefore leſs frugal, plan of war: that he had placed before them the dangers and neceſſities of the public; and it was their duty to lay the burdens they ſhould judge unavoidable, in ſuch a manner as would leaſt diſtreſs and exhauſt his people; and concluded with theſe remarkable words, "Unproſperous events of war in the Mediterranean have drawn from my ſubjects ſignal proofs how dearly they tender the honour of my crown; and they cannot therefore, on my part, fail to meet with juſt returns of unwearied care, and unceaſing endeavours for the glory, proſperity, and happineſs of my people."

Moſt affectionate and loyal addreſſes were preſented by both houſes in return to this ſpeech; after which the legiſlature proceeded to diſpatch the national buſineſs.

In the courſe of this year a ſcarcity of corn, and dearneſs in conſequence, of all ſorts of proviſions, was ſeverely felt in moſt parts of England, owing in great meaſure to the iniquitous practice of engroſſing, and had occaſioned many tumults and riſings among the lower ſort of people. His majeſty had in his ſpeech recommended this matter to the conſideration of his parliament, deſiring they would take ſuch meaſures as they ſhould judge moſt proper to remedy the abuſe complained of, and relieve the diſtreſſes of the poorer claſs of his ſubjects. The commons therefore had no ſooner diſcuſſed the form of their addreſs, than the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee to deliberate on this matter; and a bill was immediately framed to prohibit, for a limited time, the exportation of all kinds of corn, either in the grain or meal; and an embargo was laid on all ſhips laden with that commodity for foreign parts.

The committee of ſupply and of ways and means were next appointed, who proceeded to conſider the public eſtimates, when it was reſolved to ſtrengthen the hands of government, by making the moſt ample proviſion for the proſecution of the war. The land forces were augmented from thirty-five thouſand to forty-nine thouſand ſeven hundred forty-nine effective men, including four thouſand and eight invalids. The ſeamen were ſettled at fifty-five thouſand men, including eleven thouſand four hundred and nineteen marines, with ſufficient to proviſion for their maintenance. His majeſty was alſo enabled to perform his agreement with and provide for his Heſſian and Hanoverian forces. Beſides which, they granted ample ſums for garriſons, for the ordnance, for levying new regiments, for forming and maintaining an army of obſervation in Germany, and fulfilling his majeſty's engagements with the king of Pruſſia; for the ſupport of the Britiſh forts on the coaſt of Africa; for the relief of South Carolina and Virginia; the ſupport of Nova Scotia and Georgia; for enabling the Eaſt India company to keep a military force in their ſettlements; and for ſeveral other uſes and contingencies: which ſupplies in the whole amounted to eight millions three hundred and fifty thouſand three hundred and twenty-five pounds ſome odd ſhillings and pence. Immenſe as this ſum was, they who granted it found means to eſtabliſh funds for the payment thereof to more than the amount, in order to prevent any deficiency that might happen in any branch of the ways and means.

The Heſſian troops having been denied winter-quarters by the publicans, who could not be compelled to receive them by law (as being foreigners) and theſe troops having ſuffered extremely by the ſeverity of the winter, the parliament thought proper to paſs a bill to make proviſion for quartering foreign forces, which received the royal aſſent by commiſſion on the ſeventeenth of December. By this act, foreign troops were in every reſpect to be treated as the native troops of this kingdom, till their return home.

The next object that engaged the attention of the legiſlature was a bill for the eſtabliſhment of a national militia; a meaſure that promiſed infinite advantages to the public. This ſcheme had frequently been attempted in former ſeſſions, but had always been attended with ſuch a train of difficulties, and ſuch a claſhing of intereſts, as had hitherto rendered it abortive. It had been a conſtant ſource of diſpute and contention between the crown and the commons; but now both appeared to concur in rendering it ſerviceable to the community. This bill was mentioned ſo early in this ſeſſion of parliament as the fourth day of December, by colonel George Townſhend, eldeſt ſon to the lord viſcount Townſhend, a gentleman alike diſtinguiſhed by the abilities of his head and the virtues of his heart. The motion being approved, the taſk of preparing the bill was conſigned to the propoſer; and a conſiderable number of the moſt able members in the houſe: but, by the many difficulties which this committee had to encounter, and the competitions of intereſts they had to reconcile, it was the twenty-ſeventh of January, 1757, before it was ready for the firſt reading. After mature deliberations and various alterations, it was carried through the lower houſe, and ſent to the lords for their concurrence. There it underwent ſeveral conſiderable alterations; the moſt diſagreeable of which was, the reducing the number of militiamen to one half of what the commons had propoſed, viz. to thirty-two thouſand three hundred and forty men for England and Wales, inſtead of ſeventy thouſand. This amendment occaſioned ſome warm debates in the lower houſe, when the bill was returned, and ſeveral conferences were held with their lordſhips. At length, however, the two houſes agreed to every article, and the bill was ſoon confirmed by the royal ſanction.

A violent oppoſition, however, was raiſed to this conſtitutional bill without doors, chiefly occaſioned by the intrigues of ſome diſcarded people in power, who, diſappointed in their endeavours to get it thrown out by the parliament, reſolved to make uſe of every art to prevent its being carried into execution: in a word, ſuch a diſlike to this new

ſervice was every-where propagated amongſt the lower and middling claſs of people, that in counties whoſe lieutenants were well diſpoſed and well officered, it was the utmoſt difficulty to raiſe the common men by ballot; and ſcarce any where could it be performed for ſome time, without great diſcontent, and even riots. The farmers and landholders were frightened with an opinion that the militia would rob them of their ſervants; and the labouring men were terrified with the ſuggeſtion that they would be miſuſed, and ſent to fight the battles of ſome foreign prince or ſtate, or be tranſported like felons to the plantations of America. Prejudices were thus formed in their minds, which could be hardly removed by ſome length of time, and the moſt ſerious and laboured repreſentations of the expediency of the act, and of the evil deſigns of thoſe who had ſet them againſt ſo ſalutary a law; and, after all, the nation would have been deprived of the advantages of a ſerviceable militia, had not the ſame ſpirit which carried the bill through the parliament, exerted itſelf in the execution of it.

Though a national militia is of too much importance to this kingdom to render any thing that can enforce or explain it unneceſſary, yet as the act now eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe is of too great a length to be inſerted entire, I have therefore ſubſtituted the following abſtract thereof for the information of my readers; which, for its brevity and plainneſs, at the ſame time that it includes every eſſential part of the ſaid act, is ſuperior to any other I have met with. It was printed and diſtributed throughout the city of York, by the direction and at the expence of George Fox Lane, eſq. member for that city, for the better information of perſons choſen by lot to ſerve in the militia for that county.

The PAY, PRIVILEGES, and DUTY, of a MILITIA-MAN.

PAY.

A private man, for each day he is employed in the militia, ſhall receive one ſhilling. There ſhall be one corporal to every twenty private men, who ſhall be paid one ſhilling and ſix-pence every day he is employed.

Out of the private men, vacancies, on the death or removal of ſerjeants, may be filled up, in the proportion of one to every twenty private men;

Who are in that caſe diſcharged from ſerving as ſuch,

And ſhall have the pay of a ſerjeant, viz. every day in the year one ſhilling.

The ſerjeant-major muſt be made out of the ſerjeants, and ſhall be paid two ſhillings and ſix-pence more a week.

PRIVILEGES.

No militia-man can be compelled to march out of the kingdom;

Nor be obliged to go above ſix miles from home, to perform exerciſe, in companies or half companies;

Nor be detained, on days of exerciſe, longer than ſix hours; or under arms, without refreſhment, more than two hours.

He ſhall be dieted and billeted at public houſes, paying for diet and ſmall beer, four-pence each day.

Having ſerved three years, he may retain his cloaths.

He ſhall be exempted from doing any highway duty, or ſerving as a peace officer, or pariſh officer.

He ſhall not be liable to ſerve, unleſs by conſent, in any of his majeſty's land or ſea forces.

Having been called out into actual ſervice, and being a married man, he may ſet up any trade in any town. Diſabled by ſickneſs on a march, or at a place of annual exerciſe, he ſhall be provided for (by an order from one juſtice of the peace, or magiſtrate) by the officers of the pariſh where he ſhall then be, who ſhall be reimburſed by the officers of the pariſh for which he ſhall ſerve.

If ordered out on actual ſervice, he ſhall receive a guinea before the day he is ordered to march.

If ordered out, leaving a family not of ability to ſupport themſelves, the pariſh officers where ſuch family reſides ſhall relieve them by a weekly allowance, until his return, and be reimburſed out of the county ſtock.

Having ſerved three years, he ſhall not be liable to ſerve again, until by rotation it comes to his turn.

Being thirty-five years of age, and having ſerved two years, or on ſhewing juſt cauſe, he may be diſcharged;

And at any time he may be diſcharged by ſubdiviſion meetings.

If maimed or wounded in actual ſervice, he ſhall be equally entitled to Chelſea-hoſpital with any other ſoldier belonging to his majeſty's other forces.

Pariſhes may offer, and deputy-lieutenants may accept volunteers, inſtead of thoſe choſen by lot.

DUTY.

Every militia-man ſhall appear at the ſubdiviſion-meeting, on notice, and be inrolled to ſerve for three years, or find a ſubſtitute.

He ſhall be exerciſed in half companies, on the firſt Mondays in the months of March, April, May, June, July, Auguſt, September, and October.

In whole companies, on the third Monday in the ſaid months.

And if they cannot be exerciſed in half companies, by reaſon of the diſtance, then in ſmaller bodies; and

In regiments, or battalions, on Tueſday, Wedneſday, Thurſday, and Friday, in Whitſun-week.

The days of exerciſe may be altered to any other day in the ſame week, Sunday excepted.

The two days in any one month, in harveſt, may be changed to Tueſday and Wedneſday in Eaſter-week.

If any day is inconvenient, on account of fairs and markets, it may be altered to any other day in the ſame week, except Sundays.

Notice of the ſeveral places of exerciſe ſhall be fixed on the church or chapel doors of the pariſhes reſpectively; or, in caſe of no church or chapel, on the door of ſome church or chapel next adjoining.

After exerciſe, every man ſhall clean and return his arms, cloaths, and accoutrements.

Changing his reſidence, he ſhall ſerve in the diviſion he ſhall remove to, on giving previous notice

to the deputy-lieutenants, and receiving a certificate from them.

And, in case of invasion, imminent danger thereof, or a rebellion, he may be drawn out for actual service, and in such case only, and in this kingdom only, and not elsewhere.

By the numerous armies which the French were now preparing to send into Germany, to assist the empress-queen against the king of Prussia, it was apparent that the electorate of Hanover would be exposed to their hostilities: to prevent which it was judged necessary to form an army of observation, to act as occasion should require on the frontiers of his majesty's German dominions, to protect them from the insults of the enemy. Accordingly, a message was delivered, February 15, by the king to Mr. secretary Pitt, to be by him presented to the house of commons, signifying, "that it was always with reluctance his majesty asked any extraordinary supply of his people; but that as the united counsels and formidable preparations of France and her allies threaten with the most alarming consequences Europe in general; and that as these most unjust and vindictive designs were particularly and immediately bent against his majesty's electoral dominions, and those of his good ally the king of Prussia, his majesty does confide in the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful commons, that they would chearfully assist him in forming and maintaining an army of observation for the just and necessary defence and preservation thereof, and to enable his majesty to fulfil his engagements with the king of Prussia for the security of the empire against the irruption of foreign armies, and for the support of the common cause."

This message met with as favourable a reception as could possibly have been wished. It was read in the house of commons, with a copy of the treaty between his majesty and the king of Prussia, which was approved, and his majesty's request granted, two hundred thousand pounds being appropriated for the relief of the king of Prussia, and maintaining the army of observation. Smoothly as this measure passed down with the legislature, it was by no means relished by the bulk of the nation, who could not without regret behold us thus hurrying into a continental war, which might embarrass our operations by sea, take off our attention to the capital object of America, and tend to increase the enormous load of taxes and debts under which the people and the kingdom already groaned: but the popularity of the new secretary, and the vigorous opposition he and his colleagues had ever made to German connections, charmed the nation into a compliance with a measure, the bare suspicion of which would have lost any other ministry all the confidence of the people.

His royal highness the duke of Cumberland having been appointed, by his majesty, commander in chief of the army to be raised in Germany to observe the motions of the French, he set out accordingly for Hanover in the beginning of April.

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But as faction is ever restless, and envy ever blind to merit, these gentlemen, whose views carried with them all the appearances of a noble disinterestedness, as well in the senate as in the cabinet, could not escape the common lot of patriots. Those of the old ministry who had been displaced to make room for these, were too much concerned, both in interest and reputation, to sit down quiet under their dismission, especially when the conduct of their successors gave daily opportunities for drawing comparisons so very humiliating to their administration; and so well were they versed in the intrigues of a court, that they found it no difficult matter to poison the royal ear, by the most injurious representations of the new ministers, whom they set forth as obstinate, imperious, ignorant, and even lukewarm in their loyalty. In these endeavours they were powerfully assisted by such of their faction as had been still continued in places of power about the crown. Add to this, that as they still sat in the same senate and council with their antagonists, they to the utmost of their power combated every scheme that was proposed by them. Thus, by clogging the wheels of state, and distracting our councils, the good purposes of the ministry were frustrated, and the government put into such an agitation, that his majesty was in a manner forced into a new change of administration. Accordingly, on the ninth of April Mr. Pitt, by the royal command, resigned the seals of secretary of state for the southern department. In the room of Mr. Legge, the king was pleased to grant the office of chancellor of the Exchequer to the right honourable lord Mansfield, chief-justice of the court of King's Bench, whom we have formerly mentioned by the name of Mr. Murray, and who had been lately ennobled in consideration of his eminent services. Mr. Pitt's dismission was accompanied with those of several of his friends. The board of admiralty was changed, and the earl of Winchilsea put at its head; and some other removals were made, all of the same tendency. Mr. Fox,

ſervice was every-where propagated amongſt the lower and middling claſs of people, that in counties whoſe lieutenants were well diſpoſed and well officered, it was the utmoſt difficulty to raiſe the common men by ballot; and ſcarce any where could it be performed for ſome time, without great diſcontent, and even riots. The farmers and landholders were frightened with an opinion that the militia would rob them of their ſervants; and the labouring men were terrified with the ſuggeſtion that they would be miſuſed, and ſent to fight the battles of ſome foreign prince or ſtate, or be tranſported like felons to the plantations of America. Prejudices were thus formed in their minds, which could be hardly removed by ſome length of time, and the moſt ſerious and laboured repreſentations of the expediency of the act, and of the evil deſigns of thoſe who had ſet them againſt ſo ſalutary a law; and, after all, the nation would have been deprived of the advantages of a ſerviceable militia, had not the ſame ſpirit which carried the bill through the parliament, exerted itſelf in the execution of it.

Though a national militia is of too much importance to this kingdom to render any thing that can enforce or explain it unneceſſary, yet as the act now eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe is of too great a length to be inſerted entire, I have therefore ſubſtituted the following abſtract thereof for the information of my readers; which, for its brevity and plainneſs, at the ſame time that it includes every eſſential part of the ſaid act, is ſuperior to any other I have met with. It was printed and diſtributed throughout the city of York, by the direction and at the expence of George Fox Lane, eſq. member for that city, for the better information of perſons choſen by lot to ſerve in the militia for that county.

The PAY, PRIVILEGES, and DUTY, of a MILITIA-MAN.

PAY.

A private man, for each day he is employed in the militia, ſhall receive one ſhilling. There ſhall be one corporal to every twenty private men, who ſhall be paid one ſhilling and ſix-pence every day he is employed.

Out of the private men, vacancies, on the death or removal of ſerjeants, may be filled up, in the proportion of one to every twenty private men;

Who are in that caſe diſcharged from ſerving as ſuch,

And ſhall have the pay of a ſerjeant, viz. every day in the year one ſhilling.

The ſerjeant-major muſt be made out of the ſerjeants, and ſhall be paid two ſhillings and ſix-pence more a week.

PRIVILEGES.

No militia-man can be compelled to march out of the kingdom;

Nor be obliged to go above ſix miles from home, to perform exerciſe, in companies or half companies;

Nor be detained, on days of exerciſe, longer than ſix hours; or under arms, without refreſhment, more than two hours.

He ſhall be dieted and billeted at public houſes, paying for diet and ſmall beer, four-pence each day.

Having ſerved three years, he may retain his cloaths.

He ſhall be exempted from doing any highway duty, or ſerving as a peace officer, or pariſh officer.

He ſhall not be liable to ſerve, unleſs by conſent, in any of his majeſty's land or ſea forces.

Having been called out into actual ſervice, and being a married man, he may ſet up any trade in any town. Diſabled by ſickneſs on a march, or at a place of annual exerciſe, he ſhall be provided for (by an order from one juſtice of the peace, or magiſtrate) by the officers of the pariſh where he ſhall then be, who ſhall be reimburſed by the officers of the pariſh for which he ſhall ſerve.

If ordered out on actual ſervice, he ſhall receive a guinea before the day he is ordered to march.

If ordered out, leaving a family not of ability to ſupport themſelves, the pariſh officers where ſuch family reſides ſhall relieve them by a weekly allowance, until his return, and be reimburſed out of the county ſtock.

Having ſerved three years, he ſhall not be liable to ſerve again, until by rotation it comes to his turn.

Being thirty-five years of age, and having ſerved two years, or on ſhewing juſt cauſe, he may be diſcharged;

And at any time he may be diſcharged by ſubdiviſion meetings.

If maimed or wounded in actual ſervice, he ſhall be equally entitled to Chelſea-hoſpital with any other ſoldier belonging to his majeſty's other forces.

Pariſhes may offer, and deputy-lieutenants may accept volunteers, inſtead of thoſe choſen by lot.

DUTY.

Every militia-man ſhall appear at the ſubdiviſion-meeting, on notice, and be inrolled to ſerve for three years, or find a ſubſtitute.

He ſhall be exerciſed in half companies, on the firſt Mondays in the months of March, April, May, June, July, Auguſt, September, and October.

In whole companies, on the third Monday in the ſaid months.

And if they cannot be exerciſed in half companies, by reaſon of the diſtance, then in ſmaller bodies; and

In regiments, or battalions, on Tueſday, Wedneſday, Thurſday, and Friday, in Whitſun-week.

The days of exerciſe may be altered to any other day in the ſame week, Sunday excepted.

The two days in any one month, in harveſt, may be changed to Tueſday and Wedneſday in Eaſter-week.

If any day is inconvenient, on account of fairs and markets, it may be altered to any other day in the ſame week, except Sundays.

Notice of the ſeveral places of exerciſe ſhall be fixed on the church or chapel doors of the pariſhes reſpectively; or, in caſe of no church or chapel, on the door of ſome church or chapel next adjoining.

After exerciſe, every man ſhall clean and return his arms, cloaths, and accoutrements.

Changing his reſidence, he ſhall ſerve in the diviſion he ſhall remove to, on giving previous notice

to the deputy-lieutenants, and receiving a certificate from them.

And, in case of invasion, imminent danger thereof, or a rebellion, he may be drawn out for actual service, and in such case only, and in this kingdom only, and not elsewhere.

By the numerous armies which the French were now preparing to send into Germany, to assist the empress-queen against the king of Prussia, it was apparent that the electorate of Hanover would be exposed to their hostilities: to prevent which it was judged necessary to form an army of observation, to act as occasion should require on the frontiers of his majesty's German dominions, to protect them from the insults of the enemy. Accordingly, a message was delivered, February 15, by the king to Mr. secretary Pitt, to be by him presented to the house of commons, signifying, "that it was always with reluctance his majesty asked any extraordinary supply of his people; but that as the united counsels and formidable preparations of France and her allies threaten with the most alarming consequences Europe in general; and that as these most unjust and vindictive designs were particularly and immediately bent against his majesty's electoral dominions, and those of his good ally the king of Prussia, his majesty does confide in the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful commons, that they would chearfully assist him in forming and maintaining an army of observation for the just and necessary defence and preservation thereof, and to enable his majesty to fulfil his engagements with the king of Prussia for the security of the empire against the irruption of foreign armies, and for the support of the common cause."

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who had been ſecretary of ſtate, but diſplaced to make room for Mr. Pitt, was gratified with the lucrative office of paymaſter-general of the forces; but no gentleman could be prevailed upon to ſucceed Mr. Pitt in his employment; and indeed it was at this time a very tickliſh poſt: the ſtrain of popular favour ran with ſuch vehemence on the ſide of the latter, and his colleague Mr. Legge, that it required a perſon of the moſt diſtinguiſhed abilities to give common ſatisfaction in the management of national affairs. In the mean time, the people, who idolized the now diſplaced miniſters, ſeemed to vie in diſplaying their reſpect and affection for them, which was immediately ſhewn by preſentations of freedoms from a number of the moſt populous and opulent corporations, with addreſſes of thanks to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge for their integrity and ſervices, incloſed in gold boxes, and other elegant materials, enriched with emblems conveying the ſentiments of national approbation. But as I ſhall have occaſion again to touch upon this head, I ſhall ſay no more at preſent, but reſume the account of parliamentary proceedings, and continue them to the end of the ſeſſion, to preſerve entire the connection of the many other intereſting events, as well foreign as domeſtic, that diſtinguiſhed this year.

It muſt be acknowleged, to the honour of this parliament, that they were in general extremely ready to adopt any ſcheme that ſeemed calculated for the intereſt of the nation. The ſociety of the Free Britiſh Fiſhery preſented a petition, importing, "That having been obliged, in the infancy of their undertaking, to incur a much larger expence than was at that time foreſeen, they now found themſelves ſuch conſiderable loſers, as to be utterly incapable of carrying on the fiſheries with any proſpect of ſucceſs, unleſs aſſiſted by farther bounty from parliament; that they therefore hoped, that, for the proſecution of the fiſheries, they might have liberty to make uſe of ſuch nets as they ſhould find beſt adapted to the ſaid fiſheries, each buſs carrying to ſea the ſame quantity and depth of netting which, by the fiſhery acts, they were then bound to carry; that the bounty of thirty ſhillings per ton, allowed by the ſaid acts on the veſſels employed in the fiſhery, might be increaſed; and that, inaſmuch as many of the ſtock-proprietors were unable to advance any farther ſum for carrying on this branch of commerce; and others unwilling, in the preſent ſituation, and under the preſent reſtraint, to venture any further ſum in the undertaking; that the ſtock of the ſociety, by the ſaid acts made unalienable, except in caſe of death or bankruptcy, for a term of years, might forthwith be made transferable; and that the petitioners might be at liberty, between the intervals of the fiſhing ſeaſons, to employ the buſſes in ſuch a manner as they ſhould find for the intereſt of the ſociety."

The houſe having taken the ſubſtance of this petition into conſideration, granted the ſeveral requeſts therein contained, and augmented the bounty of thirty ſhillings per ton to fifty. About the ſame time, and in conſequence of a petition preſented by the city of London, a bill was prepared and paſſed into a law, for the more effectual preſervation and improvement of the fry and ſpawn of fiſh in the river of Thames and water of Medway; and for the better regulating the fiſhery in theſe rivers. The two next meaſures adopted by the parliament which merit our notice were, firſt, a bill for the relief of the poor and diſtreſſed ſilk manufacturers, who were deprived of all employment, and conſequently of the means of ſubſiſtence, through the interruption of the Levant trade, occaſioned by the war, and the delay of the merchant ſhips from Italy. By this bill, therefore, liberty was given to any perſons to import from any place, in any ſhip or veſſel whatever, till the firſt day of December 1757, organzine thrown ſilk, of the growth or produce of Italy, to be brought to the cuſtom-houſe of London whereſoever landed; but that no Italian thrown ſilk coarſer than that of Bologna, nor any tram of the growth of Italy, nor any thrown ſilk of the growth or produce of Turky, Perſia, Eaſt India, or China, ſhould be imported by this act, on pain of forfeiting the commodity. This bill was doubtleſs a deviation from the famous act of navigation, and was remonſtrated againſt as ſuch by petitions from divers merchants and importers of raw ſilk, and others, who thought their intereſts hurt by it; but the parliament overlooked this temporary inconvenience, for the ſake of furniſhing a preſent ſupply to the poor manufacturers, who were actually reduced to the loweſt depth of diſtreſs.

Such were the miſeries which the poor had ſuffered, both the laſt year and this, by the exceſſive price of corn, that it had driven them into repeated riots in different parts of the kingdom; and in many inſtances the behaviour of the rioters had been deſtructive of all law and ſociety. Nevertheleſs, as it was notorious that the frauds of foreſtallers and engroſſers had in great meaſure occaſioned the ſcarcity, the government was very ſparing of puniſhment towards the ill-judging authors of theſe tumults; and the parliament taking this affair into their conſideration, reſolved to apply ſuch a remedy as appeared to them moſt likely to prevent the return of this national calamity; and a bill was brought into the houſe of commons, to explain and amend the laws againſt regrators, foreſtallers, and engroſſers of corn. Enquiry was alſo made into the abuſes of millers and bakers, with regard to bread, who were accuſed of having adulterated this indiſpenſible neceſſary of life with common whiting, lime, allum, and other ingredients pernicious to the human conſtitution.

But the moſt intereſting meaſure purſued by the houſe of commons during this ſeſſion, and that which at once moſt excited the attention, and flattered the wiſhes of the people, was the enquiry into the loſs of Minorca, which had raiſed ſuch univerſal clamour throughout the nation. Pretty early in the ſeſſion the commons addreſſed his majeſty, That he would be pleaſed to order to be laid before them copies of all the letters and papers, containing any intelligence received by the ſecretaries of ſtate, the commiſſioners of the admiralty, or any others of his majeſty's miniſters, in relation to the equipment of the French fleet at Toulon, or the deſigns of the French on Minorca, or any other of his majeſty's poſſeſſions in Europe, ſince the firſt day of January 1755, to the firſt day of laſt Auguſt. They likewiſe begged leave to peruſe a liſt of the ſhips of war that were equipped and made ready for ſea, from the 1ſt of Auguſt 1755, to the 30th

day of April in the following year; with the copies of all ſailing orders ſent to the commanders during that period; as alſo the ſtate and condition of his majeſty's ſhips in the ſeveral ports of Great Britain, at the time of admiral Byng's departure, with the ſquadron under his command, for the relief of Fort St. Philip, during the period abovementioned, according to the monthly returns made to the admiralty, with the number of ſeamen muſtered and borne on board the reſpective ſhips. They demanded copies of all orders and inſtructions given to that admiral, and of letters written to and received from him, during his continuance in that command, either by the ſecretaries of ſtate or lords of the admiralty, relating to the condition of his ſquadron, and to the execution of his orders. In a word, they required the inſpection of all papers which could in any manner tend to explain the loſs of Minorca, and the miſcarriage of Mr. Byng's ſquadron.

To theſe addreſſes his majeſty moſt graciouſly gave his acquieſcence; but they whoſe ſafety depended upon intricacy, confuſion, and a majority, which they ſpared no arts of whatever kind to obtain, ſo managed, that this enquiry was committed to the whole houſe, and the papers were ſwelled into ſuch a prepoſterous number, that it required more time than a whole ſeſſion of parliament would allow. However, the proceedings of the miniſtry received the protection of a parliamentary approbation, though this could by no means ſilence the murmurings of the people, who expected at leaſt that the examinations that came before the committee, in the courſe of their enquiry into this important affair, and their proceedings in conſequence thereof, would have been made public; but in this they were all diſappointed. However, it muſt be confeſſed, that the readineſs his majeſty ſhewed to gratify his people by ſifting this ſhameful affair to the bottom, and the exemplary, though perhaps ſevere puniſhment inflicted upon the ſuppoſed author of our naval diſgrace in the Mediterranean, without any regard paid to family, former ſervices, or even favourable circumſtances, ſtruck terror into our commanders both by ſea and land, who were now clearly convinced, that they could hope for no countenance from their ſovereign, ſhould they betray a timorous or inactive conduct in the day of trial. Thus it was the means of reviving that courage and vigour for which Britons had been ſo long and ſo juſtly famous, and greatly damped the ſpirits of our boaſting enemy, whoſe valour had ariſen only from our timidity, and whoſe ſucceſs was owing to our negligence.

On the fourth day of July, the ſeſſion was cloſed with a ſpeech from the throne, wherein his majeſty was pleaſed to aſſure the parliament, that the ſuccour and preſervation of America had been his conſtant care, and, next to the ſecurity of his kingdoms, ſhould continue to be his great and principal object: that he had taken ſuch meaſures, as, he truſted, by the bleſſing of God, would effectually diſappoint the deſigns of the enemy in thoſe parts: that he had no farther view but to vindicate the juſt rights of his crown and ſubjects from the moſt injurious encroachments; to preſerve tranquility, as far as the circumſtances of things might admit; and to prevent the true friends of Britain, and the liberties of Europe, from being oppreſſed and endangered by any unprovoked and unnatural conjunction.

We now come to another change or rather ſettlement in the miniſtry; and indeed, it was high time that this material point ſhould be adjuſted, as our councils had been for ſome time in a continual fluctuation, ſo that no ſchemes could be purſued, no enterpriſe of moment undertaken for the good of the nation. Three months and upwards had elapſed in this uncertainty; the trading part of the kingdom in general wiſhed to ſee Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge replaced in their former ſtations; but the other party, I mean the old miniſtry, could not bear the thoughts of ſeeing the higheſt and moſt lucrative places of the ſtate occupied by thoſe who were the only means of turning them out. Long and warm was the conteſt betwixt them, which perhaps would not have ended without ſome terrible convulſion in the ſtate, had not ſome leading men, of moderate principles, interpoſed with their ſalutary advice, which was, for both parties to conſent to a compromiſe, and by taking in ſome of each, to form a coalition. This was a prudent and well-judged expedient, as it offered the only poſſible means of allaying the rage of faction, and healing thoſe diviſions which were likely to prove more pernicious to the public than were the miſtaken conduct and counſels that had been ſo much complained of. This expedient being approved of and adopted, his majeſty, in conſequence thereof, was pleaſed to reſtore the ſeals to Mr. Pitt, appointing him ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department, on the twentieth day of June, and five days after, Mr. Legge was reinſtated in the office of chancellor of the exchequer, promotions that afforded univerſal ſatisfaction: ſir Robert Henley was made lord keeper of the great ſeal on the thirtieth day of June; the cuſtody of the privy ſeal was committed to lord Temple; a new board of Treaſury was appointed with the duke of Newcaſtle at the head; and lord Anſon was appointed the firſt lord of the admiralty; the earl of Thomond was made treaſurer of the king's houſhold, and Mr. Fox paymaſter general: in a word, the royal favour was ſo equally diſtributed, that all animoſities being now forgot, and former irregularities buried in oblivion, all parties ſeemed to harmonize in one view, the public good; which happy diſpoſition produced effects far exceeding the moſt ſanguine expectations, and this prudent arrangement was highly applauded by all who were not under the influence of violent attachment to party, or a narrow and excluſive ſpirit.

Having given this ſuccinct view of the ſtate of the adminiſtration at home, let us now turn our eyes to the continent, where we ſhall find the beginning of this year marked with a ſtriking inſtance of the dreadful effects of frantic enthuſiaſm, in the attempt made upon the life of the king of France, on the fifth day of January, at Verſailles, in preſence of his ſon the dauphin, and ſurrounded by his guards and all the great officers of the crown. This extraordinary affair happened in the following manner:

A wretch of the dregs of the people, named Robert Francis Damien, born in a little village in the neighbourhood of Arras, had lived a conſiderable time as a ſervant with ſeveral families in Paris, but had been ſucceſſively diſmiſſed from his places on account

account of a paſſionate and gloomy diſpoſition, which approached to a degree of madneſs. The general murmurings which he had heard about the baniſhing the parliament, on account of the diſputes concerning the adminiſtring the ſacraments, had heated his indignation: it ſeems he had no deſign to kill the king, which indeed he might eaſily have done, but only to wound him, in order (to make uſe of his own words at the time of his trial) that God might touch his majeſty's heart, and work on him to reſtore them to their former footing. The archbiſhop of Paris, he ſaid, was the ſole cauſe of all theſe troubles; and that, for his part, the only motive that urged him to the commiſſion of this act was "for religion's ſake." All thoſe who have attempted the lives of chriſtian princes, have made uſe of this pretext: it is ſufficiently known that Henry III. and IV. of France fell by the hands of fanatics, but there was this difference between them and Lewis XV. that they were murdered becauſe they appeared to be enemies to the pope, and Lewis was ſtabbed for having ſeemed deſirous to oblige the pope.

The aſſaſſin had provided himſelf with a claſp knife, one ſide of which had a long ſharp-pointed blade, and the other was to cut pens with, and was about four inches long: he waited for the inſtant the king was to get into his coach to go to Trianon. It was near ſix o'clock in the evening, the day was ſhut in, the weather was exceſſively cold, ſo that almoſt all the court were wrapped up in large cloaks. The villain, who wore a large cloak alſo, puſhes through the guards, bruſhes the dauphin as he paſſes by him, gets in between the body guard and the king, who was juſt ſtepping into his coach, ſtrikes him with his penknife in the right ſide, between the fourth and fifth ribs, returns his knife into his pocket again, and remains upon the ſpot with his hat upon his head. The king finding himſelf wounded, turned about, and ſeeing a ſtrange man ſtanding cloſe by him, with his hat on, and his eyes ſtaring wildly, cried out, "I am wounded! ſtop that man, but do not hurt him."

Happily the king's wound was but ſlight; however, as there remained ſuſpicion that the inſtrument might have been poiſoned, ſeveral experiments were made upon animals, all of which ſerved to relieve the people from their apprehenſions. As for Damien, he made no attempt to eſcape, but ſuffered himſelf quietly to be ſeized; he was conveyed to priſon, and ſoon brought to his trial, when all his anſwers ſerved to diſcover that he was in an abſolute ſtate of inſanity, and what was the cauſe of his madneſs; it was evident, that the king's treatment of the parliament, and the complaints both they and the public made againſt the archbiſhop of Paris, had turned the brain of the criminal, and ſtirred him up to this attempt. The unhappy wretch was afterwards put to the torture, in order to extort a confeſſion, if he had any accomplices; but notwithſtanding every ſpecies of cruelty that human invention could deviſe was practiſed upon him, it had no effect; no ſufferings being ſufficient to make him break ſilence. To render his puniſhment more public, he was conveyed to Paris, there to undergo a repetition of all his former tortures, a relation of which would be equally foreign to our purpoſe and diſagreeable to our inclination; ſuffice it to ſay, that his miſeries were at length terminated by being drawn aſunder by four young and vigorous horſes; after which, his body and limbs were reduced to aſhes under the ſcaffold; his father, wife, daughter, and family, baniſhed the kingdom for ever; the name of Damien effaced and obliterated, and the innocent involved in the puniſhment of the guilty.

Lewis had no ſooner recovered, than in order the more effectually to fulfil his engagements with the empreſs queen, he raiſed two great armies. The firſt of theſe, conſiſting of eighty thouſand men, the choiceſt troops of France, were put under the command of M. d'Eſtrées, a general of great reputation, under whom ſerved M. de Contades, M. Chevert, the count de St. Germain, all officers of diſtinguiſhed bravery and abilities. This formidable army croſſed the Rhine early in the ſpring, marched by Weſtphalia, ſeized upon the town of Embden, and whatever belonged to the king of Pruſſia in Eaſt Frieſland, and by ſlow marches made the beſt diſpoſitions to over-run Hanover. M. d'Etrées fixed upon Munſter for his head-quarters.

The other army of the French conſiſted of twenty-five thouſand men, under the command of the prince de Soubiſe, and was deſtined to join the imperial army acting againſt the king of Pruſſia and his allies; and before Soubiſe paſſed the Rhine, he took poſſeſſion of ſeveral places belonging to the king of Pruſſia in the Low Countries.

In the mean time the empreſs of Ruſſia, true to her engagements with her imperial ſiſter, diſpatched one hundred and thirty thouſand of her troops to her aſſiſtance, under the command of general count Apraxin, who began his march in the month of November of the preceding year 1756, and advanced to the borders of Lithuania, with a view particularly to invade Ducal Pruſſia, while a very ſtrong fleet was equipped in the Baltic, to act in concert with this numerous army.

The Auſtrian army aſſembled in Bohemia, conſiſted of upwards of an hundred thouſand men, headed by prince Charles of Lorraine and marſhal Brown. The Swedes, though their king was allied in blood and inclination to his Pruſſian majeſty, were very inclinable to accede to the general confederacy againſt him; and the duke of Mecklenburgh embraced the ſame party, and engaged to join the Swediſh army, whenever it ſhould be aſſembled, with ſix thouſand men. The deſtruction of his Pruſſian majeſty now ſeemed ſo certain, that the Aulic council no longer kept any meaſures, but openly declared him to have incurred the ban of the empire in his quality of elector of Brandenburgh, and to have forfeited all his rights, privileges, immunities, &c.

Frederick, thus ſurrounded on all ſides by enemies, did not however loſe for an inſtant that courage and prudence which have ever diſtinguiſhed him in all his ſituations, and have gained him the admiration of all Europe. He ordered Mr. Henouin, the French miniſter at Dreſden, to depart that city; and having thrown two bridges over the Elbe, early in the ſpring he commanded the ſeveral diſtricts of the electorate of Saxony to furniſh him with great numbers of waggons, each drawn by four horſes; the circles of Miſnia and Leipſic were required to provide four hundred each, and the other circles in proportion: and as he was well informed, that the alarming progreſs of the Ruſſian troops was ſtopped, by the want of proviſions and of forage, he adhered to the wiſe maxim he had always adopted, of removing the ſeat of war as far as poſſible from his

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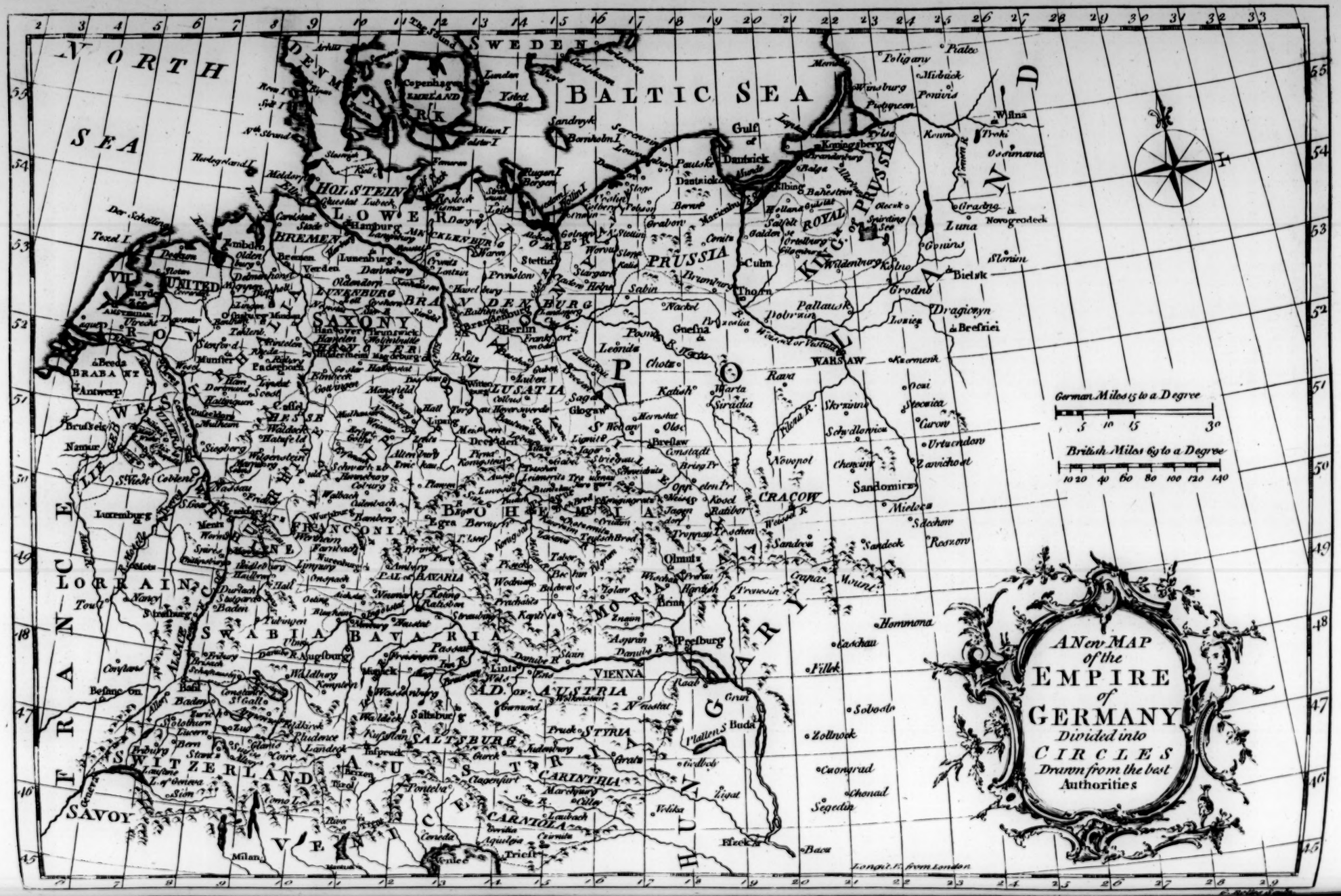
A New MAP of the EMPIRE of GERMANY Divided into CIRCLES Drawn from the best Authorities
German Miles 15 to a Degree
5 10 15 30
British Miles 69 to a Degree
10 20 40 60 80 100 120 140
BALTIC SEA
NORTH SEA
SWEDEN
DENMARK
HOLSTEIN
LOWER SAXONY
BRANDENBURG
PRUSSIA
ROYAL PRUSSIA
POLAND
WARSAW
UNITED PROVINCES
BRABANT
WESTPHALIA
HESSE
LUSATIA
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
FRANCONIA
LORRAINE
SWABIA
BAVARIA
AUSTRIA
VIENNA
SALTZBURG
STYRIA
CARINTHIA
CARNIOLA
SWITZERLAND
SAVOY
VENICE
HUNGARY
CRACOW
Longit. E. from London

own dominions, and determined to carry it into Bohemia, there to attack the Auſtrians with his united force.

With this view he ordered his armies in Saxony, Miſnia, Luſatia, and Sileſia, to enter Bohemia in four different places at the ſame time; the firſt body or grand army he took under his own command, attended by marſhal Keith; the ſecond was commanded by prince Maurice of Anhalt Deſſau; the third by prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick Bevern; and the fourth by that gallant and experienced general marſhal Schwerin. All theſe armies began to move the ſame day, viz. April the eighth; and the deſign was ſo well concealed, and their ſeveral routes ſo wiſely directed, that they entered Bohemia almoſt without oppoſition, the Auſtrians never ſuſpecting the leaſt of ſuch a viſit, till the Pruſſians were conſiderably paſſed the frontiers.

To deceive the Auſtrians, the king diſpatched the prince of Bevern with his army towards Egra. From this appearance the enemy judged, that though he deſigned the Bevern and Schwerin armies ſhould penetrate into Bohemia, yet he did not intend to join them with his own; and ſeeing the Pruſſian troops thus divided, M. Brown ſent a conſiderable detachment, under the command of general Aremberg, to oppoſe the corps marching towards Egra. This event the king of Pruſſia had foreſeen, and was prepared for it; for by a ſudden motion towards the left, he cut off all communication between Aremberg's detachment and the main army. The Auſtrians, however, did not perceive the king's view, but exulted in an event which was the certain prelude to their own deſtruction. They miſtook this ſtroke of generalſhip for a retreat, and confidently gave out that the Pruſſians were fled.

Mean while, the prince of Bevern advancing at the head of his army from his quarters of cantonment near Zittau in Luſatia, made himſelf maſter without the leaſt oppoſition of the firſt poſt of Bohemia, at Krottau and Grottenſtein, drove away the enemy from Kratzow, and continued his route towards Reichemberg, where the enemy's army, conſiſting of twenty-eight thouſand men, commanded by count Koniglег, was poſted. This brought on an action on the twenty-firſt of April, which redounded highly to the honour of the prince of Bevern; for though there were many defiles in his way, and the enemy was in poſſeſſion of ſeveral advantageous eminences, he gained a complete victory, driving the enemy before him above a mile. This action began at ſix o'clock in the morning, and laſted five hours. The loſs of the enemy was ſaid to amount to 1000 killed and wounded, twenty of them officers; 400 ſoldiers were taken priſoners, and three ſtandards remained with the victors, who on their ſide had only ſeven ſubaltern officers, and one hundred rank and file, killed; one general, ſixteen other officers, and about one hundred and fifty rank and file, wounded.

Marſhal Schwerin's army marched with incredible expedition, and reached Koningſhorff, on the Elbe, the twentieth. He entered Bohemia in five different places at once, and found the inhabitants in the utmoſt conſternation. The enemy immediately filled the dangerous defile of Gulder Ouſſel with Pandours, to diſpute his progreſs in Bohemia; but they were defeated as ſoon as diſcovered. A conſiderable magazine, conſiſting of forty thouſand buſhels of oats, and two thouſand barrels of meal, was ſeized at Jung Buntzlau. The Auſtrians every where fled before him; and he joined the prince of Bevern almoſt without loſs, making himſelf maſter of the circle of Buntzlau; and the neighbouring country ſubmitted to the Pruſſians almoſt without oppoſition. The prince of Anhalt Deſſau with his corps drew near the king of Pruſſia's army.

Mean while the king, at the head of the principal army, moved along the Elbe, and after paſſing the Eger, advanced to Budin; whence the Auſtrians, who had an advantageous camp there, withdrew to Waſtwarn, half way between Budin and Prague; and as his majeſty thought, from the motions of count Brown, that the Auſtrians would make a ſtand at the plain of Giffchen, he paſſed the Moldau at the head of thirty thouſand men, leaving the command of the reſt of the army under the command of the prince of Anhalt Deſſau.

I have already obſerved, that by a ſudden and maſterly movement, his majeſty had cut off all communication between the detachment of twenty thouſand men, which had been ſent to watch his motions, under count Aremberg, and the main army of the Auſtrians. Having gained this advantage, to weaken the enemy, the latter became more cautious; and though they had been reinforced by an army from Moravia, by the remains of the troops lately defeated by the prince of Bevern, and by ſeveral regiments of the garriſon of Prague, ſo that they were now near one hundred thouſand ſtrong; yet, inſtead of marching in queſt of the invaders, to prevent their uniting, prince Charles of Lorraine and count Brown reſolved to wait their approach, having ſtrongly intrenched themſelves on the banks of the Moldau, to the north of Prague, in a camp ſo fortified by every advantage of nature and art, as to be deemed almoſt impregnable. The left wing of the Auſtrians was ſecured by the mountains of Ziſcka, and the right extended as far as Herboholi.

The vivacity of the Pruſſian hero was not, however, to be damped by theſe difficulties. Being joined, immediately on his croſſing the Moldau, by the troops under marſhal Schwerin and the prince of Bevern, according to the excellent diſpoſitions he had made for that purpoſe, he reſolved to attack the enemy in their camp with theſe united forces the ſame day, being the ſixth of May. Accordingly, orders were given for the army to file off on the left of Potſchernitz, in order to execute this deſign. Upon this motion of the Pruſſians, count Brown was obliged to wheel to the right, to avoid being flanked. The Pruſſians continued their march to Bichowitz, traverſing ſeveral defiles and moraſſes, which for a little while ſeparated the infantry from the reſt of the army; and they having begun the attack with too much precipitation, were at firſt repulſed. Here that brave general, marſhal Schwerin, received a mortal wound as he was encouraging the men, and died at the age of eighty-two, covered with military honour, and deeply regretted by his ſovereign and the whole army. The infantry which had been ſeparated in their march being now rejoined, made a freſh attack on the enemy's right wing, and entirely broke it; while the cavalry on the left, after

three charges, compelled all the Auſtrian horſe in their right wing to retire in great confuſion; the Pruſſian troops in the center then attacked and entirely routed that of the enemy. The left wing of the Pruſſian army now advanced towards Michely, and being there joined by the horſe, renewed their attack on the Auſtrians, who were retreating towards Saſzawa. In the mean time, the troops on the right attacked the remains of the left wing of the Auſtrians, and made themſelves maſters of three batteries. But the behaviour of the infantry in the laſt attack was ſo courageous, as to leave little to be done by this part of the cavalry.

Prince Henry of Pruſſia and the prince of Bevern performed wonders, taking from the enemy, ſword in hand, two of their batteries; and prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic took the left wing of the Auſtrians in flank, while the king with his left, a body of cavalry, ſecured the paſſage of the Moldau. In a word, after a very long and obſtinate diſpute, and many ſignal examples of valour, the enemy was forced to abandon the field of battle, leaving behind them the greateſt part of their baggage, and indeed their whole camp. The remains of their left wing, to the amount of ten or twelve thouſand men, fled toward Benetſchau, where they were afterwards aſſembled by M. Pretlach, general of horſe. The infantry retired towards Prague, with their commanders prince Charles of Lorraine and marſhal Brown; but they were greatly harraſſed in their retreat by a detachment of the Pruſſians under M. Keith. The number of the priſoners taken on this occaſion by the victors amounted to four thouſand, thirty of whom were officers of diſtinction. Their loſs amounted to about two thouſand killed and three thouſand wounded. Among the former, beſides M. Schwerin, were the prince of Holſtein Beck, one other general, and three colonels; among the latter, five generals. The number of the killed and wounded on the ſide of the Auſtrians was much greater. Marſhal Brown received a wound which, from the chagrin he ſuffered, proved mortal ſoon after.

As the greateſt part of the Auſtrian army, ſoon after their defeat, retreated and took ſhelter in Prague, that large city was preſently inveſted by the victorious Pruſſians, commanded by their king on the ſide of the Moldau, and by marſhal Keith on the other. In four days the whole city was ſurrounded with lines and entrenchments, by which all communication from without was entirely cut off, and about forty-eight thouſand Auſtrians incloſed within the walls, with prince Charles of Lorraine, marſhal Brown, the two princes of Saxony, and moſt of their chief generals.

Every thing remained quiet on both ſides, ſcarce a ſingle cannon being fired for ſome time after the blockade was formed. The Auſtrian general, however, in order to eaſe the city of the multitude of forces cooped up uſeleſs within the walls, ſerving only to conſume the proviſions, formed a deſign to attack the Pruſſian army in the night, and, if poſſible, cut a way through the camp of the beſiegers. With this view, in the night between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of May, the Auſtrians made a furious ſally with 12,000 men, commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine in perſon, and attacked the Pruſſians on the ſide of marſhal Keith's quarters at Weiſſenberg. Happily his Pruſſian majeſty had received intelligence of the enemy's deſign by a deſerter that very afternoon, and was prepared for their viſit; ſo that the Auſtrians found the attack turned upon themſelves, and were forced to retreat into the town with very conſiderable loſs. On the twenty-ninth, the Pruſſian artillery being arrived, they began to batter and bombard the town in a moſt furious manner, which they continued without intermiſſion till the eighteenth of June, whereby the city was reduced to a heap of rubbiſh, and the inhabitants and numerous garriſon were reduced to ſuch diſtreſs for proviſions, that they were obliged to ſubſiſt upon horſe-fleſh. The Pruſſian monarch and his army now ſhared in imagination the ſpoils of the ancient and illuſtrious houſe of Auſtria, whoſe affairs were indeed in a moſt deſperate ſituation. The diſtance from Prague to the archduchy of Auſtria was not very conſiderable, and ſecured only by the Danube. Vienna trembled leſt ſhe ſhould next experience the horrors of a ſiege; and all the empreſs-queen's hereditary dominions lay open and expoſed.

In this critical ſtate of affairs the empreſs-queen appointed Leopold count Daun to the command of the Auſtrian forces. This general had never commanded in chief before, but had acquired great experience under the beſt officers in Europe, particularly the great Khevenhuller, who was extremely fond of him. He was cautious, ſteady, penetrating, and ſagacious: he never truſted that to hazard which could be effected by a prudent delay: he was circumſpect in all his meaſures, and impenetrable in his deſigns. Such was the general on whom the court of Vienna now caſt its eyes, as the propereſt perſon to ſtem the torrent of diſgrace that had well-nigh overwhelmed its arms, to ſave his country from ruin, and by his prudence and cautiouſneſs to check the fire and vigour of the Pruſſian monarch, who, ſetting no bounds to his ambition and arms, ſeemed to truſt all to his good fortune and military ſkill.

Count Daun arriving at Boemiſchrod, within a few miles of Prague, the day after the defeat of the grand army, he began to collect the fugitive corps that had fled from the fate of that day; and ſoon aſſembled a force ſo conſiderable as to attract the attention of his Pruſſian majeſty, who detached the prince of Bevern with twenty battalions and thirty ſquadrons to obſerve his motions, and with orders to attack him before his numbers ſhould become too formidable: but Daun acted on more ſure principles than to ſtake the ruin of a cauſe he was ſent to retrieve, on the chance of a battle, with troops that were ſunk in diſgrace, and in want almoſt of every neceſſary, againſt an army flushed with victory, and abounding with all conveniencies for ſubſiſtence and action. Accordingly, he no ſooner heard that the prince of Bevern was on his march towards him, than he retreated to the Elbe, and intrenched himſelf ſtrongly in a camp at Malleſchau near Kolin, opened a way for the daily ſupply of recruits ſent to his army, and by this conduct and ſituation inſpired the garriſon of Prague with freſh courage, who expected ſoon to be relieved.

In the mean time the king of Pruſſia, diſtracted with impatience at the length of the ſiege of Prague, whoſe ſurrender within a few days after

being inveſted he had looked upon as certain; and finding that count Daun's army was daily increaſing, and would ſoon be able not only to oppoſe the detachment under the prince of Bevern, but even in a condition to raiſe the ſiege; reſolved to march and give the count battle with one part of his army, while he kept Prague blocked up with the other. Marſhal Keith remonſtrated earneſtly againſt this meaſure, and adviſed him to wait for the Auſtrians attempting to raiſe the ſiege, as thirty-two thouſand men, which was the whole number ſet apart by the king for that ſervice, was a very inadequate force to attack an army of ſixty thouſand men (for ſo many did Daun by this time count under him) commanded by a brave and experienced general. Impetuous in valour, and blinded with his amazing ſucceſſes, Frederic rejected this ſage counſel, bid defiance to all oppoſition, and on the thirteenth of June quitted the camp before Prague, eſcorted by a few battalions and ſquadrons, with which he joined the prince of Bevern's army at Milkowitz. After this junction the king advanced on the eighteenth towards Kolin, in the neighbourhood of which count Daun had his camp, defended by a prodigious train of artillery which he had cauſed to be brought from Olmutz, and had placed on redoubts and batteries erected on the moſt advantageous poſts, with lines and heavy pieces of cannon at every acceſſible part of the camp.

When the Pruſſians came in ſight of the enemy, they found them drawn up in three lines, on a very high ground, between Genlitz and St. John the Baptiſt, which was rendered almoſt inacceſſible by ſeveral difficult defiles that ran along the foot of the hills. Notwithſtanding this advantageous poſition, his majeſty began the attack between two and three in the afternoon, and made himſelf maſter of two eminences, on which were the enemy's principal batteries, and two villages defended with infantry; but could not force the third poſt, the fire of the enemy was ſo violent, though they returned ſeven times ſucceſſively to the charge, led on by that valiant ſoldier and great general prince Ferdinand: but as their cavalry could not act in their ſupport, they were obliged to give it up. The king was now in an agony of deſpair at the fatal conſequences that were likely to attend his precipitate reſolution, taken contrary to the good advice of a faithful ſervant, whoſe valour was tutored by experience. He reſolved, however, to make one more furious effort to retrieve, if poſſible, the diſgrace he had ſuſtained. With this reſolution, he put himſelf at the head of his cavalry, and attacked the left wing of the enemy with the greateſt bravery, expoſing his perſon in the moſt perilous ſituations, in order to animate his men: but his was a loſt cauſe; the enemy repulſed all his efforts. Fortune however befriended him ſo far, that he drew off his forces, with all his baggage and artillery, in good order, in ſight of the enemy, without their making one attempt to purſue him. Thus ended an action that might more properly be called a carnage than a battle, both armies loſing a prodigious number of men. The Pruſſians had upwards of eight thouſand killed and wounded, and a great number were made priſoners or deſerted. The Auſtrians had above ten thouſand killed and wounded.

Having ſeen his army make good their retreat, the king of Pruſſia's next and immediate care was to prevent the bad effects of this day's work, ſhould the news thereof reach Prague before he could take proper meaſures to ſecure that part of his troops, artillery, &c. employed in the ſiege of that city. Therefore, though he had been on horſeback all day, and preſent at every attack, he left his army at Nimburg, under the command of the prince of Bevern, and with an eſcort of twelve or fourteen huſſars only ſet out for Prague, where he arrived next morning, and immediately gave orders for ſending off all his artillery, ammunition, and baggage, which were all ſafely withdrawn; and the troops had begun their retreat before the Auſtrians in the city heard of the battle; but when they ſaw the Pruſſians retiring, a large body of them ſallied out under the command of prince Charles of Lorraine (marſhal Brown being by this time dead of his wounds) and came up with the rear of the Pruſſians, but found it ſo well covered that they could do very little execution.

Count Daun now entered the city of Prague, amidſt the loud acclamations of the impriſoned Auſtrians, who received him as their deliverer; and the united forces of the imperial generals being now greatly ſuperior to thoſe of the king of Pruſſia, that prince was in a ſhort time obliged to evacuate Bohemia and retire into Saxony. The king attributed the loſs of the battle of Kolin wholly to himſelf. The candour with which he acknowleged his miſtake is ſo extraordinary in a king and a conqueror, that I am perſuaded the reader will not be diſpleaſed to hear it in his majeſty's own words, in a letter to the earl Mariſchal, which alſo gives the beſt narrative and proof of this affair. He firſt does juſtice to the valour of his enemy: "The imperial grenadiers, ſays he, are a noble corps: one hundred companies defended a riſing ground which my beſt infantry could not carry. Ferdinand, who commanded them, returned ſeven times to the charge; but to no purpoſe. At firſt he maſtered a battery, but could not hold it. The enemy had the advantage of a numerous and well-ſerved artillery. It did honour to Lichtenſtein who had the direction. Only the Pruſſian army can diſpute it with him. My infantry were too few. All my cavalry were preſent, and idle ſpectators, excepting a bold puſh by my houſhold troops and ſome dragoons. Ferdinand attacked without powder; the enemy, in return, were not ſparing of theirs. They had the advantage of a riſing ground, of intrenchments, and of a prodigious artillery. Several of my regiments were repulſed by their muſquetry. Henry performed wonders. I tremble for my worthy brothers: they are too brave. Fortune turned her back on me this day. I ought to have expected it: ſhe is a female, and I am no gallant. In fact, I ought to have had more infantry. Succeſs, my dear lord, often occaſions a deſtructive confidence. Twenty-four battalions were not ſufficient to diſlodge ſixty thouſand men from an advantageous poſt. Another time we will do better. I have no reaſon to complain of the bravery of my troops, or the experience of my officers: I alone was in fault, and I hope to repair it." Then, after taking notice of the formidable confederacy againſt him, he concludes thus: "I know not whether it will be a diſgrace

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to me to ſubmit; but I am ſure there will be no glory in vanquiſhing me."

He ſupported his diſaſter, however, with a magnanimity that did him infinite honour; and notwithſtanding his ſevere trial, and the melancholy proſpect that ſurrounded him, he ſoon roſe above his misfortunes, and by an amazing viciſſitude of events, turned his diſgrace upon his enemies with ample retaliation. We ſhall leave him, however, for the preſent, and turn our eyes to the other ſide of Germany, which we ſhall find involved in the general bloodſhed and confuſion that now began to deſolate the whole empire.

When the deſigns of the French upon the electorate of Hanover became too obvious to admit of the leaſt doubt, it was thought high time for his Britannic majeſty to take ſuch ſteps as might moſt effectually conduce to the defence and preſervation of his paternal dominions: therefore, very early in the ſpring of this year, orders were ſent thither to recruit the troops that had been ſent back from England, to augment each company, to remount the cavalry with the utmoſt expedition, and not to ſuffer any horſes to be conveyed out of the electorate; as alſo to provide the magazines in that country with all things neceſſary for fifty thouſand men, who were to form an army of obſervation.

But ſuch was the equity of his Britannic majeſty, and his precaution to avoid the leaſt apparent cauſe of provocation to any power to invade his German dominions, that he would not bring an army into the field until he had publiſhed to the world the juſt motives that had compelled him to have recourſe to thoſe means Providence had put in his power to repel the hoſtile deſigns of his enemies. Accordingly, he emitted the following declaration or manifeſto, dated at Hanover, in the month of April:

"His Britannic majeſty, elector of Brunſwic-Lunenbourg, did his utmoſt to prevent the war which hath ariſen between him, as king, and the crown of France, and to regulate in an amicable manner the differences which occaſioned it. His majeſty's endeavours for this end having proved ineffectual, he made it his ſtudy to hinder the war from ſpreading, and the peace of his German dominions in particular, and that of the empire in general, from being involved in diſturbances, in the motives whereof they had no concern.

"For theſe reaſons, and in conſideration of the great probability in the autumn of 1755, that the crown of France, in reſentment of thoſe differences, meditated an attack upon the king's German dominions, his majeſty in the beginning of the following year concluded a treaty with the king of Pruſſia; the intention whereof was, to compel that crown to drop its deſigns, which it was natural to expect would be the conſequence. And another war having, contrary to his majeſty's expectation, broke out ſoon after in the heart of Germany, his majeſty has carefully avoided taking any part in it.

"It is impoſſible for the impartial world, after conſidering his Britannic majeſty's conduct on this occaſion, which manifeſtly tended only to the aforeſaid ends, not to ſee the injuſtice of the motives and pretexts which the court of France would allege to juſtify their invaſion of the electoral territories of Brunſwic, which are under the protection of the empire. If they build their pretext on the war that has broke out between England and France, it is evident that this war, both in its riſe and object, are entirely foreign to his majeſty, as elector, and to his German territories. As to the ſecond war, namely, that which hath been lighted up in Germany, the crown of France, as guarantee of the peace of Weſtphalia, hath not, on one hand, the leaſt pretext to act againſt the aforeſaid ſtates, whilſt they cannot convict his majeſty of any contravention of the ſaid peace: and, on the other hand, France cannot, as the ally and auxiliary of the empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, act againſt a member of the empire, who is not at war, nor hath the leaſt difference with her imperial and royal majeſty.

"Whereas, nevertheleſs, a numerous French army hath entered the empire by Weſtphalia, which, after putting a garriſon in the imperial city of Cologn, is advancing towards the electoral dominions of Brunſwic, hath already penetrated into the biſhopric of Munſter, and there exacted contributions; by which their views and deſigns againſt the ſaid electoral dominions of Brunſwic are clearly manifeſted: his Britannic majeſty, as elector of Brunſwic Lunenbourg, ſees himſelf unwillingly reduced to the indiſpenſible neceſſity of aſſembling an army, and ordering it to march, in order to divert, with the aſſiſtance of the Moſt High, all violence, injuſtice, and uſurpation from his own dominions, and thoſe of his neighbours.

"In order to prevent any perſon from being deceived by a groundleſs ſuſpicion, his majeſty would not omit this opportunity of declaring, in the face of the whole empire, that he is very far from deſigning to act offenſively againſt any of his co-eſtates in the empire, nor even againſt the crown of France: and that by the armament and march of his forces, to which ſtep he has been forced, he ſeeks only to divert, as has been ſaid, with the Divine Bleſſing, all invaſion, violence, and hoſtility; and do in that event, as a principal member of the empire, what is juſt in the ſight of God and man, and what he owes to the ſafety of the country which God hath entruſted to him.

"He reſts aſſured, that no perſon will miſconſtrue or miſinterpret the juſtice of this ſelf-defence to which he is forced: in particular, he truſts to the amicable confidence of his co-eſtates in the empire, that they will not counteract his views, which are favourable to themſelves, and tend to remove war and its calamities from their frontiers; but that they will rather concur with and promote them: that, knowing that his majeſty's forces will obſerve the moſt rigorous diſcipline, they will, in return, give them proofs of their good-will, particularly, by ſupplying them, for ready money, with what proviſions and forage they may ſtand in need of; and, in fine, that they will not furniſh to the adverſe party the ſmalleſt thing that may be prejudicial to his dominions or to their own."

This declaration was immediately followed by aſſembling the army of obſervation, which conſiſted of Hanoverians, Heſſians, and the troops of ſome leſs reſpectable ſtates, to the amount of forty-ſeven thouſand men, to be joined by a body of three thouſand Pruſſians; the whole to be under the command of his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, who, as we have already obſerved,

ſet out from England in the month of April to put himſelf at their head.

As ſoon as his royal highneſs arrived at Hanover, he immediately put the troops in motion, and ordered them to repair to the camp marked out between Hamelen and Nienburg. In a few days after the army paſſed the Weſer, and arrived at the camp at Bielefeldt, and took poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Retberg, which the French had abandoned. Here the duke fixed his head-quarters, to be at hand to learn the diſpoſition of the French army, and act in conſequence. Hither alſo the generals appointed to command the ſeveral diviſions repaired, to concert the plan of operations with their royal commander.

His royal highneſs's army was poſted in the following manner: at Bielefeldt, ſix battalions and ſix ſquadrons, under the command of lieutenant-general baron de Sporcken; ſix battalions under lieutenant-general de Block, at Hervorden; ſix battalions and four ſquadrons, under major-general Ledebour, between Hervord and Minden; ſeven battalions and ten ſquadrons, under lieutenant-general d'Oberg, in the neighbourhood of Hamelen; and five battalions and four ſquadrons, under major-general de Hauſs, near Nienburg.

This was certainly a moſt admirable diſpoſition; but his highneſs ſoon receiving intelligence that the French army aſſembled on the Lower Rhine and the duchy of Cleves, conſiſting at that time of ſeventy battalions (of ſix hundred men each) forty ſquadrons (of three hundred men each) and fifty-two pieces of cannon, under the command of the marſhals d'Etrées and Contades, had received orders to march forward, and that the deſign of this march muſt be to get between him and the Weſer, he determined at length to break up his camp at Bielefeldt, and remove to a more advantageous and ſafe ſituation, as it was impoſſible on that ground to withſtand the vaſt ſuperiority of men the French generals were bringing againſt him. Accordingly, on the thirteenth of June he ordered his army to proceed towards Hervorden; and on the fourteenth the allies encamped at Cofeldt, and ſtaid there the next day. Theſe motions of his royal highneſs induced the French generals to march forward with their army, and either oblige the duke to repaſs the Weſer or to ſtand a battle: but being too weak for the latter, he choſe to retire as the French approached; and on the twentieth of June repaſſed the Weſer, and encamped his troops between Minden and Oldendorp, in a moſt advantageous ſituation, having the Weſer in front, and the right and left covered with eminences and moraſſes. In the mean time, the French fixed their head-quarters at Bielefeldt, which the allies had abandoned.

It was univerſally believed that, in this ſituation, the army of the allies would have vigorouſly diſputed with the French the paſſage of the Weſer, which ſecures Hanover againſt foreign attacks; but how greatly was the world diſappointed in its expectations, when they were informed by authority that the French, after poſſeſſing themſelves of Embden, had paſſed that river on the tenth and eleventh of July with their whole army, without the loſs of a ſingle man! By the accounts tranſmitted of this affair, we find, that while marſhal d'Etrées, by feigned marches, concealed from the duke of Cumberland the real diſpoſitions that were made for paſſing the Weſer, the marquis d'Armentieres, who had laid his bridges between Hoxter and Blanckenow, in the diſtrict of the abbey of Corby, paſſed that river with ten battalions, twelve ſquadrons, and ten pieces of cannon. The duke of Cumberland could not oppoſe it, as he lay with his army below Hamelen, extending towards the Lower Weſer; and the duke de Broglio and M. de Chevert, each with a body of troops, drew his attention towards Minden and Rintelen. The laſt-mentioned town was defended by a fort, in which were three hundred Heſſians, who ſurrendered priſoners of war. The French abandoned that fort, after taking out of it twelve iron cannon, two culverins, two mortars, and what ſtores they found in it.

By the afternoon of the eleventh the whole of the French army had effected its paſſage; and having ſeized the important paſs of Stadt Oldendorff, they pitched their camp upon the fine plain of that name. The French proceeded immediately to raiſe heavy contributions in Hanover, their general ſending to the regency of that electorate a requiſition, demanding that deputies ſhould be ſent to his head-quarters to treat about the matter; with which they were obliged to comply.

His royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland having no longer any reaſon to doubt that the French were bent upon attacking him, he drew up his little army on the heights between the Weſer and the woods; with his right towards the river, and his left cloſe to the woods; on the point of which he erected a battery of twelve pounders and haubitzers, ſupported by the hunters and two battalions of grenadiers, poſted in the corner of the wood, upon the left of the battery, under the command of major-general Schulemberg, with the village of Haſtenbeck in his front. There was a hollow way from the left of the village to the battery, and a continual moraſs on the other ſide of Haſtenbeck to his right. In the evening of the twenty-fourth of July he called in all his out-poſts, and kept the whole army on their arms all night.

On the twenty-fifth in the morning the French army was ſeen advancing in columns, and ſoon began to cannonade the allies very ſeverely, which they continued the whole day, and made ſeveral feints as if they intended to attack the right, the left, and the center; but nothing was done that day. The duke's army continued on their arms all the next night. The battery at the end of the wood was repaired, and count Schulemberg reinforced with ſix battalions of grenadiers, under major-general Hardenberg, and two pieces of twelve pounders. His royal highneſs alſo gave orders for erecting a battery of twelve and ſix pounders behind the village of Haſtenbeck; and, in fine, took all the precautions that the beſt general could poſſibly do to give the foe a warm reception; and as ſoon as it was day-light got on horſeback to reconnoitre their poſition, which he found to be the ſame as on the preceding day. At a little after five the French began a very ſmart cannonading upon the battery behind the village that was ſupported by the Heſſian infantry and cavalry, whoſe countenance and ſteadineſs, amidſt ſo ſevere a fire, was truly admirable. Between ſeven and eight the firing of ſmall arms began on the left of the allies,

when his royal highneſs ordered major-general Behr, with three battalions of Brunſwickers, to ſupport the grenadiers in the wood if their aſſiſtance ſhould be wanted. The cannonading went on all the time, rather augmenting than decreaſing; but it did not create the leaſt diſorder in the confederate troops.

The fire of the ſmall arms on the left increaſed, and the French ſeemed rather to gain ground; whereupon the duke detached three Hanoverian battalions and ſix ſquadrons round the wood by Afforde, who towards the cloſe of the day drove ſeveral ſquadrons of the enemy back to their army. The grenadiers in the wood, however, apprehenſive of being ſurrounded, from the great numbers of the enemy that appeared there, and were marching round on that ſide, thought it adviſeable to retire nearer the left of their own army; by which unfortunate motion the French got poſſeſſion of the Hanoverian battery on the left without oppoſition. On this occaſion the hereditary prince of Brunſwick diſtinguiſhed himſelf, at the head of a battalion of Wolfenbuttle guards, and another of Hanoverians, who with their bayonets fixed retook the battery from a much ſuperior force of the enemy: but the French being in poſſeſſion of a height that commanded and flanked both our lines of infantry and our battery; which attack they could ſupport under cover of a hill, and his royal highneſs could not diſpute without expoſing his flank both to the artillery and muſquetry; and finding it was impoſſible to diſlodge them without expoſing his own troops to too great a hazard, he ordered a retreat, which was effected in the greateſt order, to Hamelen, without the leaſt moleſtation on the part of the enemy, whether it was owing to what they had ſuffered, or to the firm countenance of the allied troops. The loſs of the allies in this engagement, which may be ſaid to have laſted three days, was five hundred and forty-ſeven killed and miſſing, and nine hundred and ſeven wounded. The French, according to their own accounts, loſt two thouſand and upwards; but they gave out that it would not have have exceeded ſeven or eight hundred killed and wounded, had it not been for a miſtake between a regiment of Beauce and that called the Little Switzers, which fired upon each other ſo long and ſo furiouſly, that the latter was almoſt deſtroyed. Wherever the blame of this blunder lay, it certainly was of great advantage to the duke in making his retreat unobſerved, and without purſuit.

The duke of Cumberland made but a ſhort ſtay at Hamelen; and leaving a ſmall detachment for its defence, continued his route to Nienburg, where he encamped. As for Hamelen, it ſoon ſubmitted to the French, who diſmantled the walls, and carried off ſixty pieces of braſs cannon, ſeveral mortars, with large quantities of proviſion and ammunition, and even part of the equipage of the allied army. Here the French halted for ſome time; and here it was that M. d'Etrées was, by the order of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, obliged to reſign the command in chief of the French forces to the duke de Richelieu, who had been raiſed to that poſt by court intrigue, through the means of madame de Pompadour, Lewis's female favourite. Two days after Richelieu's arrival at the French camp, which was in the beginning of Auguſt, he detached the duke de Chevreuſe to take poſſeſſion of the city of Hanover, with the title of governor of that city. The regency finding that all the meaſures taken for their defence were now of no uſe, enjoined the inhabitants to remain quiet, and receive the French within their walls without oppoſition: upon which the Hanoverian garriſon, after being diſarmed, was left at liberty to go where they pleaſed; but an ordonnance was publiſhed by the new governor, enjoining the inhabitants to diſpoſe of their fire-arms, of what kind ſoever, under ſevere penalties.

About the ſame time marſhal Contades, who had been ſent with a detachment to reduce the territories of Heſſe Caſſel, was met at Warburg by the prince of Heſſe's maſter of the horſe, who declared in his maſter's name, that the French ſhould be furniſhed with every thing the country could afford; and the magiſtrates of Caſſel preſented the marſhal with the keys of the city gates. The marquis d'Armentieres, another French general, ordered Gottingen to ſupply him, within a limited time, under pain of military execution, with four thouſand pounds of white bread and two thouſand buſhels of oats, which was more than the whole country could afford, an hundred loads of hay, and other proviſions.

The duke of Cumberland continued all this time retreating from Nienburg: he retired into the duchy of Verden, and from thence to Stade, where the archives and many valuable effects of the electorate of Hanover had been depoſited. His royal highneſs reinforced the garriſon of this city with two regiments, and a camp was marked out on the glacis for the army. All the proviſions and forage which he had at Verden were brought hither, his royal highneſs being made to believe that he ſhould be able to maintain his ground between the Aller and the Elbe, and be effectually ſupported by four Engliſh men of war which at that time lay off the port of Stade, in caſe the French ſhould attempt to attack him.

It muſt be confeſſed that his royal highneſs made the wiſeſt diſpoſitions for a defence; but what could avail the greateſt generalſhip without an army capable of diſputing the ground with an enemy that was in a condition, and determined to force their way? Richelieu followed the duke ſtep by ſtep with his whole army, as far as the Aller. He hemmed the allied army in on every ſide; and notwithſtanding the four Engliſh men of war juſt mentioned, got poſſeſſion of a fort at the mouth of the Zwinga, which cut off the duke's communication with the Elbe.

The two armies being now very near each other, many ſkirmiſhes happened, and ſeveral places were taken and retaken. But the duke's army, though in a ſtrong ſituation, was by far too weak to think of holding out againſt the numerous forces of the French, which, as I have already obſerved, almoſt ſurrounded him. Under this preſſure of untoward circumſtances, not in a condition to fight, nor in a ſituation, there appeared no other poſſible means of preventing the total deſtruction of the allied army but by coming to ſome ſort of terms with the enemy. The king of Denmark opportunely ſtept forth and interpoſed his mediation, which was accepted by the commanders in chief of both armies; and on the eighth of September, 1757, the duke

of

of Cumberland ſigned a convention for a neutrality with the French, well known by the name of the Convention of Cloſter Seven, from the place where it was ſigned, and by which thirty-eight thouſand Hanoverians laid down their arms, and were diſperſed into different quarters of cantonment.

The overtures for this convention, it ſeems, were made by the regency of Hanover, without the participation of the Britiſh court. Now, as by this ſtep the king of Pruſſia's dominions were expoſed to the whole power of France on that ſide, it was but natural to ſuppoſe that ſuch a procedure might perhaps be a means of leſſening, if not diſſolving, that confidence and mutual friendſhip which ſubſiſted between their Pruſſian and Britannic majeſties: and indeed his Pruſſian majeſty no ſooner was appriſed of the convention of Cloſter Seven being ſigned with the French marſhal, than he wrote a very ſharp letter with his own hand to the king of England on that ſubject, in which he complained bitterly of being made a ſacrifice; and peremptorily inſiſted upon his majeſty's not liſtening to any engagement in which he was not comprehended. His Britannic majeſty, in anſwer to this letter, thought proper to order a declaration to be communicated to all foreign miniſters reſiding at the Britiſh court, on the ſixteenth of September, in which he diſclaimed any ſhare in making the ſaid convention, and declared his reſolution to act in conſtant concert with the king of Pruſſia, in employing the moſt efficacious means to fruſtrate the unjuſt and oppreſſive deſigns of their common enemies; promiſing at the ſame time punctually to fulfil all his engagements with his Pruſſian majeſty, and to ſupport him with firmneſs and vigour.

The convention of Cloſter Seven, however, was attended with the moſt fatal conſequences to the king of Pruſſia, who was thereby not only deprived of the aſſiſtance of near forty thouſand good troops, but alſo actually invaded by his numerous enemies on all ſides, the duke de Richelieu ſoon after entering the Pruſſian territories, near Wolfenbuttle, with one hundred and ten battalions, one hundred and fifty ſquadrons, and one hundred pieces of cannon; and penetrating into Halberſtadt and Brandenburg-Pruſſia, plundering the towns, exacting contributions, and committing ſuch exceſſes that would give horror in the relation. Nor were the French the only enemy let looſe upon his Pruſſian majeſty. The Ruſſians, who for a long time had proceeded but ſlowly, all at once quickened their march, and entered Ducal Pruſſia, under marſhal Apraxin and general Fermor, marking their progreſs by every inhumanity that could be expected from an army of lawleſs barbarians. A large body of Auſtrians entering Sileſia, advanced as far as Breſlau; then turning back, they laid ſiege to Schweidnitz, the key to Sileſia. Another body entered Luſatia, another quarter of the Pruſſian territories, and made themſelves maſters of Zittau. Twenty-two thouſand Swedes penetrated into Pruſſian Pomerania, reduced the towns of Anclam and Demmin, and laid the whole country under contribution. The army of the empire, reinforced by that of prince Soubiſe, was preparing to enter Saxony, and thus left the Auſtrians under count Daun at liberty to turn the greateſt part of their forces to the reduction of Sileſia. Another body of Auſtrians piercing through Luſatia, paſſed by the Pruſſian armies, and ſuddenly preſenting itſelf before the gates of Berlin, laid the whole country under contribution.

The total ruin of his Pruſſian majeſty was now generally prognoſticated; but he met with effectual reſources in the fidelity and bravery of his troops, and his own courage and policy. The Ruſſians were the firſt object that drew his attention: he therefore detached field-marſhal Lehwald into Pruſſia with an army of thirty thouſand men, to endeavour to ſtop the inhuman ravages of thoſe ſavage invaders, during the abſence of his maſter. This general was encamped at Velau, when the Ruſſians, to the number of eighty thouſand, after taking Memel, the firſt town in Ducal Pruſſia, in the month of July, pitched their camp in a well-fortified ſituation, near Nertutten. Notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority, M. Lehwald, provoked by the diſtreſſes of a country he was not able to defend or deliver from the cruel invaders by any other means, determined to attack them in their intrenchments with his little army. Having ſent colonel Malachowſki with a party to reconnoitre the poſition of the enemy, he gave orders for beginning the attack the next day, being the 30th of Auguſt.

The Ruſſian army was formed in four lines, each line defended by a numerous artillery, and with batteries erected on all the eminences, containing in all two hundred pieces of cannon. The Pruſſians began the attack at five in the morning, which was carried on with ſo much vigour, that the whole firſt line of the enemy was entirely broken, and they were driven from all their batteries. The duke of Holſtein Gottorp, brother to the king of Sweden, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, routed the Ruſſian cavalry, and afterwards fell upon a regiment of grenadiers, which he cut in pieces; but when the Pruſſians came to the ſecond intrenchment, M. Lehwald, ſeeing he could not attempt it without expoſing his whole army, took the reſolution to retire, which he did in the beſt manner, and without the enemy's daring to ſtir out of their intrenchments to purſue him. The Pruſſian army returned to its camp at Velau.

The loſs of the Pruſſians did not exceed three thouſand killed and wounded; whereas that of the Ruſſians amounted to upwards of ten thouſand. General Lapuchin was wounded and taken priſoner, but was ſent back upon his parole. The Pruſſian army had at firſt made themſelves maſters of above eighty pieces of cannon; but theſe they were obliged to abandon, with eleven of their own, for want of carriages. Three Ruſſian generals were killed, but the Pruſſians loſt no general nor officer of diſtinction.

After this engagement, M. Lehwald altered the poſition of his army, by drawing towards Peterſwald; and the Ruſſians, after remaining quite inactive till the thirteenth of September, on a ſudden, to the great ſurprize of every one, retreated out of Pruſſia with ſuch precipitation, that they left all their ſick and wounded behind them, to the amount of fifteen or ſixteen thouſand, together with eighty pieces of cannon, and a conſiderable part of their military ſtores. They made their retreat in two columns, one of which bent its courſe towards Memel, whilſt the other took the neareſt

way through the bailiwick of Abſternen. Both columns burnt every village they paſſed through without diſtinction, and ſtrewed the roads with the mangled bodies of the wretched inhabitants. M. Lehwald detached prince George of Holſtein with ten thouſand horſe in purſuit of theſe barbarians; but he was ſtopped in his courſe, by the bridges thrown over the river Memel having been broke down by the violence of the ſtream.

It does not at this time appear what could be the real cauſe of this ſudden retreat of the Ruſſians; but as the czarina was about this time ſeized with an apoplectic fit, it was given out that the army was ordered home, to ſupport the regulations ſhe had made about a ſucceſſor, in caſe of a vacancy in the throne. It is moſt probable they wanted ſubſiſtence. However this might be, his Pruſſian majeſty was by this turn delivered from the powerful diverſion made to his arms by the Ruſſians in favour of Auſtria: but his affairs were ſtill in a very deplorable condition. He had no troops to ſpare for the defence of his territories invaded by the French, nor to give them battle; wherefore the French marſhal revelled with impunity in the open country, collecting the public revenues, and fattening on the contributions which he drew from thence and the electorate of Hanover, and other conqueſts which defrayed the expences of the war. Gueldres was reduced, after a long blockade, on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt; ſo that the whole country was expoſed to the enemy as far as Magdebourg.

Juſt before the retreat of the Ruſſians, the Swedes, who had now reſolved upon an open rupture with his Pruſſian majeſty, invaded Pruſſian Pomerania with an army of twenty-two thouſand men, ſeized upon Anclam and Demmin, and prepared to do the ſame by Stetin, the capital of the duchy of that name. While every one was greatly at a loſs to account for the reaſon of this invaſion, the Swediſh commander, count Hamilton, publiſhed the following declaration in vindication of his maſter's conduct: "That the king of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia, could not help ſending his troops into the upper part of the duchy of Pomerania belonging to the king of Pruſſia; and that therefore all the officers appointed to receive the public revenue in that country, muſt pay what money they had in their hands to general Hamilton, who was commiſſioned to receive the ſame for his Swediſh majeſty: that, moreover, an exact account was required within eight days of the revenues of the country; but that no more than ordinary contributions would be demanded of the inhabitants, who might reſt aſſured that the Swediſh troops ſhould be made to obſerve the ſtricteſt diſcipline."

To this declaration his Pruſſian majeſty replied, by his general Manteuffel (who had a command of twelve thouſand men in Pomerania, to cover Stetin from any ſurprize) "That the crown of Sweden could not, upon any legal foundation, lay any thing to his charge, to make it appear that he really diſturbed the peace of Weſtphalia; and enjoined his vaſſals, magiſtrates, and ſubjects, in the Anterior Pomerania, not to pay any regard to the Swediſh declarations, but to preſerve their fidelity and allegiance to him their lawful ſovereign, upon pain of incurring his moſt rigorous indignation."

While both ſides were thus employed in defending their reſpective meaſures, M. Lehwald finding himſelf at liberty by the drawing off of the Ruſſians, detached prince George of Holſtein Gottorp to the relief of Pomerania with ſixteen thouſand men, and ſoon after followed with the reſt of his army. The Swedes were in expectation of being joined by fifteen thouſand French and ſix thouſand Mecklenburgers; but M. Lehwald coming upon them ſo opportunely prevented this junction; and the Swediſh general was reduced to ſuch ſtraits that he retired with the utmoſt precipitation. In a word, the Pruſſian general not only recovered all the country the enemy had ſeized upon, and drove them entirely away, but, by the end of the year, added to his maſter's dominions all Swediſh Pomerania, except the fortified town of Stralſund. Thus ended the Swediſh campaign, after their army, without fighting a ſingle battle, had been reduced by ſickneſs, deſertion, and other accidents, to one half the number it conſiſted of when they firſt took the field.

It may not be improper to take notice here of ſome events, which could not eaſily be introduced before without breaking the thread of my narration.

Towards the beginning of July the empreſs-queen recalled her miniſters, count Coloredo and monſieur Zohern, from London; in conſequence of which, Mr. Keith, our miniſter at the imperial court, ſet out from Vienna; as did alſo Mr. Dayrolles, our reſident at Bruſſels, about the latter end of the ſame month.

Much about the ſame time an order was iſſued by the imperial court for all communication with England to be broke off; and our vice-conſul at Oſtend was deſired to order the pacquet-boats and Britiſh ſhipping at Oſtend, Bruges, and Nieuport, to depart in twenty-four hours, and not to return into any of the ports of the empreſs-queen till farther meaſures ſhould be concerted; which order was immediately obeyed. In this ordonnance the following reaſons were aſſigned by the court of Vienna, for thus excluding the Engliſh from ports that had been procured for that houſe by Engliſh arms and treaſures, viz. "That her Imperial majeſty, the empreſs-queen, could not with indifference behold England, inſtead of giving the ſuccours due to her by the moſt ſolemn treaties, enter into an alliance with her enemy the king of Pruſſia, and actually afford him all manner of aſſiſtance, aſſembling armies to oppoſe thoſe which the moſt Chriſtian king, her ally, had ſent to her aid; and ſuffering privateers to exerciſe open violence in her roads, under the cannon of her ports and coaſts, without giving the leaſt ſatisfaction or anſwer to the complaints made on that account; and the king of Great Britain himſelf, at the very time ſhe was offering him a neutrality for Hanover, publiſhing by a meſſage to his parliament, that ſhe had formed, with the moſt Chriſtian king, dangerous deſigns againſt that electorate: therefore her majeſty, deſirous of providing for the ſecurity of her ports, judged it expedient to give the fore-mentioned orders; and at the ſame time to declare, that ſhe could no longer permit a free communication between her ſubjects and the Engliſh, which had hitherto been founded upon treaties that Great Britain had, without ſcruple, openly violated."

But notwithſtanding theſe orders, they ſuffered our packet-boats with letters to paſs as uſual to and from Oſtend, as the poſtage of our letters brought in a good revenue to the poſt-office of the Auſtrian Netherlands. Oſtend and Nieuport, however, by order of her Imperial majeſty, admitted each of them a French garriſon, though the empreſs ſtill reſerved to herſelf in both of them the full and free exerciſe of all her rights of ſovereignty, an oath being adminiſtered to the French commandant for this purpoſe. The magiſtracy of Hamburgh had likewiſe notice given them, in the names of their Imperial and French majeſties, not to admit any Engliſh men of war or tranſports into their harbour, on pain of having a French garriſon ſent to take poſſeſſion of their city. Laſtly, before the end of the year, the Aulic council iſſued a decree againſt the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, on account of his conduct in the preſent conjuncture of affairs.

I will now reſume the hiſtory of military tranſactions, beginning with thoſe conducted by his Pruſſian majeſty.

Upon that monarch's quitting Bohemia, after the unfortunate battle of Kolin, he retired, as we have already obſerved, towards Saxony, when he pitched his camp at Leitmeritz, on the river Elbe. Various ſkirmiſhes, and ſome diſadvantageous actions, followed the loſs at Kolin. Gabel, an important paſs, and well garriſoned with four battalions, under the command of major-general Putkammer, ſituate between Boemiſh-Leypa and Zittau, was ſurpriſed and taken by a ſtrong detachment of Auſtrians, under the command of the duke of Aremberg and M. Macguire, on the eighteenth of June. Prince Henry of Pruſſia, the king's brother, who had been ſent with a detachment to watch their motions, was ſoon after in danger of being ſurrounded by the enemy, who followed him, laid Zittau, a ſtrong trading town in Upper Saxony, in aſhes, by a dreadful bombardment, and obliged the garriſon to ſurrender. This called for immediate relief. His Pruſſian majeſty did not heſitate a moment to quit his camp, with part of his army; and leaving the remainder under M. Keith, to guard the paſſes of the mountains of Bohemia, he by forced marches came ſuddenly upon the Auſtrians near Bautzen, obliged them to retire, and delivered his brother's army. The king was ſoon after joined, between Bautzen and Gorlitz, by M. Keith, whom he had ordered to quit the mountains of Bohemia, when the united force of theſe two armies amounted to ſixty thouſand men, beſides twelve battalions and ten ſquadrons which were ſtationed at Pirna, under the prince of Anhalt Deſſau, to prevent any ſurprize from Dreſden.

By this time his Pruſſian majeſty had received undoubted intelligence that the army of the empire, commanded by the prince of Saxe Hildeburghauſen, and that of the French under the prince de Soubiſe, making together about ſixty thouſand men, were advancing towards Saxony, in order to recover that electorate from him. He determined, if poſſible, to force the Auſtrians to a battle, before the imperial army ſhould have time to effect its deſigns. With this view, he transferred his head quarters to Bernſtedel, and on the fifteenth day of Auguſt came in ſight of the Auſtrian camp, and within cannot-ſhot of it. In this poſition the king continued five days, trying every expedient to bring the Auſtrians to a battle, who as conſtantly declined it, notwithſtanding their prodigious ſuperiority, being at leaſt one hundred and thirty thouſand ſtrong, which was more than double the forces of the king of Pruſſia. The king, finding all his art and ſtratagem could not bring his deſign to bear; and hearing that the army of execution were now advanced as far as Erfurth in Saxony, he ſet out from Luſatia, accompanied by M. Keith and thirty thouſand men, leaving the reſt of his army in a ſtrong camp near Gorlitz, under the prince of Bevern, to obſerve the enemy's motions. He now made a quick march by the way of Leipſic towards Erfurth, to give battle to the combined army of the French and the empire; but by the time he arrived at Erfurth, which was on the fourteenth of September, the combined army had retreated to Gotha; and it was generally ſuppoſed they would retreat farther back, until they could be joined by a large detachment which they expected from Richelieu's army, who, after the ſigning of the convention of Cloſter Seven, had entered the country of Halberſtadt. Againſt him the king of Pruſſia detached prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, who ſcoured the country, beat up the quarters of the French at Egelin, and made twenty officers and four hundred ſoldiers priſoners; but when the grand army advanced againſt him, he retired to Wanſleben, where he ſo poſted himſelf as to cut off all ſupplies of proviſion from the enemy.

After the king of Pruſſia had left Luſatia, the Auſtrians came out of their camp; and after a bloody ſkirmiſh, in which they had conſiderably the advantage, obliged the prince of Bevern to retreat with the Pruſſian army from Gorlitz to Rothenberg; from whence he proceeded to Buntzlau in Sileſia, and by a forced march reached Breſlau on the firſt of October, without ſuffering any farther loſs, though the numerous Auſtrian army was for ſome days always in his rear. The prince choſe a very ſtrong camp on the river Oder, where he intrenched himſelf, and in that poſition remained to cover the laſt-mentioned city. In the mean time, the Auſtrians made themſelves maſters of Lignitz, and a conſiderable part of Sileſia.

From Gotha the combined army, on the approach of his Pruſſian majeſty, retreated towards Eyſenach, where they intrenched themſelves in a very ſtrong camp. By the nineteenth of September the Pruſſian army was advanced to the neighbourhood of Gotha; on which day a ſkirmiſh happened between the advanced parties of the two armies, in which general Seydelitz defeated a large corps of the enemy, conſiſting of two regiments of Auſtrian huſſars, one regiment of French huſſars, and a detachment made up of French grenadiers, beſides a numerous body of Croats and Pandours; obliged them to abandon the town and caſtle of Gotha, of which they had poſſeſſed themſelves, and to retire with great precipitation to their main army. In this action the Pruſſian general took ſeveral officers priſoners, and killed about three hundred men. Soon after this ſkirmiſh the king of Pruſſia advanced to Eyſenach, with a deſign to attack the combined army; but they were ſo ſtrongly intrenched that it was impracticable; and as he found he could not provoke or draw them out of their camp, he was obliged, by ſcarcity of proviſions, to return back to Erfurth, and ſoon after

towards Naumburg: whereupon the combined army marched, and again took poſſeſſion of Gotha, Erfurth, and Weimar.

The king of Pruſſia, finding that all his attempts to draw the enemy from their intrenchments to engage him in the open field were fruitleſs, had recourſe to one of thoſe maſterly ſtrokes by which a general is better ſeen than even by the gaining a victory. He made a feint about the beginning of October, as if he intended to march to Berlin with the greateſt part of his army, leaving general Keith with only ſeven or eight thouſand men to defend Leipſic. Upon this the French and German generals, believing their paſſage was now open; and knowing how much the Pruſſian forces were divided, and at great diſtances from each other, they reſolved to ſeize the opportunity of making themſelves maſters of the courſe of the river Sala, of Leipſic, and of the Pruſſian magazines at Torgau. Accordingly, having advanced to the Sala, they croſſed that river, preſented themſelves before Leipſic, and ſummoned M. Keith to ſurrender. To which that gallant general anſwered, That the king his maſter had ordered him to defend the place to the laſt extremity, and he would obey his command. The enemy then thought of laying ſiege to the town; but before they could make any one preparation for that purpoſe, they were alarmed by the approach of the king of Pruſſia, who, wiſely foreſeeing the effect of his feint, had by previous and private orders collected together all his diſtant detachments, ſome of which were twenty leagues aſunder. The Pruſſian army arrived near Leipſic on the twenty-ſeventh day of October, and remained the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth, when every body expected that a battle would be fought in the plains of Lutzen: but the enemy, who ſtill continued baſhful, had, on advice of the king's approach, repaſſed the Sala, and burnt down the bridges over that river; but they were ſoon repaired, and the whole Pruſſian army croſſed over, and on November 3, in the evening, drew up over-againſt the enemy. This brought on the ever-memorable battle of Roſbach, fought on the fifth of November, 1757. The king was going to make the attack on the fourth, but deferred it on perceiving that the enemy had changed the poſition of their camp. That whole day, therefore, was ſpent in a cannonade, which did no great execution on either ſide. The king of Pruſſia, in the mean time, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions, agreeable to what he had reconnointred of the enemy.

This delay of the Pruſſian army ſeems to have miſled the enemy into a notion, that they had no diſpoſition to riſque an action with the combined army, who were very advantageouſly poſted; and to determine them not only to wait for the Pruſſians, but to attack them in their camp at Roſbach: for on the fifth of November, about nine o'clock in the morning, the infantry of the combined army, which had drawn nearer upon the riſing grounds towards the Pruſſian camp, filed off to the right, and the whole army was put in motion. It was two o'clock at noon, however, before the king of Pruſſia could form any certain judgment of the intention of the enemy's movements, which were various and complicated. At length, however, it was manifeſt that they intended to attack him, and that their diſpoſitions were made with a view to ſurround the Pruſſian army, and to open the action by an attack on its rear. His Pruſſian majeſty, however, with that preſence of mind and military ſkill peculiar to himſelf, caught them in their own ſnare. He drew up his army in order of battle, and by a half turn to the right marched parallel with the enemy.

In this poſition, and juſt before the battle began, the king made the following ſpeech to his army: "My dear friends! the hour is come, in which all that is, or ought to be dear to us, depends upon the ſwords which are now drawn for the battle. Time permits me to ſay but little; nor is there occaſion to ſay much. You know, that there is no labour, no hunger, no cold, no watching, no danger, that I have not ſhared with you hitherto; and you now ſee me ready to lay down my life with you, and for you. All I aſk is the ſame pledge of fidelity and affection that I give. And let me add, not as an incitement to your courage, but as a teſtimony of my own gratitude, that, from this hour, until you go into quarters, your pay ſhall be doubled. Acquit yourſelves like men, and put your confidence in God." The effect of this ſpeech may be more readily conceived than deſcribed. An univerſal ſhout proclaimed the general emotion. An heroic phrenzy ſeemed to take poſſeſſion of every individual; and to this diſpoſition the victory that enſued may perhaps be in a great meaſure aſcribed, ſince we want not many inſtances in hiſtory, where prodigious ſuperiority of numbers have been forced to give way before the martial enthuſiaſm of a handful of men.

The following is the account of this famous battle, as publiſhed by authority, from the beſt relations tranſmitted from the ſcene of action:

"The king of Pruſſia having taken the reſolution to march up to the enemy and attack them, had determined to begin the charge with one wing only; and the diſpoſition of the enemy made it neceſſary that it ſhould be with the left wing: but the very inſtant the battle was going to begin, his majeſty ordered the general who commanded the right wing to decline it, to take a proper poſition in conſequence thereof, and above all, to prevent being ſurrounded. All the cavalry of the right wing, except two or three ſquadrons, had already marched to the left, which was done at full gallop; and being arrived at the place aſſigned them, they formed over-againſt that of the enemy. The cavalry moved on immediately; the enemy's advanced to meet them, and the charge was very fierce, ſeveral regiments of the French coming on with great reſolution. The advantage, however, was entirely on the ſide of the Pruſſians. The enemy's cavalry being routed, were purſued for a conſiderable time with the greateſt ſpirit; but having afterwards reached an eminence which gave them an opportunity of rallying, the Pruſſian cavalry fell upon them afreſh, and gave them ſo thorough a defeat, that they betook themſelves to flight in the utmoſt diſorder. This happened at four in the afternoon.

"Whilſt the cavalry charged, the infantry opened themſelves. The enemy cannonaded them very briſkly during this interval, and did ſome execution; but the Pruſſian artillery was not behind hand with them. This cannonade having continued on both ſides a full quarter of an hour, without the leaſt intermiſſion, the fire of the in-

ſantry began. The enemy could not ſtand it, nor reſiſt the valour of the foot, who gallantly marched up to their batteries. Theſe batteries were carried one after another, and the enemy were forced to give way, which they did in great confuſion. As the left wing advanced, the right changed its poſition; and having ſoon met with a ſmall riſing ground, they availed themſelves of it, by planting ſixteen heavy pieces of artillery on it. The fire from thence was partly pointed at the enemy's right, to increaſe the diſorder there, and took their left wing in front, which was exceſſively galled thereby.

"At five the victory was decided, the cannon ceaſed, and the enemy fled on all ſides. They were purſued as long as there was any light to diſtinguiſh them; and it may be ſaid that the night alone was the preſervation of this army, which was ſo formidable in the morning. They took the benefit of the darkneſs to hurry on to Freyburg, and there to repaſs the Unſtrut, which they did on the morning of the ſixth, after a whole night's march.

"The king ſet out early in the morning with all his cavalry to purſue them, ſupported by four battalions of grenadiers, the whole infantry following them in two columns. The enemy had paſſed the Unſtrut at Freyburg, when the Pruſſians arrived on its banks; and as they had burnt the bridge, it became neceſſary to make another, which however was ſoon done. The cavalry paſſed firſt, but could not come up with the enemy till five in the evening, upon the hills of Eckerſberg. It was too late to force them there; and the king therefore thought proper to canton his army in the neareſt villages, and to be ſatisfied with the ſucceſs the huſſars had, in taking near three hundred baggage waggons, and every thing in them."

This glorious victory, glorious both in the action and in its conſequences, was more agreeable to his Pruſſian majeſty than any one he had ever gained, as it was obtained with ſo very inconſiderable loſs to his troops, of whom not above five hundred were killed and wounded. Amongſt the latter was prince Henry of Pruſſia and general Seydelitz, but their wounds were of no conſequence. As for the loſs ſuſtained by the enemy, it appears, from the accounts of their own officers, to have amounted to upwards of three thouſand killed upon the field of battle, and above ſix thouſand made priſoners; amongſt whom were eight French generals, beſides ſeveral German generals, and two hundred and fifty officers of different ranks; ſixty-four pieces of cannon, with kettle drums, ſtandards, and colours, in great number, fell alſo into the hands of the Pruſſians. General Revel, brother to the duke de Broglio, died of his wounds the day after the battle of Merſeburg. This heavy misfortune which befel the combined army was generally attributed to the injudicious diſpoſitions of the two commanders, and in part to the diſcontent of the men, who were not only unpaid, but had actually been without a morſel of bread for two days preceding the engagement. What renders this victory more remarkable on the ſide of the Pruſſians is, that the king having been obliged to leave ſome detachments to ſecure certain poſts, and to cover the baggage during the battle, the whole force he brought into the field ſcarcely amounted to eighteen thouſand effective men; whereas the enemy boaſted that they were ſeventy thouſand ſtrong; but admit that they were no more than fifty thouſand, it was a vaſt ſuperiority to be thus ſhamefully beat.

The French under the duke de Richelieu were preparing to go into winter-quarters; but hearing of the defeat of the combined army, they again put themſelves in motion, and a large body of them advanced as far as Duderſtadt, to favour the retreat of their countrymen under the prince of Soubiſe, who with great precipitation made the beſt of their way from Erfurth to the county of Hohenſtein, and from thence bent their march towards Halberſtadt. Of the remains of the imperial army, which was almoſt entirely diſperſed, whole battalions deſerted, and went over to the victor of Roſbach.

While things went on thus ſucceſsfully for his Pruſſian majeſty in Germany, his troops were cloſely preſſed by the Auſtrians in Sileſia. Schweidnitz, the only town of ſtrength in that duchy, was cloſely beſieged by a ſuperior force under general Nadaſti, and the little army of the prince of Bevern cut off from its relief by the main army of the enemy, under the command of prince Charles of Lorraine and count Daun, who, while Nadaſti was employed in the above ſiege, had inveſted Breſlau on the left of the Oder, while the prince covered it on the right. Schweidnitz ſurrendered after a ſiege of near three weeks; during which time it ſuſtained a furious bombardment. Nadaſti having ſupplied it with a ſufficient garriſon, marched with the remainder of his troops and joined the Auſtrian main army.

In the mean time, his Pruſſian majeſty, while he was improving the victory he had gained over the French and Imperial armies, received advice of the ſiege of Schweidnitz, and the ſituation of the prince of Bevern. Senſible of the danger, and firmly perſuaded of the fidelity of his generals and the bravery of his troops, and that they would defend themſelves to the laſt extremity, he formed the reſolution of marching to their aſſiſtance with a conſiderable part of the victorious army; though, what is almoſt incredible to relate, part of them had been aſſembled but a few days before from places more than an hundred miles diſtance. The king ſet out from Leipſic on the twelfth of November for Sileſia, and in a few days attacked Naumburg, on the Queiſs, having in his route detached M. Keith with a conſiderable part of the army to clear Saxony from all the Auſtrian parties, and then to make an irruption into Bohemia; which he did ſo effectually, as to raiſe large contributions in the circles of Sartz and Leitmeritz, and even to ſtrike terror into Prague itſelf. His majeſty continued his march with the reſt of the army with unparalleled rapidity, and by the twenty-eighth of November got to Barchwitz, near the Oder, where his vanguard ſurpriſed a detachment of one thouſand one hundred Auſtrians, fifty of whom were ſlain, and one hundred and fifty made priſoners. After detaching M. Keith, as before obſerved, the king had left himſelf only 15,000 men, but on his march was reinforced by the late garriſon of Schweidnitz, which by a ſurpriſing effort of courage had made their eſcape from the Auſtrians.

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This garriſon, which conſiſted of about four thouſand men, had ſeen with the utmoſt indignation the capitulation which the general who commanded at Schweidnitz had made, not only againſt their conſent, but even in ſpite of their repeated offers to force their way through the beſiegers, or periſh every man. Being at laſt, however, obliged to ſubmit, as the Auſtrians were conducting them into Bohemia, where they were to be confined, they learnt by chance the great victory their monarch had obtained near Roſbach; which news animated them ſo far, that they unanimouſly roſe upon the eſcort that guarded them, which was not very ſtrong, and put them entirely to flight. Thus freed, they marched on without very well knowing their way; but fortune ſtill continuing to favour them, they came directly upon the army commanded by their king, to whom their junction added a conſiderable ſtrength.

The whole army of the Auſtrians being now united; and advice having been received not only of the king of Pruſſia's late victory over the combined army, but alſo that he was advancing to the relief of the prince of Bevern, the Auſtrian generals took a reſolution to attack this laſt in his intrenchments, and if poſſible to diſlodge him. Accordingly, on the twenty-ſecond of November, about nine o'clock in the morning, they put their reſolves in execution, with a force three times ſuperior to that of the prince of Bevern. The Pruſſians, however, with ſurpriſing intrepidity, ſtood two of the moſt violent attacks that could be made; but at the third, overpowered with numbers, and aſſailed on all ſides, and night coming on, the prince of Bevern, to prevent a total defeat, withdrew the greateſt part of his army to a riſing ground on the banks of the Oder, whilſt the reſt of the troops threw themſelves into Breſlau, which in all probability they might have defended till the king had come up to its relief; but on the twenty-fourth, the prince of Bevern going to take a view of the poſition of the enemy, with only a ſingle groom to attend him, fell in with a party of Croats, who took him priſoner. In conſequence of this misfortune, his army decamped that ſame night, leaving in Breſlau only four battalions, under the command of lieutenant-general Leſwitz, who, unable to maintain himſelf in a place ſo extenſive and ſo ill fortified, capitulated the next day, on condition that the garriſon ſhould march out with all military honours, but that they ſhould not act againſt the empreſs-queen during the courſe of the war.

When an account of the battle before Breſlau was brought to Vienna, the news at firſt occaſioned great joy at court; but it was much abated by the particulars of the action, one of the moſt bloody that hiſtory can furniſh an inſtance. The Auſtrians owned that ſuch another victory would annihilate their army, for it coſt them the lives of twenty thouſand men; a number almoſt equal to the whole of the prince of Bevern's army before the battle. This will not appear exaggerated, when it is conſidered that the heat of the action laſted from eleven o'clock in the morning till five in the evening; and that four almoſt impregnable intrenchments were to be forced, planted thick with cannon, which fired cartridge-ſhot for ſeven hours ſucceſſively. The Pruſſians were never put into confuſion, and retreated in good order. Their loſs was not above four thouſand men killed, wounded, and taken priſoners.

The prince of Bevern's army having paſſed the Oder at Glogau, joined the king of Pruſſia at Barchwitz on the ſecond of December. He had alſo been reinforced on his march by a body of troops which he had ordered from Saxony, and the garriſon of Schweidnitz, as before related. Hearing that prince Charles of Lorraine had left Breſlau with his army, and that he had taken poſt at Liſſa, a village about ſixteen miles diſtance from that city, the king, who, with Cæſar, thought "Nihil actum dum aliquid agendum," determined, notwithſtanding the inferiority of his forces, to attack the Auſtrians in their intrenchments, whoſe right wing was covered by the village of Neerpen, and their left by that of Golau, with the rivulet of Schweidnitz in their rear.

On the fourth of December the Pruſſian army marched to Neumarck, where they ſeized upon the enemy's ovens, and upon a conſiderable magazine, and made priſoners ſix thouſand Pandours and huſſars that guarded them. After this ſeizure, and after having diſtributed to his army the proviſions he had taken, his Pruſſian majeſty reſumed his march towards Liſſa.

General Zithen, who led the vanguard of light horſe, about ſeven in the morning of the fifth fell in with a body of Auſtrian huſſars, and three regiments of Saxon dragoons, which had been detached by the Auſtrian generals, in order to retard the king's march, and conceal their own motions; for they held the ſmall number of Pruſſians in ſuch contempt, that their intention was to have met the king, and to have ſaved him two German miles to come at them. The Pruſſians, however, drove this advanced party back to their camp, took ſix officers and about five hundred men priſoners. As ſoon as the Pruſſian army had got to the high grounds about Liſſa, general Zithen perceived that the enemy's whole army was forming. He immediately acquainted the king with what he had diſcovered, who, after having himſelf ſurveyed their diſpoſition, made his own with that quickneſs and true judgment that has always rendered him ſo juſtly celebrated.

He gave orders for his troops to extend themſelves to the right as far as the rivulet of Schweidnitz, and to charge the left wing of the enemy. The action began in a wood, where the enemy had poſted ſome regiments of infantry, with forty pieces of cannon. The Pruſſians carried this battery, tho' with a conſiderable loſs; drove the Auſtrians out of the wood, and turning the enemy's cannon upon themſelves, plied them with a moſt furious fire. The Auſtrians hereupon were obliged to change their poſition; they had loſt the poſt that covered their right wing, which put them under the neceſſity of taking precipitately to the firſt poſt that came in their way, in order to prevent the Pruſſians raking their whole army from wing to wing. They poſted ſome brigades of foot on an eminence that lay behind the wood, which was ſoon attacked by the right of the Pruſſians, and carried, after an obſtinate reſiſtance. The enemy then formed a new line near the village of Lenten, where they defended themſelves for ſome time with great bravery, but were at length obliged to give way,

the Pruſſians continuing to advance with that ſlow and regular pace for which they were remarkable, without once ſtopping or giving ground a ſingle inſtant. During all theſe different attacks, the right of the Auſtrian cavalry and infantry came up, when the left of the Pruſſian cavalry charged theirs, and broke them; after which the regiment of Bareut took the Auſtrian infantry, which was poſted on an eminence, in the rear, at the ſame time that the left of our infantry attacked them in front.

At length the enemy gave way on all ſides; and after having by a quick retreat got at ſome diſtance, recovered themſelves three times, animated by their officers and by the ſuperiority of their numbers. Every time they made a ſtand, the Pruſſians attacked them with freſh vigour, and every time with ſucceſs. Towards night the Auſtrians fell into diſorder: their two wings fled in confuſion: one of them, cloſely preſſed by the king, ran towards Breſlau, and took ſhelter under the cannon of that city: the other, purſued by the greateſt part of the light cavalry, fled towards Canth and Schweidnitz. The action began at one o'clock in the afternoon, and ended at four. If day-light had laſted another hour, the defeat of the enemy would have been ſtill greater: as it was, ſix thouſand Auſtrians fell in this engagement; and the Pruſſians, who had only five hundred men killed and two thouſand wounded, made twenty-one thouſand of the enemy priſoners, among whom were two hundred and ninety officers; took one hundred and ſixty-eight cannon, fifty-one colours and ſtandards, and four thouſand waggons of ammunition and baggage. In ſhort, ſo great was the conſternation of the fugitives, that a cornet of Ziethen's regiment, with a party of ten men only, took, diſarmed, and brought one hundred of them priſoners to the king of Pruſſia's head-quarters; for which gallant action his majeſty advanced him to the rank of a captain, and honoured him with the Order of Merit. Never was a more complete, a more deciſive victory; and future times cannot but read with aſtoniſhment, that the ſame man who, on the fifth of November, triumphed over France and the empire at Roſbach, was on the fifth of December at Liſſa, where he defeated likewiſe the whole force of Auſtria.

The conſequences that followed this victory ſufficiently declared the greatneſs of it. The ſiege of Breſlau was immediately undertaken, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that it ſurrendered on the twentieth of the ſame month. The garriſon, conſiſting of thirteen thouſand men, were made priſoners of war. Among theſe were fourteen officers of diſtinction. The military cheſt, a vaſt treaſure, with eighty pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors, who loſt only about twenty men in their approaches. The ſeaſon being now far advanced, and the weather too ſevere to undertake any enterprize of conſequence, his Pruſſian majeſty contented himſelf with retaking ſome few towns of which the Auſtrians had poſſeſſed themſelves in Sileſia; and having fixed his head-quarters at Breſlau, put the reſt of his army which was not out upon excurſions into winter-quarters, where we ſhall leave them till the next campaign brings them into the field again.

As to the remains of the Auſtrian army under prince Charles of Lorraine and count Daun, ſoon after their defeat at Liſſa they returned into Bohemia, where they entered into quarters of cantonments, the head-quarters being fixed at Koniggratz; and as ſoon as every poſſible meaſure was taken for their ſecurity, prince Charles repaired to Vienna.

The reader will eaſily recollect, that upon the ſigning of the convention of Cloſter Seven with the French, and the negociating a neutrality for the electorate of Hanover, the king of Pruſſia wrote a letter to his Britannic majeſty, complaining of ſuch a ſtep as abandoning him to the mercy of his enemies, &c. &c. and that the king of Great Britain, in anſwer to this remonſtrance, publiſhed a declaration, diſavowing the ſaid convention, and all thoughts of a neutrality, and promiſing vigorouſly to ſupport the king of Pruſſia. This inclination to afford aſſiſtance to an ally in ſuch diſtreſs he was ſoon enabled effectually to gratify, by the ſhameful conduct of the French in Hanover, who, if not by the expreſs order, at leaſt by the apparent countenance, of the duke de Richelieu, their commander, exerciſed every imaginable act of pillage, rapacity, and inſolence; and perceiving that the Hanoverians, though ſubjected to the yoke of the capitulation, were ſtill formidable, in order to prevent any reſiſtance on their part to the oppreſſions laid upon them, the French general reſolved to add one violation more to the many they had already committed of the late treaty, and actually attempted to deprive the Hanoverians and Heſſians of their arms. In this diſtreſſed ſituation, into which they had undoubtedly been brought ſolely by their connections with England, the regency of Hanover demanded immediate ſuccours from the Britiſh nation.

The court of London did not pretend to contravert the juſtice of the Hanoverian plea, but were willing to try, before they had recourſe to extremities, what might be effected by pacific meaſures, and propoſed an extenſion of the convention of Cloſter Seven to a general armiſtice, and to found thereon a negociation for a general peace: but this could not be brought about, the French being reſolved to keep territories ſo dear to his Britannic majeſty in their poſſeſſion, to turn to their advantage, according as the occurrences of the war ſhould direct. Theſe tentatives towards a compromiſe failing, it was reſolved that the Hanoverian army ſhould immediately aſſemble, reſume their arms, and ſtand in the defence of their country againſt all invaders: and it was farther reſolved, to put in motion, maintain, and keep together, an army of obſervation, and to recommend a vigorous execution of this meaſure to the enſuing parliament.

By this time his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, diſguſted with the treatment he had received from Mr. Pitt and his colleagues in the miniſtry, who had abſolutely refuſed, to his moſt earneſt ſolicitations, the tranſporting ſix thouſand troops to Hanover to ſtrengthen the army of obſervation, had quitted the command of that army and returned to England, and, determined never more to engage in public affairs, reſigned into the hands of his royal father all his military employments. Hereupon his Britannic majeſty immediately, at the inſtance of his Pruſſian majeſty, nominated and appointed prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic (brother to the duke of Brunſwic) already diſtinguiſhed for his military abilities, commander in

chief of the army of obſervation. This promotion was followed with a declaration of his majeſty's motives for breaking the convention of Cloſter Seven on his part, as elector of Hanover; which, as it contains a candid and impartial relation of the facts on which this reſolution of the king of Great Britain was founded, I ſhall here inſert in the words and order as it ſtood.

"It is notorious, that in September of this preſent year, 1757, a convention was reſpectively agreed upon at Bromervorde and Cloſter Seven, between his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, and the marſhal duke de Richelieu; but the court of France was no ſooner informed of this, than ſhe plainly ſignified that ſhe neither could nor would acknowlege the validity of the ſaid convention, but on this condition only, namely, that the Hanoverian troops ſhould formally engage not to ſerve again, during the preſent war, againſt France or her allies. And not content even with this claim, ſhe poſitively inſiſted, that the auxiliary troops ſhould, upon returning into their own country, be diſarmed.

"His royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, who had on his part honeſtly fulfilled all the conditions of the convention, and cauſed part of the troops deſtined for the county of Lawenbourg to begin their march, could not conſider this new demand otherwiſe than as a manifeſt contravention; the marſhal duke de Richelieu having not only engaged to let the auxiliary troops depart freely, but the convention alſo ſetting forth in expreſs terms, that they ſhould not be regarded as priſoners of war, under which quality alone the condition of laying down their arms could take place. Upon this his royal highneſs ſent orders to the ſaid troops to halt.

"Every method was tried to reconcile the difference. Expedients were propoſed, which left no ſhadow of pretext to the oppoſite party; but all in vain: the French would never be brought to give up their mortifying demand: it is but lately they begun to ſoften their language a little. In the mean time the troops, pent up in the narrow diſtrict which was aſſigned them, were expoſed to the rigour of the ſeaſon, and deprived of neceſſaries and conveniences of any kind.

"The French, at preſent, pretend to treat the convention as a military regulation only. And indeed it was at firſt, and originally, nothing more. But on account of the above declaration of the court of France, which expreſsly ſuſpended its validity, and in conſequence of the negociation for diſarming the auxiliaries, in which the French general would never anſwer categorically, but waited always for an anſwer from the court of Verſailles; the nature of that act is totally changed, and what was at firſt a matter between general and general, is now become an affair of ſtate between the two courts.

"However hard the conditions of the convention might be for the troops of his Britannic majeſty, as elector of Hanover, the king would have acquieſced in them, had not the French glaringly diſcovered their deſign of totally ruining his army and his dominions. It is they themſelves who, by the moſt evident contraventions, and moſt outrageous conduct, have ſet the king free from every obligation under which he was laid by the convention.

"The great end of the conventional act (an end in itſelf of the very nature and eſſence of every proviſional armiſtice) was to pave the way for entering immediately on a negociation of peace, in order to prevent the total ruin of the countries which compoſed the electorate of Brunſwick-Lunebourg, and procure an accommodation for his majeſty's allies. The court of France yielding a deaf ear to the propoſitions offered for that end, not only declared, time after time, that ſhe would not lend a hand towards a definitive pacification with his majeſty, in quality of elector, but has ſhewed too plainly, by her continual violences, exceſſes, and inſupportable exactions ſince the ſigning of the convention, that her reſolution is to complete the ruin of the king's electoral eſtates, as well as thoſe of his allies.

"In the midſt of a truce, the moſt open hoſtilities have been committed. The caſtle of Schartztels has been forcibly ſeized and pillaged, and the garriſon made priſoners of war. The priſoners made by the French before the convention, have not been reſtored, though this was a point expreſly ſtipulated between the generals who ſettled the detail, and was exactly fulfilled on our part, by the immediate releaſe of the French priſoners. The bailies of thoſe diſtricts, into which the French troops were on no pretence to enter, have been ſummoned, under pain of military execution, to appear before the French commiſſary, in order to compel them to deliver up the public revenue in their hands. The French have appropriated to themſelves part of theſe magazines, which by expreſs agreement were to be left to the electoral troops; and they ſtill go on with ſeizing the houſes, revenues, and corn belonging to his majeſty, in the city of Bremen, in ſpight of the reciprocal engagement entered into, to conſider that city as a place abſolutely free and neutral. And, laſtly, they have proceeded to menaces, unheard of among a civilized people, of burning, ſacking, and deſtroying all before them, if at preſent, when they find their account in executing the convention, the leaſt heſitation be made about obſerving it.

"All theſe violent and unjuſt proceedings, (which are ſo many inconteſtable proofs, that the French will not admit the convention as obligatory, any farther than as it may prove ruinous to his Britannic majeſty; whilſt they pretend to be tied to nothing, and claim a power of acting at will) have been carried to an inſupportable height, and exhauſted the king's patience, who holds himſelf, before God and the whole impartial world, not only entitled, but obliged, without further regard to the convention, ſo often and ſo openly violated by the French, to have recourſe to arms, as the means which the Almighty has put into his hands for delivering his faithful ſubjects and allies from the oppreſſions and vexations which they now groan under.

"As his majeſty (conformable to his ſolemn declaration made and repeated to all nations, and to the Germanic body in particular, from the very beginning of the preſent unhappy war) has never thought of arming offenſively againſt any power whatever, but ſolely with a view of defending himſelf and his allies, he repoſes his confidence in God, and hopes for his benediction on the juſtneſs of his enterprizes."

The duke de Richelieu no ſooner was appriſed of the king of Great Britain's reſolutions, and that

the Hanoverians were in motion, and repairing to the command of prince Ferdinand, than he ſent a letter to that general, intimating his ſurprize at the late movements of the Hanoverians, which, he ſaid, ſeemed to indicate a deſign to break the articles of the convention of Cloſter Seven, which, for his own part, he was reſolved to fulfil exactly in all points; but at the ſame time declared, that if the Hanoverians ſhould proceed to take any ſtep contrary thereto, or commit any act of hoſtility, he ſhould inſtantly retaliate, by deſtroying every dwelling in the electorate by fire, from the royal palace to the ſmalleſt cabin, and make this country feel all the moſt dreadful horrors of war.

To this letter, which was inforced by the count de Lynar, the Daniſh ambaſſador, who had mediated the convention, prince Ferdinand returned a very laconic anſwer, importing, that he would give the duke de Richelieu an anſwer in perſon at the head of his army.

Every thing now beſpoke a renewal of the war between the two parties. The Hanoverians, ſpirited up with reſentment for the oppreſſive treatment they had experienced, were eager to come to blows with the French, and deliver their country from theſe mercileſs invaders. About the latter end of November they were wholly aſſembled at Stade, under the gallant leader prince Ferdinand, who immediately took the field, and marched with all expedition againſt the enemy, to drive them out of the electorate. Indeed no conjuncture could have been more favourable than the preſent to the Hanoverians, for taking revenge on theſe open violators of the moſt ſolemn treaties, and recovering their own liberty: for Richelieu, intent only on increaſing his own fortune by the indiſcriminate plunder of friends and foes, had extended his oppreſſion to the very army which he commanded, whoſe pay, ſubſiſtence, and cloathing, he is ſaid to have convered into money for his own uſe; ſo that thoſe troops which were in ſo fine and reſpectable a condition, when M. d'Etrées reſigned the command, were now diminiſhed in their numbers, decayed in their health and ſpirits, deſtitute of neceſſaries, without arms, and without order.. Add to this, that Richelieu had been guilty of a capital error in dividing his forces into ſuch diſtant quarters of cantonment, that they might eaſily be attacked ſeparately, and reduced by a much inferior army, before they could give each other any aſſiſtance.

Hoſtilities were now commenced, by the Hanoverians ſeizing upon ſome waggons of wood deſigned for the French garriſon of Harbourg: ſoon after which there were ſeveral ſkirmiſhes between them and the enemy; the moſt conſiderable of which was that on the fourth of December, when a diviſion of prince Ferdinand's army, under count Schuylemberg, came up with two thouſand of the French, who were marching back to Zell, whom he attacked in the bailiwic of Ebſtorff, and entirely defeated, twelve of their officers and one hundred and eighty ſoldiers being made priſoners, and about one hundred and thirty killed and wounded. There was another on the fourteenth of the ſame month upon the Aller, between a body of ſeven or eight thouſand Hanoverians, and one of about ten thouſand French; wherein the former, under general Zaſtrow, remained maſters of the field of battle.

Theſe ſkirmiſhes and advantages animated the Hanoverian army, and ſtruck ſuch a panic into the enemy, that they offered little or no reſiſtance; ſo that the former recovered poſſeſſion of Lunenburg, Zell, and all that part of the Brunſwic dominions next to Pruſſia; but their operations were conſiderably retarded by the reſolute defence of the French governor of Harbourg. When the Hanoverian troops made themſelves maſters of the town, he retired into the caſtle, which he continued to defend againſt a conſiderable detachment of the allied army, by whom it was inveſted, till at length, the fortifications being entirely deſtroyed, he ſubmitted by capitulation. This delayed the march of the Hanoverians, and gave the French time to recall their diſtant parties. The ſeverity of the ſeaſon, however, now forced both parties to put their forces into winter-quarters, prince Ferdinand occupying Ultzen and Lunenburgh, and the duke de Richelieu retreating into Hanover, in whoſe capital he fixed his head-quarters; though there continued to be frequent ſkirmiſhes, with various ſucceſs, between the out parties.

Richelieu, who by no means expected ſo vigorous an exertion on the part of the oppreſſed Hanoverians, gave a cloſe to the moſt inhuman and unmanly ſentiments of revenge: he not only delivered up the city of Zell to be plundered by his troops, againſt all the rules of war, but alſo reduced the ſuburbs to aſhes, and even gave orders to ſet fire to the orphan houſe of helpleſs children, who miſerably periſhed amongſt the flames. Theſe were, however, but a ſmall part of the calamities that the poor inhabitants ſuffered in the countries in ſubjection to the conquerors in the late war: wherever the French, the Auſtrians, or Ruſſians had gained the aſcendancy, the moſt horrible barbarities were committed by them: the French troops in particular have, on divers occaſions, acted in a manner which is not eaſily reconcileable to the character of a nation famed for ſentiment and civility.

The empreſs-queen was no ſooner informed of theſe tranſactions, which ſhe conſidered as infractions of the treaty of neutrality, than ſhe ſent a meſſenger to the baron de Steinberg, miniſter to the king of Great-Britain as elector of Hanover, acquainting him, that he ſhould appear no more at court, or confer with her miniſters; and that his reſiding at Vienna, he might eaſily conceive, could not be very agreeable: in conſequence of which intimation he retired, after having procured the neceſſary paſſports for his departure.

The conduct of the Dutch, during the whole courſe of the war that now raged in Europe, was puſillanimous to the laſt degree. They had, with ſurprizing facility, granted the French a free paſſage through Namur and Maeſtricht, for their proviſions, ammunition, and artillery, in the beginning of this very campaign; and they had beheld the towns of Oſtend and Nieuport put into the hands of the ſame nation, with the moſt perfect indifference. The former ſtep had already expoſed them to a ſharp remonſtrance from the court of London; and the latter now drew upon them another repreſentation no leſs ſpirited from the ſame quarter, delivered by colonel Yorke, his Britannic majeſty's miniſter at the Hague. It was conceived in the following terms.

"Con-

" Conſidering the critical ſituation which Europe has been in during the courſe of this year, in conſequence of meaſures concerted to embroil all Europe, the king of Great Britain was willing to flatter himſelf, that the courts of Vienna and Verſailles, out of regard to the circumſpect conduct obſerved by your High Mightineſſes, would have at leaſt informed you of the changes they have thought proper to make in the Auſtrian Netherlands.

" It was with the utmoſt ſurprize the king heard, that, without any previous conſent of yours, and almoſt without giving you any notice, the court of Vienna had thought proper to put the towns of Oſtend and Nieuport into the hands of the French troops, and to withdraw her own, as well as her artillery and ſtores, whilſt France continues to ſend thither a formidable quantity of both.

" The conduct of the court of Vienna towards his majeſty, is indeed ſo unmerited, and ſo extraordinary, that it is difficult to find words to expreſs it: but whatever fallacious pretexts ſhe may have made uſe of to palliate her behaviour towards England, it doth not appear that they can be extended ſo far as to excuſe the infringement, in concert with France, of the moſt ſolemn treaties between her and your High Mightineſſes.

" The king never doubted, that your High Mightineſſes would have made proper repreſentations to the two courts, newly allied, to demonſtrate the injuſtice of ſuch a proceeding, and the danger that might afterwards reſult from it.

" Your High Mightineſſes will have perceived, that your ſilence on the firſt ſtep, encouraged the two courts, newly allied, to attempt others; and who can ſay where they will ſtop? The pretext at firſt was, the need which the empreſs-queen ſtood in of the troops for the war kindled in the empire, and the neceſſity of providing for the ſafety of thoſe important places, and afterwards of their imaginary danger from England.

" But, high and mighty lords, it is but too evident, that the two powers, who have taken theſe meaſures in concert, have other projects in view, and have made new regulations with regard to that country, which cannot but alarm the neighbouring ſtates.

" The late demand made to your High Mightineſſes, of a paſſage for a large train of warlike implements thro' ſome of the barrier towns, in order to be ſent to Oſtend and Nieuport, could not fail to awaken the king's attention. The ſincere friendſhip, and parity of intereſts, of Great Britain and Holland, require that they ſhould no longer keep ſilence, leſt in the iſſue, it ſhould be conſidered as a tacit conſent, and as a relinquiſhment of all our rights.

" The king commands me, therefore, to recall to your High Mightineſſes the two-fold right you have acquired to keep the Auſtrian Netherlands under the government of the houſe of Auſtria; and that no other has a title to make the leaſt alteration therein, without the conſent of your High Mightineſſes; unleſs the new allies have reſolved to ſet aſide all prior treaties, and to diſpoſe at pleaſure of every thing that may ſuit their private intereſt.

" In the treaty between your High Mightineſſes and the crown of France, ſigned at Utrecht on the eleventh of April, 1713, in the fifteenth article, are theſe words: " It is alſo agreed that no province, fort, town, or city of the ſaid Netherlands, or of thoſe which are given up by his Catholic majeſty, ſhall ever be ceded, transferred, or given, or ſhall ever devolve to the crown of France, or any prince or princeſs of the houſe or line of France, either by virtue of any gift, exchange, marriage contract, ſucceſſion by will, or by any other title whatever, to the power and authority of the moſt Chriſtian king, or of any prince or princeſs of the houſe or line of France."

" In the barrier-treaty theſe very ſtipulations are repeated in the firſt article: " His Imperial and Catholic majeſty promiſes and engages, that no province, city, town, fortreſs, or territory of the ſaid country ſhall be ceded, transferred, given, or devolved to the crown of France, or to any other but the ſucceſſor of the German dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, either by donation, ſale, exchange, or marriage-contract, heritage, teſtamentary ſucceſſion, nor under any other pretext whatſoever; ſo that no province, town, fortreſs, or territory of the ſaid Netherlands ſhall ever be ſubject to any other prince, but to the ſucceſſor of the ſtates of the houſe of Auſtria alone, excepting what has been yielded by the preſent treaty to the ſaid lords the States-general."

" A bare reading of theſe two articles is ſufficient to evince all that I have juſt repreſented to your High Mightineſſes: and whatever pretext the courts of Vienna and Verſailles may allege, to cover the infraction of theſe treaties, the thing remains nevertheleſs evident, while theſe two courts are unable to prove, that the towns of Oſtend and Nieuport are not actually in the power of France. If their deſigns are juſt, or agreeable to thoſe treaties, they will doubtleſs not ſcruple, in the leaſt, to make your High Mightineſſes eaſy on that head, by openly explaining themſelves to a quiet and pacific neighbour, and by giving you indiſputable proofs of their intentions to fulfil the ſtipulations of the ſaid two treaties, with regard to the Netherlands.

" The king hath ſo much confidence in the good ſenſe, prudence, and friendſhip of your High Mightineſſes, that he makes not the leaſt doubt of your taking the moſt efficacious meaſures to clear up an affair of ſuch importance; and of your being pleaſed, in concert with his majeſty, to watch over the fate of a country, whoſe ſituation and independence have, for more than a century, been regarded as one of the principal ſupports of your liberty and commerce."

However ſtrong theſe arguments, ſo powerful was the French faction in Holland, that no regard was paid to them by the States-general. It ſhould ſeem indeed, that they were not only unprepared for a rupture with France. but unwilling to forego the comermcial advantages they continued to derive from obſerving a neutrality.

The intrigues of the French miniſtry ſeem to have been no leſs ſucceſsful at the court of Spain, which at this time diſcovered ſuch evident marks of partiality for that nation, as convinced the more diſcerning part of the Engliſh, that the Spaniards would ſeize the firſt favourable opportunity of joining with their enemies. In the courſe of this year the Antigallican, a private ſhip of war, equipped by a ſociety of gentlemen who aſſumed that name, took the Duke de Penthievre Indiaman off the port

of

of Corunna, and carried her into Cadiz. The prize was eſtimated worth two hundred thouſand pounds; and immediate application was made by France to the court of Spain for reſtitution, while the proprietors of the Antigallican were ſquandering in mirth, feſtivity, and riot, the imaginary wealth ſo eaſily and unexpectedly acquired. Such were the remonſtrances made to his Catholic majeſty, with reſpect to the illegality of the prize, which the French Eaſt India company aſſerted was taken within ſhot of a neutral port, that the Penthievre was firſt violently wreſted out of the hands of the captors, then detained as a depoſit with ſealed hatches, and a Spaniſh guard on board till the claims of both parties could be examined, and at laſt adjudged to be an illegal capture, and conſequently reſtored to the French, to the great diſappointment of the owners of the privateer.

I ſhall now proceed to lay before the reader the other tranſactions of this year, in which the nation was more immediately intereſted.

The accumulated loſſes and diſappointments of the preceding year having made it abſolutely neceſſary to retrieve the credit of the Britiſh arms and councils by ſome vigorous and ſpirited enterprize, Mr. Pitt and his friends, willing to approve themſelves worthy of the honours the people had conferred on them, determined to make a vigorous deſcent on the coaſt of France. They imagined, that ſhould ſuch a meaſure prove ſucceſsful, it would probably give a deciſive blow to the marine of that kingdom; and at the ſame time effect a powerful diverſion in favour of the Pruſſian monarch and our other allies in Germany, by converting the attention of the French to the defence and protection of their own coaſts. The Engliſh miniſtry likewiſe foreſaw, that by deſtroying the enemy's ſhipping, all ſuccours would be cut off from America, whither they were daily tranſporting troops; the Britiſh commerce ſecured, without thoſe convoys ſo inconvenient to the board of admiralty, and to the merchants; and thoſe ideal fears of an invaſion, that had in ſome meaſure affected the public credit, wholly diſpelled. From theſe conſiderations a powerful fleet was ordered to be got in readineſs to put to ſea on the ſhorteſt notice, and ten regiments of foot were marched to the Iſle of Wight. The naval armament, conſiſting of eighteen ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, bomb-ketches, and tranſports, was put under the command of ſir Edward Hawke, an officer whoſe faithful ſervices recommended him, above all others, to this command. Sir John Mordaunt was preferred to take the command of the land forces; and both ſtrictly enjoined to act with the utmoſt unanimity and harmony.

Europe beheld with aſtoniſhment theſe mighty preparations. The deſtination of the armament was wrapped in the moſt profound ſecurity: it exerciſed the penetration of politicians, and filled France with very ſerious alarms. Various were the impediments which obſtructed the embarkation of the troops for ſeveral weeks, while Mr. Pitt expreſſed the greateſt uneaſineſs at the delay, and repeatedly urged the commander in chief to expedite his departure; but a ſufficient number of tranſports, owing to ſome blunder in the contractors, had not yet arrived. The troops expreſſed an eager impatience to ſignalize themſelves againſt the enemies of the liberties of Europe; but the ſuperſtitious drew unfavourable preſages from the dilatorineſs of the embarkation.

At laſt the tranſports arrived, the troops were put on board with all expedition, and the fleet got under ſail on the eighth day of September, attended with the prayers of every man warmed with the love of his country, and ſolicitous for her honour. The public, big with expectation, dubious where the ſtroke would fall, but confident of its ſucceſs, were impatient for tidings from the fleet; but it was not till the fourteenth that even the troops on board began to conjecture that a deſcent was meditated on the coaſt of France near Rochfort, or Rochelle.

On the evening of the fifteenth orders were iſſued that confirmed their ſuſpicions, and ſpread the utmoſt joy and alacrity among the men. Regulations were made with reſpect to the manner of landing; and the corps directed to attack, had injunctions to march up vigorouſly to the enemy, reſerving their fire till they came very near, and then running in upon them with thir bayonets: orders which had all the air of a reſolution to do buſineſs.

The ſeventeenth farther orders, reſpecting the debarkation, were iſſued; but on the nineteenth the whole fleet was ſurprized with a ſignal to lay-to, though the wind was fair, the night clear, and the headland diſtance about twenty leagues; in which ſituation eight hours, a ſpace of time invaluable in ſuch a conjuncture, were loſt, before the ſignal was made to proceed on their courſe.

On the twentieth the fleet made the Iſle of Oleron, and then ſir Edward Hawke ſent an order to vice-admiral Knowles, requiring him, if the wind permitted the fleet, to proceed to Baſque road, to ſtand in as near to the Iſle of Aix as the pilot would carry him, with ſuch ſhips of his diviſion as he thought neceſſary for the ſervice, and to batter the fort till the garriſon ſhould either abandon or ſurrender it. But the immediate execution of this order was fruſtrated by a French man of war's ſtanding in to the very middle of the fleet, and continuing in that ſtation for ſome time before ſhe diſcovered her miſtake, or any of the captains had a ſignal thrown out to give chace. Admiral Knowles, when too late, ordered the Magnanime, captain Howe, and Torbay, captain Keppel, on that ſervice, and thereby retarded the attack upon which he was immediately ſent.

While the above ſhips, with the addition of the Royal William, were attending the French man of war ſafe into the river Garonne, the remainder of the fleet was beating to the windward off the Iſle of Oleron; and the commander in chief publiſhing orders and regulations which did credit to his judgment, and would have been highly uſeful had there ever been occaſion to put them in execution.

On the twenty-third, the van of the fleet, led by captain Howe in the Magnanime, ſtood towards Aix, a ſmall iſland ſituated in the mouth of the river Charente, leading up to Rochfort, the fortifications half finiſhed, and mounted with about thirty cannon and mortars, the garriſon compoſed of ſix hundred men, and the whole iſland about five miles in circumference. As the Magnanime approached, the enemy fired briskly upon her; but

captain Howe, regardleſs of their faint endeavours, kept on his courſe, till having gained the length of the fort, he dropt his anchors cloſe to the walls, and poured out ſo inceſſant a fire as ſoon ſilenced them. It was, however, near an hour before the fort ſtruck, when ſome forces were landed to take poſſeſſion of ſo important a conqueſt, with orders to demoliſh the fortifications, the care of which was entruſted to vice-admiral Knowles.

Inconſiderable as this ſucceſs might appear, it greatly elated the troops, and was deemed an happy omen of further advantages; but inſtead of embarking the troops that night, as was univerſally expected, ſeveral ſucceſſive days were ſpent in councils of war, ſoundings of the coaſt, and deliberations whether the king's expreſs orders were practicable, or to be complied with. Eight days were elapſed ſince the firſt appearance of the fleet on the coaſt, and the alarm was given to the enemy. Sir Edward Hawke, indeed, propoſed laying a ſixty gun ſhip againſt Fouras, and battering that fort, which it was thought would help to ſecure the landing of the troops, and facilitate the enterprize on Rochfort. This, a French pilot on board (Thierry) undertook; but after the ſhip had been lightened for that purpoſe, vice-admiral Knowles reported that a bomb ketch had run aground at above the diſtance of two miles from the fort; upon which the project of battering or bombarding the fort was abandoned. The admiral likewiſe propoſed to bombard Rochelle; but this overture was over-ruled for reaſons which we need not mention. It was at length determined in a council of war, held on the eighth, to make a deſcent, and attack the forts leading to and upon the mouth of the river Charente. An order, in conſequence of this reſolution, was immediately iſſued for the troops to be ready to go from the tranſports to the boats preciſely at twelve o'clock at night. A number of men of war's boats, under the command of a lieutenant, were appointed to attend each regiment, and to receive the grenadiers picquet companies, and in a number proportioned to their bulk; but with great caution not to overcrowd the boats. The colonel of each regiment was directed to land with the firſt detachment, if it amounted to three companies. The troops were ordered to proceed ſilently and quietly to the place of rendezvous appointed for the diviſion, and then to receive their commands from a captain of a ſhip of war, which they were enjoined ſcrupulouſly to obey. It was ſtrongly recommended to the ſoldiers to imitate the example ſo lately before them, the cool and determined valour that appeared in the attack of the Iſle of Aix. They were required to form and attack whatever appeared before them on their firſt landing; and colonel, now general Kingſley, was directed to march with the grenadiers on their landing; with lieutenant-colonel ſir William Boothby, and major Farquhar.

However judicious and agreeable to military rules theſe orders might appear, they did not fail to raiſe aſtoniſhment in the troops. The tranſports were at that time above four miles from ſhore, the enemy alarmed for eight days, and putting themſelves in a poſture of defence; ſeveral battalions had been ſeen marching along the coaſt from Rochelle; the ſhore, it was probable, was now lined with batteries; the ſea was rough and the weather boiſterous; the firſt body of men landed, which could not amount to eighteen hundred, muſt defend themſelves for the ſpace of ſix hours before a ſecond diſembarkation could be effected, and that without the hopes of a retreat, as the boats were ordered immediately to row back to the tranſports to take in more forces. All theſe, with a variety of other difficulties, were too obvious to eſcape the moſt unobſerving ſoldier on board. Notwithſtanding the dangers, but too apparent, there was the utmoſt alacrity among the troops; and every thing was purſued with ſo much ſpirit and expedition, that all the boats were filled an hour ſooner than the time appointed. Here they remained beating againſt each other, and the ſides of the ſhips, for the ſpace of four hours, while the council were determining whether, after all the trouble given, they ſhould land: when at length an order was publiſhed for the troops to return to their reſpective tranſports, and all thoughts of a deſcent, to appearance, wholly abandoned.

The ſucceeding days were employed, in blowing up and demoliſhing the fortifications of Aix; after which, in conſequence of a letter from ſir Edward Hawke, the land officers took the final reſolution of returning to England without any farther attempts, fully ſatisfied they had done all in their power to execute the deſigns of the miniſtry, and chuſing rather to oppoſe the frowns of an angry ſoverign, the murmurings of an incenſed nation, and the contempt of mankind, than fight a handful of daſtardly militia. Such was the iſſue of an expedition that raiſed the expectation of all Europe, threw the coaſts of France into the utmoſt confuſion, and coſt the people of England little leſs than a million of money!

The fleet was no ſooner returned than the whole nation was in a ferment. The public expectation had been wound up to the higheſt pitch, and now the diſappointment was proportioned to the ſanguine hopes conceived that the pride of France would have been humbled by ſo formidable an armament. The miniſtry, and with them the national voice, exclaimed againſt the commanding officers, and the military men retorted the calumny, by laying the blame on the projectors of the enterprize, who had put the nation to great expences before they obtained the neceſſary information. Certain it was, the blame muſt fall ſomewhere, and the miniſtry reſolved to acquit themſelves, and fix the accuſation, by requeſting his majeſty to appoint a board of officers of character and ability to enquire into the cauſes of the late miſcarriage. This alone it was that could appeaſe the public clamours, and afford general ſatisfaction.

The enemies of Mr. Pitt endeavoured to wreſt the miſcarrage of the expedition to his prejudice; but the whiſpers of faction were ſoon drowned in the voice of the whole people of England, who never could perſuade themſelves that a gentleman, raiſed to the height of power and popularity by mere dint of ſuperior merit, integrity, and diſintereſtedneſs, would now ſacrifice his reputation by a mock armament; or hazard incurring the deriſion of Europe, by neglecting to obtain all the neceſſary previous information, or doing whatever might contribute to the ſucceſs of the expedition. It was asked, whether reaſon or juſtice dictated, that a late unfortunate admiral ſhould be capitally puniſhed for not trying and exerting his utmoſt ability to relieve Fort St. Philip's, inveſted by a powerful

army, and ſurrounded with a numerous fleet, while no charge of negligence or cowardice was brought againſt thoſe who occaſioned the miſcarriage of a well-concerted and well-appointed expedition? The people, they ſaid, were not to be quieted with the reſolutions of a council of war, compoſed of men whoſe inactivity might frame excuſes for declining to expoſe themſelves to danger. It was publicly mentioned that ſuch backwardneſs appeared among the general officers before the fleet reached the iſle of Oleron, as occaſioned the admiral to declare with warmth, that he would comply with his orders, and go into Baſque road, whatever might be the conſequence. It was aſked why the army did not land on the night of the twenty-third or twenty-fourth; and whether the officers ſent out to reconnoitre had returned with ſuch intelligence as ſeemed to render a deſcent impracticable? It was asked, whether the commander in chief had complied with his majeſty's orders, "To attempt, as far as ſhould be found practicable, a deſcent on the coaſt of France, at or near Rochefort, in order to attack, and, by a vigorous impreſſion, force that place; and to burn and deſtroy, to the utmoſt of his power, all docks, magazines, arſenals, and ſhipping, as ſhall be found there?" Such rumours as theſe, every where propagated, rendered an enquiry no leſs neceſſary to the reputation of the officers on the expedition, than to the miniſter who had projected it.

Accordingly a board, conſiſting of three officers of rank, reputation, and ability, were appointed by his majeſty, purſuant to the following warrant, to inquire into the reaſons why the fleet ſhould have returned without having executed his majeſty's orders. "Whereas we were pleaſed, in Auguſt laſt, to ſend a number of troops on an expedition againſt France, with orders and inſtructions to attempt, as far as ſhould be found practicable, a deſcent on the French coaſt, at or near Rochefort; in order to attack, if practicable, and by a vigorous impreſſion, force that place; and to burn and deſtroy, to the utmoſt of their power, all docks, magazines, arſenals, and ſhipping, that ſhould be found there; and to exert ſuch other efforts as ſhould be judged moſt proper for annoying the enemy, as by our ſeveral inſtructions to the commander of the ſaid forces does more fully appear: and whereas the troops ſent for theſe purpoſes are returned to Great Britain, no attempt having been made to land on the coaſt of France; concerning the cauſes of which inaction, we think it neceſſary that enquiry ſhould be made by the general officers herein after named, in order that they may report thoſe cauſes to us, for our better information: our will and pleaſure is, and we do hereby nominate and appoint our right truſty and entirely beloved couſin and counſellor Charles duke of Marlborough, lieutenant-general; our truſty and well-beloved George Sackville, commonly called lord George Sackville, and John Waldegrave, major-generals of our forces, to examine and inquire touching the matters aforeſaid. And you are to give notice to the ſaid general-officers when and where they are to meet for the ſaid examination: and the ſaid general officers are hereby directed to cauſe you to ſummon ſuch perſons (whether the generals or other officers employed in the expeditions or others) as are neceſſary to give information touching the ſaid matters, or ſhall be deſired by thoſe who were employed in the expedition. And the ſaid general-officers are hereby farther directed to hear ſuch perſons as ſhall offer to give them information touching the ſame: and they are authorized, impowered, and required, ſtrictly to examine into the matters before mentioned, and to report a ſtate thereof as it ſhall appear to them, together with their opinion thereon. All which you are to tranſmit to our ſecretary at war, to be by him laid before us for our conſideration."

This warrant, dated on the firſt day of November, was directed to Thomas Morgan, eſq. his majeſty's judge-advocate; and in conſequence of it, the three general-officers met on the twenty-firſt of the ſame month. To judge of the practicability of executing his majeſty's orders, it was neceſſary to inquire into the nature of the intelligence upon which the expedition was projected. The firſt and moſt important was a letter ſent to ſir John, now earl Ligonier, by lieutenant-colonel Clarke. This letter had been frequently examined in the privy council, and contained in ſubſtance, That colonel Clark, in returning from Gibraltar in the year 1754, had travelled along the weſtern coaſt of France, to obſerve the condition of the fortifications, and judge how far a deſcent would be practicable, in caſe of a rupture between Great Britain and France. On his coming to Rochefort, where he was attended by an engineer, he was ſurpriſed to find the greateſt part of a good rampart, with a revetment flanked only with redans; no outworks, no covert way, and in many places no ditch, ſo that the bottom of the wall was ſeen at a diſtance. He remembered, that in other places, where the earth had been taken out to form the rampart, there was left round them a conſiderable height of ground, whence an enemy might draw great advantage: that for above the length of a front, or two or three hundred yards, there was no rampart, or even entrenchment, but only ſmall ditches, in the low and marſhy grounds next the river, which however were dry at low water; yet the bottom remained muddy and ſlimy. Towards the river no rampart, no batteries, no parapet, on either ſide, appeared; and on the land ſide he obſerved ſome high ground, within the diſtance of one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards of the town; in which condition, the colonel was told by the engineer, the place had remained for above ſeventy years. To prevent giving umbrage, he drew no plan of the place, and even burnt the few ſketches he had by him: however, as to utility, the colonel declared himſelf as much ſatisfied as if he had got a plan. He could not aſcertain the direct height of the rampart; but thought it could not exceed twenty-five feet, including the parapet. The river might be about one hundred and thirty broad, and the entrance defended by two or three ſmall redoubts. As to forces, none are ever garriſoned at Rochfort, except marines, which, at the time the colonel was on the ſpot, amounted to about one thouſand.

This was the firſt intelligence the miniſtry received of the ſtate of Rochefort, which afforded ſufficient room to believe, that an attack by ſurprize might be attended with happy conſequences. It was true, that colonel Clarke made his obſervations in time of peace; but it was likewiſe probable, that no great alterations were made, on account of the war, as the place had remained in the ſame condition during the two or three laſt wars with

with France, when they had the ſame reaſons as now to expect their coaſt would be inſulted.

The next information was obtained from Joſeph Thierry, a French pilot, of the proteſtant religion, who paſſed ſeveral examinations before the privy council. This perſon declared, that he had followed the buſineſs of a pilot on the coaſt of France for the ſpace of twenty years, and ſerved as firſt pilot in ſeveral of the king's ſhips: that he had, in particular, piloted the Magnanime, before ſhe was taken by the Engliſh, for about twenty-two months, and had often conducted her into the road of the Iſle of Aix; and that he was perfectly acquainted with the entrance, which, indeed, is ſo eaſy as to render a pilot almoſt unneceſſary. The road, he ſaid, afforded a good anchorage in twelve or fourteen fathom water, as far as Bayonne; the channel between the iſlands of Oleron and Rhe was three leagues broad, and the banks neceſſary to be avoided near the land, except one called the Boiard, which is eaſily diſcerned by the breakers. He affirmed, that the largeſt veſſels might draw up cloſe to the fort of Aix, which he would undertake the Magnanime alone could deſtroy: that the largeſt ſhips might come up to the vigerot, two miles diſtant from the mouth of the river, with all their cannon and ſtores: that men might be landed to the north of fort Fouras, out of ſight of the fort, upon a meadow, where the ground is firm and level, under cover of the cannon of the fleet. This landing place he reckoned at about five miles from Rochefort, the way dry, and no where intercepted by ditches and moraſſes. Great part of the city was encompaſſed by a wall; but towards the river on both ſides, for about ſixty paces, it was incloſed only with palliſades, without a foſſe.

To the intelligence of colonel Clark and Thierry, the miniſtry added a ſecret account obtained of the ſtrength and diſtribution of the French forces; whence it appeared highly probable, that not more than ten thouſand men could be allowed for the defence of the whole coaſt, from St. Valery to Bourdeaux.

In conſequence of the above information the ſecret expedition was planned; inſtructions given to ſir John Mordaunt and admiral Hawke to make a vigorous impreſſion on the French coaſt, and all the other meaſures projected, which it was imagined would make an effectual diverſion, by obliging the enemy to employ a great part of their forces at home, diſturb and ſhake the credit of their public loans, impair the ſtrength and reſources of their navy, diſconcert their extenſive and dangerous operations of war, and finally, give life, ſtrength, and luſtre to the common cauſe and his majeſty's arms.

The board of enquiry took next into conſideration the ſeveral letters and explanatory inſtructions ſent to ſir John Mordaunt, in conſequence of ſome difficulties which might poſſibly occur, ſtated by that general in letters to the miniſter, previous to his ſailing. Then they examined the report made to ſir Edward Hawke by admiral Broderick, and the captains of men of war ſent to ſound the French ſhore from Rochelle to fort Fouras, dated September the twenty-ninth; the reſult of the councils of war on the twenty-fifth and twenty-eighth; ſir Edward Hawke's letter to ſir John Mordaunt on the twenty-ſeventh, and the general's anſwer on the twenty-ninth: after which ſir John Mordaunt was called upon to give his reaſons for not putting his majeſty's inſtructions and orders in execution. This he did in ſubſtance as follows: The attempt on Rochefort, he underſtood, was to have been on the footing of a coup-de-main, or ſurprize, which it would be impoſſible to execute, if the deſign was diſcovered, or the alarm taken. He alſo underſtood that an attempt could not be made; nay, that his majeſty did not require it ſhould, unleſs a proper place for debarking, and a ſafe retreat for the troops, was diſcovered; particularly where the ſhips could protect them, and a ſafe communication with the fleet, and conveyance of ſupplies from it, was found. His ſentiments, he ſaid, were confirmed by a paper to this purpoſe, delivered to him by ſir John Ligonier, on his firſt being appointed to command the expedition. It was likewiſe probable, he thought, that although Rochefort ſhould have remained in the ſituation in which colonel Clark and the pilot Thierry had ſeen it three years before, yet that a few days preparation could make it ſufficiently defenſible againſt a coup de main. Judging, therefore, the dependance on ſuch an operation alone improper, he applied to the miniſtry for two more old battalions, and artillery for a regular attack to force the place, which from its conſtruction appeared as difficult to be made defenſible againſt the latter, as eaſily ſecured againſt the former. But this requeſt being refuſed, he ſtill thought it his duty to obey his orders on the footing the expedition was planned, eſpecially as he underſtood his inſtructions were diſcretionary, regarding the circumſtances of the time, the condition of the place, and the nature of the ſervice. He recited the poſitive and credible intelligence received, as well before the embarkation as during the voyage, of the alarm given to France, and the preparations made along the French coaſts from Breſt and St. Malo's to Rochefort: the accidents that kept the fleet hovering along the coaſts, and prevented the poſſibility of an attempt by ſurprize: the reports of all the gentlemen employed in ſounding the coaſts, ſo contrary to the intelligence given by Thierry the pilot: the opinion of the council of war, by which he was enjoined to act, and with which his own judgment concurred: the endeavours uſed, after the twenty-ſixth, to find out ſome expedient for annoying the enemy, and executing his majeſty's inſtructions: the attempt made to land, in conſequence of the reſolution of the ſecond council of war, which was prevented by boiſterous and ſtormy weather: and, laſtly, the reaſons that determined him, in concert with the other land-officers, to return to England.

Having conſidered all theſe circumſtances, and examined ſeveral officers who ſerved in the expedition, the court of enquiry gave in the following report to his majeſty; a report, at that time, deemed equivocal, artful, and unſatisfactory.

"It appears to us, that one cauſe of the expedition having failed, is the not attacking fort Fouras by ſea, at the ſame time that it could have been attacked by land, agreeable to the firſt deſign, which certainly muſt have been of the greateſt utility towards carrying your majeſty's inſtructions into execution. It was at firſt reſolved by admiral Hawke (Thierry the pilot having undertaken the ſafe conduct of a ſhip to fort Fouras for that purpoſe)

poſe) but afterwards laid aſide, upon the repreſentation of vice-admiral Knowles, that the Barfleur, the ſhip deſigned for that ſervice, was on ground, at the diſtance of between four and five miles from the ſhore: but as neither ſir Edward Hawke or the pilot could attend to give any information upon that head, we cannot preſume to offer any certain opinion thereupon.

"We conceive another cauſe of the failure of the expedition to have been, that inſtead of attempting to land, when the report was received, on the twenty-fourth of September, from rear-admiral Broderick, and the captains who had been ſent out to ſound and reconnoitre, a council of war was ſummoned and held on the twenty-fifth; in which it was unanimouſly reſolved not to land, as the attempt on Rochefort was neither adviſeable nor practicable: but it does not appear to us, that there were then, or at any time afterwards, either a body of troops or batteries on ſhore ſufficient to have prevented the attempting a deſcent, in purſuance of the inſtructions ſigned by your majeſty: neither does it appear to us that there were any reaſons ſufficient to induce the council of war to believe that Rochefort was ſo changed, in reſpect of its ſtrength, or poſture of defence, ſince the expedition was firſt reſolved on in England, as to prevent all attempts of an attack upon the place, in order to burn and deſtroy the docks, magazines, arſenals, and ſhipping, in obedience to your majeſty's command.

"And we think ourſelves obliged to remark, in the council of war on the twenty-eighth of September, that no reaſon could have exiſted ſufficient to prevent the attempt of landing the troops, as the council then unanimouſly reſolved to land with all poſſible diſpatch.

"We beg leave alſo to remark, that after its being unanimouſly reſolved to land, in the council of war of the twenty-eighth of September, the reſolution was taken of returning to England, without any regular or general meeting of the ſaid council: but, as the whole operation was of ſo inconſiderable a nature, we do not offer this to your majeſty as a cauſe of the failure of the expedition; ſince we cannot but look upon the expedition to have failed from the time the great object of it was laid aſide, in the council of war of the twenty-fifth."

However vague, and even inconſiſtent, this report, ſigned by the general officers Marlborough, Sackville, and Waldegrave, might appear to many perſons, it probably laid the foundation for the court-martial which ſat ſoon after, upon the conduct of the commander in chief of the expedition. The enemies of the miniſter made a handle of it, to leſſen him in the eſteem of the public, by laying the whole blame on his forming a project ſo expenſive to the nation, on intelligence not only ſlight at the firſt view, but falſe upon farther examination. But the people were ſtill his advocates: they diſcerned ſomething myſterious in the whole conduct of the commander in chief. They plainly perceived that caution took place of vigour, and that the hours for action were ſpent in deliberations and councils of war. Had he debarked the troops, and made ſuch an attack as would have diſtinguiſhed his courage, the voice of the people would have acquitted him, however unſucceſsful, though prudence perhaps might have condemned him. Even Braddock's raſhneſs they deemed preferable to Mordaunt's inactivity: the loſs of ſo many brave lives was thought leſs injurious and diſgraceful to the nation, than the too ſafe return of the preſent armament. The one demonſtrated that the Britiſh ſpirit ſtill exiſted; the other ſeemed to indicate the too powerful influence of wealth, luxury, and thoſe manners which tend to debauch and emaſculate the mind. A public trial of the commander in chief was expected by the people, and it was graciouſly granted by his majeſty. It is even thought that ſir John Mordaunt himſelf demanded to have his conduct ſcrutinized, by which method alone he was ſenſible his character could be reeſtabliſhed. His majeſty's warrant for holding a court-martial was accordingly ſigned on the third day of December. The court was compoſed of nine lieutenant-generals, nine major-generals, and three colonels, who ſat on the fourteenth, and continued by ſeveral adjournments to the twentieth.

Lieutenant-general ſir John Mordaunt came priſoner before the court, and the following charge was exhibited againſt him; namely, "That he being appointed by the king commander in chief of his majeſty's forces ſent on an expedition to the coaſt of France, and having received orders and inſtructions relative thereto from his majeſty, under his royal ſign manual, and alſo by one of his principal ſecretaries of ſtate, hath diſobeyed his majeſty's ſaid orders and inſtructions." The proceedings of this court were nearly ſimilar to thoſe of the court of enquiry. The ſame evidences were examined, with the addition of ſir Edward Hawke's depoſition; and a defence, differing in no eſſential point from the former, made by the priſoner; but the judgment given was clear and explicit. Sir John Mordaunt was unanimouſly found Not guilty, and therefore acquitted, while the public opinion remained unaltered; and many perſons inveighed as bitterly againſt the lenity of the preſent court-martial, as they had formerly againſt the ſeverity of the ſentence paſſed upon a late unfortunate admiral. The evidence of one gentleman in particular drew attention: he was accuſed of tergiverſation, and of ſhewing that partial indulgence which his own conduct required. He publicly defended his character: his performance was cenſured, and himſelf diſmiſſed the ſervice by his ſovereign.

The operations at ſea during the courſe of this year were neither numerous nor important. The commerce of Great Britain ſuſtained conſiderable damage from the activity and ſucceſs of French privateers, of which a great number had been fitted out in the iſlands of Martinique and Guadalupe. The Greenwich ſhip of war, mounted with fifty guns, and a frigate of twenty, fell into the hands of the enemy, together with a very conſiderable number of trading veſſels.

Theſe loſſes, however, were more than compenſated by the advantages obtained by the Engliſh commanders. The Duc d'Aquitaine, a large ſhip of fifty guns, was taken in the month of June by two Britiſh ſhips of war, after an obſtinate engagement; and about the ſame time the Aquilon, of nearly the ſame force, was driven on ſhore and deſtroyed near Breſt by the Antelope, one of the Britiſh cruiſers. A French frigate of twenty-ſix

guns, called the Emeraude, was taken in the Channel, after a warm engagement, by an Engliſh ſhip of inferior force, under the command of captain Gilchriſt, a brave and active officer, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſequel by very extraordinary feats of valour. All the ſea officers ſeemed to be animated with a noble emulation to outvie each other in the ſervice of their country; and the ſpirit deſcended even to the captains of privateers, who, inſtead of imitating the former commanders of that claſs, in avoiding ſhips of force, and converting their whole attention to advantageous prizes, now attacked the armed ſhips of the enemy, and fought with the moſt obſtinate valour in the purſuit of national glory.

Hiſtory perhaps cannot furniſh a more remarkable inſtance of deſperate courage than that which was exhibited in December of the preceding year, by the officers and crew of an Engliſh privateer, called the Terrible, under the command of captain William Death, armed with twenty-ſix carriage guns, and manned with two hundred ſailors. On the twenty-third day of the month he engaged and took a large French ſhip from St. Domingo, after an obſtinate battle, in which he loſt his fourth lieutenant and three ſeamen: then he ſecured with ſixteen men his prize, which contained a valuable cargo, and directed his courſe towards England; but in a few days he had the misfortune to fall in with the Vengeance, a privateer of St. Malo, carrying thirty-four large cannon, with a complement of three hundred and fifty men.

Their firſt ſtep was to retake the prize, which was eaſily effected; then the two ſhips bore down upon the Terrible, whoſe main-maſt was ſhot away by the firſt broadſide. Notwithſtanding this diſaſter, ſhe maintained ſuch a furious and deſperate engagement againſt both as can hardly be equalled in the annals of Britain. The firſt and third captains of the Frenchman were killed, with two thirds of their company; but the gallant captain Death, with the greater part of his officers, and almoſt his whole crew, having met with the ſame fate, his ſhip was boarded by the enemy, who found no more than twenty-ſix perſons alive, ſixteen of whom were mutilated by the loſs of leg or arm, and the other ten grievouſly wounded. The ſhip itſelf was ſo ſhattered that it could ſcarce be kept from ſinking, and the whole diſplayed a moſt dreadful ſcene of blood, carnage, and deſolation. Even the victor lay a wreck on the ſurface; and in this condition made ſhift, with great difficulty, to tow the Terrible into St. Malo, where ſhe was not beheld without aſtoniſhment and terror. This adventure was no ſooner known in England than a liberal ſubſcription was raiſed for the ſupport of Death's widow, and that part of the crew which ſurvived the engagement.

In the month of November captain Lockhart, a young gentleman who had already rendered himſelf a terror to the enemy, as commander of a ſmall frigate, now added conſiderably to his reputation, by taking the Melampe, a French privateer of Bayonne, greatly ſuperior to his ſhip in number of men and weight of metal. This exploit was followed by another of the ſame nature, in his conqueſt of another French adventurer, called the Counteſs of Gramont; and a third large privateer of Bayonne was taken by captain Saumarez, commander of the Antelope. In a word, the Narrow Seas were ſo well guarded, that in a little time ſcarce a French ſhip durſt ſtir out of their harbours, while the Britiſh traders carried on their traffic without moleſtation.

Let us now turn our eyes to the continent of America, where we ſhall ſee as diſagreeable and diſgraceful ſcenes as thoſe exhibited, during the courſe of this year, by the Britiſh arms in Europe.

Whatever reaſons the government had to expect the campaign ſhould be vigorouſly puſhed in America, almoſt every circumſtance turned out contrary to expectation. Not all the endeavours of the earl of Loudon to quiet the diſſenſions among the different provinces, and to eſtabliſh unanimity and harmony, could prevail. Circumſtances required, that he ſhould act the part of a mediator, in order to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies for proſecuting the war, without which it was impoſſible he could appear in the character of a general.

The enemy, in the mean time, were purſuing the blow given at Oſwego, and taking advantage of the diſtraction that appeared in the Britiſh councils. By their ſucceſſes, in the preceding campaign, they remained maſters of all the lakes. Hence they were furniſhed with the means of practiſing on the Indians in all the different diſtricts, and obliging them, by rewards, promiſes, and menaces, to act in their favour. Every acceſſion to their ſtrength was a real diminution of that of the Britiſh commander; but then the ignorance or puſillanimity of ſome of the inferior officers in our back ſettlements was, in effect, more beneficial to the enemy than all the vigilance and activity of Montcalm. In conſequence of the ſhameful loſs of Oſwego, they voluntarily abandoned to the mercy of the French general the whole country of the Five Nations, the only body of Indians who had inviolably performed their engagements, or indeed that had preſerved any ſincere regard for the Britiſh government. The communication with theſe faithful allies was now cut off, by the imprudent demolition of the forts we poſſeſſed at the great Carrying-place. A ſtrong fort indeed was built at Wincheſter, and called Fort Loudon, after the commander in chief, and four hundred Cherokee Indians joined the Engliſh forces at Fort Cumberland: but this by no means counterbalanced the loſſes ſuſtained in conſequence of our having imprudently ſtopped up Wood Creek, and filled it with logs. Every perſon the leaſt acquainted with the country, readily perceived the weakneſs of theſe meaſures, by which our whole frontier was left open and expoſed to the irruption of the ſavages in the French intereſt, who would not fail to profit by our blunders, too notorious to eſcape them. By the removal of theſe barriers, a path was opened to our fine ſettlements on thoſe grounds called the German Flats, and along the Mohawk's river, which the enemy deſtroyed with fire and ſword before the end of the campaign.

In the mean time, lord Loudon was taking the moſt effectual ſteps to unite the provinces, and raiſe a force ſufficient to give ſome deciſive blow. The attack on Crown Point, which had been ſo long meditated, was laid aſide, as of leſs importance than the intended expedition to Louiſbourg, now ſubſtituted in its place, and undoubtedly a more conſiderable object in itſelf. Admiral

Holbourn arrived at Hallifax with the ſquadron and tranſports under his command on the ninth of July; and it was his lordſhip's intention to repair thither with all poſſible diligence, in order to take upon him the command of the expedition; but a variety of accidents interpoſed. It was with the utmoſt difficulty he at length aſſembled a body of ſix thouſand men, with which he inſtantly began his march to join the troops lately arrived from England. When the junction was effected, the whole forces amounted to twelve thouſand men; an army that raiſed great expectations. Immediately ſome ſmall veſſels were ſent out to examine and reconnoitre the condition of the enemy, and the intermediate time was employed in embarking the troops, as ſoon as the tranſports arrived. The return of the ſcouts totally altered the face of affairs: they brought the unwelcome news, that M. de Bois de la Mothe, who ſailed in the month of May from Breſt with a large fleet of men of war and tranſports, was now ſafe at anchor in the harbour of Louiſbourg. Their intelligence was ſupported by the teſtimony of ſeveral deſerters; yet ſtill it wanted confirmation, and many perſons believed their account of the enemy's ſtrength greatly magnified. Such advices, however, could not but occaſion extrordinary fluctuations in the councils of war at Halifax. Some were for ſetting aſide all thoughts of the expedition for that ſeaſon; while others, more warm in their diſpoſitions, and ſanguine in their expectations, were for proſecuting it with vigour, in ſpite of all dangers and difficulties. Their diſputes were carried on with great vehemence, when a packet, bound from Louiſbourg for France, was taken by one of his majeſty's ſhips ſtationed at Newfoundland. She had letters on board, which put the enemy's ſuperiority beyond all doubt, at leaſt by ſea. It clearly appeared there were at that time in Louiſbourg ſix thouſand regular troops, three thouſand natives, and one thouſand three hundred Indians, with ſeventeen ſhips of the line, and three frigates moored in the harbour; that the place was well ſupplied with ammunition, proviſion, and every kind of military ſtores; and that the enemy wiſhed for nothing more than an attack, which it was probable would terminate to the diſgrace of the aſſailants, and ruin of the Britiſh affairs in America. The commanders at Halifax were fully apprized of the conſequences of an unſucceſsful attempt: it was therefore almoſt unanimouſly reſolved to poſtpone the expedition to ſome more convenient opportunity, eſpecially as the ſeaſon was now far advanced, which alone would be ſufficient to fruſtrate their endeavours, and render the enterprize abortive.

This reſolution ſeems indeed to have been the moſt eligible in their circumſtances, whatever conſtructions might afterwards be given, with intention to prejudice the public againſt the commander in chief. Lord Loudon's departure from New York, with all the forces he was able to collect, afforded the marquis de Montcalm the faireſt occaſion of improving the ſucceſſes of the former campaign. That general had, in the very commencement of the ſeaſon, made three different attacks on Fort William-Henry, in all which he was repulſed by the vigour and reſolution of the garriſon. But his diſappointment here was balanced by an advantage gained by a party of regulars and Indians at Ticonderoga. Colonel John Parker, with a detachment of near four hundred men, went by water, in whale and bay-boats, to attack the enemy's advanced guard at that place. Landing at night on an iſland, he ſent before dawn three boats to the main land, which the enemy way-laid and took. Having procured the neceſſary intelligence from the priſoners of the colonel's deſigns, they contrived their meaſures, placed three hundred men in ambuſh behind the point where he propoſed landing, and ſent three battoes to the place of rendezvous. Colonel Parker, miſtaking theſe for his own boats, eagerly put to ſhore, was ſurrounded by the enemy, reinforced with four hundred men, and attacked with ſuch impetuoſity, that, of the whole detachment, only two officers and ſeventy private men eſcaped. Fluſhed with this advantage, animated by the abſence of the Britiſh commander in chief, then at Halifax, and fired with a deſire to revenge the diſgrace he had lately ſuſtained before Fort Henry, Montcalm drew together all his forces, with intention to lay ſiege to that place. Fort William-Henry ſtands on the ſouthern coaſt of Lake George. It was built with a view to protect and cover the frontiers of the Engliſh colonies, as well as to command the lake. The fortifications were good, defended by a garriſon of near three thouſand men, and covered by an army of four thouſand, under the conduct of general Webb, poſted at no great diſtance. When the marquis de Montcalm had aſſembled all the forces at Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent poſts, together with a conſiderable body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in the whole to near ten thouſand men, he marched directly to the fort, made his approaches, and with a good train of artillery began playing on the garriſon.

On the very day he inveſted the place, he ſent a letter to colonel Monro, telling him, he thought himſelf obliged, in humanity, to deſire he would ſurrender the fort, and not provoke the great number of ſavages in the French army by a vain reſiſtance. "A detachment of your garriſon has lately, ſays he, experienced their cruelty: I have it yet in my power to reſtrain them, and oblige them to obſerve a capitulation, as none of them hitherto are killed; which will not be in my power in other circumſtances. Your perſiſting in the defence of your fort can only retard its fate a few days, and muſt of neceſſity expoſe an unfortunate garriſon, who can poſſibly receive no relief, conſidering the precautions taken to prevent it. I demand a deciſive anſwer, for which purpoſe I have ſent the ſieur Funtbrune, one of my aid-de-camps. You may credit what he will inform you of, from Montcalm."

General Webb beheld his preparations with an indifference and ſecurity bordering on infatuation. It is credibly reported, that he had private intelligence of all the French general's deſigns and motions; yet, either deſpiſing his ſtrength, or diſcrediting the information, he neglected collecting the militia in time, which, in conjunction with his own forces, would probably have obliged Montcalm to relinquiſh the attempt, or at leaſt have rendered his ſucceſs very doubtful and hazardous. The enemy, meeting with no diſturbance from the quarter they moſt dreaded, proſecuted the ſiege with

with vigour, and were warmly received by the garriſon, who fired with great ſpirit, till they had burſt almoſt all their cannon, and ſpent their ammunition. Neither Montcalm's promiſes or threats could prevail upon them to ſurrender, while they were in a condition to defend themſelves, or could reaſonably expect aſſiſtance from general Webb: they even perſiſted to hold out after prudence dictated they ought to ſurrender. Colonel Monro was ſenſible of the importance of his charge, and imagined that general Webb, though ſlow in his motions, would ſurely make ſome vigorous efforts either to raiſe the ſiege, or force a ſupply of ammunition, proviſion, and other neceſſaries into the garriſon. At length neceſſity obliged him, after ſuſtaining a ſiege from the third to the ninth day of Auguſt, to hang out a flag of truce, which was immediately anſwered by the French commander. Hoſtages were exchanged, and articles of capitulation ſigned by both parties; whereby the garriſon of Fort William-Henry, and the troops in the retrenched camp, ſhould march out with their arms, the baggage of the officers and ſoldiers, and all the uſual neceſſaries of war; eſcorted by a detachment of French troops, or interpreters attached to the ſavages. It was agreed, that the gate of the fort ſhould be delivered to the troops of the moſt Chriſtian king, immediately after ſigning the capitulation; and the retrenched camp, on the departure of the Britiſh forces: that the artillery, warlike ſtores, proviſion, and in general every thing, except the effects of the ſoldiers, and officers, ſhould, upon honour, be delivered to the French troops; for which purpoſe it was agreed there ſhould be delivered, with the capitulation, an exact inventory of the ſtores, and other particulars ſpecified: that the garriſon of the fort, the troops in the retrenchment, and dependencies, ſhould not ſerve for the ſpace of eighteen months, from the date of the capitulation, againſt his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, or his allies: that with the capitulation there ſhould be delivered an exact ſtate of the troops, ſpecifying the names of the officers, engineers, artilleriſts, commiſſaries, and all employed: that the officers and ſoldiers, Canadians, women, and ſavages made priſoners by land ſince the commencement of the war in North America, be delivered in the ſpace of three months at Carrilon; in return for which an equal number of the garriſon of Fort William ſhould be capacitated to ſerve, agreeable to the return given by the Engliſh officer, and the receipt of the French commanding officers, of the priſoners ſo delivered: that an officer remain as an hoſtage, till the ſafe return of the eſcort ſent with the troops of his Britannic majeſty: that the ſick and wounded, not in a condition to be tranſported to Fort Edward, ſhould remain under the protection of the marquis de Montcalm; who engaged to uſe them with tenderneſs and humanity, and to return them as ſoon as recovered: that proviſion for two days ſhould be iſſued out for the Britiſh troops: that in teſtimony of his eſteem and reſpect for colonel Monro and his garriſon, on account of their gallant defence, the marquis de Montcalm ſhould return one cannon, a ſix pounder.

Whether the marquis de Montcalm was really aſſiduous to have theſe articles punctually executed, we cannot pretend to determine; but certain it is, that they were perfidiouſly broke, in almoſt every inſtance. The ſavages, in the French intereſt, either paid no regard to the capitulation, or were permitted, from views of policy, to act the moſt treacherous, inhuman, and inſidious part. They fell upon the Britiſh troops as they marched out, deſpoiled them of the few remaining effects, dragged the Indians in the Engliſh ſervice out of their ranks, ſcalping, tomohawking, and again acting the tragedy at Oſwego, with a thouſand additional outrages and barbarities. The throats of many women, we are told, were cut, their bodies ript open, bowels torn out, and inſultingly thrown in their faces, with ſuch ſavage marks of rage and horrible cruelty, as, for the ſake of humanity, ought to be diſcredited. Can poſterity be brought to believe, that two thouſand Britons, with arms in their hands, could be tame ſpectators of theſe, and more ſhocking barbarities? That they would permit a rabble of brutiſh ſavages to ſeize infants and children by the heels, and wantonly beat out their brains againſt trees and ſtones! Yet were theſe and other enormities, equally diſgraceful to humanity, committed in ſight of the French and Britiſh forces, if we may credit the teſtimony of credible evidences. However, the greateſt part of the Britiſh garriſon got ſafe, though in a miſerable condition, to Fort Edward, after being purſued for ſeven miles by the Indians; and the reſt, flying for protection to the marquis de Montcalm, were by him ſent home. A little time after the enemy demoliſhed the fort, carried off the effects, proviſion, artillery, and every thing elſe left by the garriſon, together with the veſſels preſerved in the lake, and departed, without purſuing their ſucceſs by any other attempt.

Thus ended the third campaign in America, where, with a vaſt increaſe of forces, a clear ſuperiority over the enemy, an army of twenty thouſand regular troops, a great number of provincial forces, and a prodigious naval power, not leſs than twenty ſhips of the line, we abandoned our allies, expoſed our people, ſuffered them to be cruelly maſſacred, in ſight of our troops, and relinquiſhed a large and valuable tract of country, to the eternal reproach and diſgrace of the Britiſh name.

We could not, without interrupting the principal operations, take notice of two occurrences which ought to have been mentioned.

In the month of July a ſtratagem, contrived by the enemy, had very nearly occaſioned the loſs of Fort Johnſon. They propoſed ruſhing into the fort in the evening, when the gate was open to admit the Negroe women, ſent out every day to milk the cattle. Happening to be a few minutes too late, the gates were fortunately ſhut before their arrival: upon which they knocked for admiſſion, were challenged, and fired upon by the centinel. Immediately the cannon were fired to alarm the country, and the enemy, perceiving their ſcheme baffled, retired with precipitation.

The other occurrence we mention is of a civil nature. The governor and council of Nova Scotia, taking into conſideration the moſt expedient methods for carrying into execution thoſe parts of his majeſty's commiſſion and inſtructions, relative to the manner of holding the general aſſembly of that province, came to a reſolution, that a houſe of repreſentatives of the province ſhould conſtitute the legiſlature of Nova Scotia, in conjunction with

his majeſty's governor and commander in chief for the time being, and his majeſty's council of the ſaid province. It was further reſolved, that the general aſſembly be elected and convened in the manner following, viz. Twelve members to be elected for the province at large, till ſuch time as it is divided into counties. Halliſax was appointed to ſend four members, and other towns and corporations in proportion to their bulk and value to the province, making in all twenty-two; the number of repreſentatives to ſit in the houſe.

As to the naval tranſactions in this country, though leſs infamous, they were not leſs unfortunate. Immediately on lord Loudon's departure from Hallifax, admiral Holbourn, now freed from the care of the tranſports, ſet ſail for Louiſbourg, with fifteen ſhips of the line, one ſhip of fifty guns, three ſmall frigates, and a fire ſhip. What the object of this cruize might have been, can only be conjectured. Some imagine curioſity was the admiral's ſole motive, and the deſire of informing himſelf with certainty of the enemy's ſtrength; while others perſuaded themſelves, that he was in hopes of drawing M. de la Mothe to an engagement, notwithſtanding his ſuperiority in number of ſhips and weight of metal. Be this as it may, the Britiſh ſquadron appeared off Louiſbourg on the twentieth day of Auguſt; and approaching within two miles of the batteries, ſaw the French admiral make the ſignal to unmoor. Mr. Holbourn was greatly inferior in ſtrength; and it is obvious, that his deſign was not to fight the enemy, as he immediately made the beſt of his way to Hallifax. About the middle of September, being reinforced with four ſhips of the line, he again proceeded to Louiſbourg, probably with intention, if poſſible, to draw the enemy to an engagement; but he found de la Mothe too prudent to hazard an unneceſſary battle, the loſs of which would have greatly expoſed all the French colonies. Here the Engliſh ſquadron continued cruizing until the twenty-fifth, when they were overtaken in a terrible ſtorm from the ſouthward. When the hurricane began, the fleet was about forty leagues diſtant from Louiſbourg; but were driven in twelve hours within two miles of the rocks, and breakers on that coaſt. Here the wind providentially ſhifting ſaved the whole ſquadron, except the Tilbury, ſhipwrecked upon the rocks, and half her crew drowned. Eleven ſhips were diſmaſted; others threw over their guns; and all returned in a very ſhattered condition to England, at a very unfavourable ſeaſon of the year.

In this manner ended the expedition to Louiſbourg, more unfortunate to the nation than the preceding deſigns upon Rochefort; leſs diſgraceful to the commanders, but equally the occaſion of ridicule and triumph to our enemies. Indeed, the unhappy conſequences of the political diſputes at home, the inſtability of the adminiſtration, and the frequent revolutions in our councils, were ſtrongly manifeſted by that languor infuſed into all our military operations, and general unſteadineſs in our purſuit. Faction in the mother country, produced diviſions and miſconduct in the colonies. No ambition to ſignalize themſelves appeared among the officers, from the uncertainty whether their ſervices were to be rewarded or condemned. Their attachment to particular perſons weakened the love they ought to have entertained for their country in general, and deſtroyed that ſpirit of enterprize, that firmneſs and reſolution, which conſtitutes the commander, and without which the beſt capacity, joined to the moſt uncorruptible integrity, can effect nothing.

In the Eaſt Indies the ſcene was changed greatly to the honour and advantage of Great Britain. Here the commanders acted with that harmony, ſpirit, and unanimity becoming Britons, zealous for the credit of their king and the intereſt of their country. We left admiral Watſon and colonel Clive advancing to Calcutta, to revenge the cruel tragedy acted upon their countrymen the preceding year. On the thirty-firſt of January the admiral with two ſhips appeared before the town, and was received by a briſk fire from the batteries. This ſalute was returned ſo warmly that the enemy's guns were ſoon ſilenced; and in leſs than two hours the place and fort were abandoned. Colonel Clive, on the other ſide, inveſted the town, and made the attack with that vigour and intrepidity peculiar to himſelf, which greatly contributed to the ſudden reduction of the ſettlement. As ſoon as the fort was ſurrendered, the brave and active captain Coote, with his majeſty's troops, took poſſeſſion, and found ninety-one pieces of cannon, four mortars, abundance of ammunition, ſtores, and proviſions, with every requiſite for ſuſtaining an obſtinate ſiege. Thus the Engliſh were reeſtabliſhed in the two ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in the Ganges, with the inconſiderable loſs of nine ſeamen killed, and three ſoldiers. A few days after, Hughly, a city of great trade, ſituated higher up the river, was reduced with as little difficulty, but infinitely greater prejudice to the nabob, as here his ſtore-houſes of ſalt, and vaſt granaries for the ſupport of his army, were burnt and deſtroyed. Incenſed at the almoſt inſtantaneous loſs of all his conqueſts, and demolition of the city of Hughly, the viceroy of Bengal aſſembled an army of ten thouſand horſe and fifteen thouſand foot, fully reſolved to expel the Engliſh out of his dominions, and take ample vengeance for the diſgraces he had lately ſuſtained. He was ſeen marching by the Engliſh camp in his way to Calcutta on the ſecond of February, where he encamped, about a mile from the town. Colonel Clive immediately made application to the admiral for a reinforcement; and ſix hundred men under the command of captain Warwick, were accordingly draughted from the different ſhips, and ſent to aſſiſt his little army. Clive drew out his forces, advanced in three columns towards the enemy, and begun the attack ſo vigorouſly, that the viceroy retreated, after a feeble reſiſtance, with the loſs of a thouſand men killed, wounded, and taken priſoners, five hundred horſes, great numbers of draught bullocks, and four elephants. Though this advantage was leſs deciſive than could be wiſhed, yet did it ſufficiently intimidate the Nabob into conceſſions much to the honour and advantage of the company. He promiſed not to diſturb the Engliſh in any of thoſe privileges or poſſeſſions ſpecified in the phirmand granted by the Mogul: and that all merchandize belonging to the company ſhould paſs and repaſs in every part of the province of Bengal, free of duty: that all the Engliſh factories ſeized the preceding year, or ſince, would be reſtored, with the money, goods, and effects appertaining; that all damages ſuſtained by the Engliſh ſhould be repaired.

with vigour, and were warmly received by the garriſon, who fired with great ſpirit, till they had burſt almoſt all their cannon, and ſpent their ammunition. Neither Montcalm's promiſes or threats could prevail upon them to ſurrender, while they were in a condition to defend themſelves, or could reaſonably expect aſſiſtance from general Webb: they even perſiſted to hold out after prudence dictated they ought to ſurrender. Colonel Monro was ſenſible of the importance of his charge, and imagined that general Webb, though ſlow in his motions, would ſurely make ſome vigorous efforts either to raiſe the ſiege, or force a ſupply of ammunition, proviſion, and other neceſſaries into the garriſon. At length neceſſity obliged him, after ſuſtaining a ſiege from the third to the ninth day of Auguſt, to hang out a flag of truce, which was immediately anſwered by the French commander. Hoſtages were exchanged, and articles of capitulation ſigned by both parties; whereby the garriſon of Fort William-Henry, and the troops in the retrenched camp, ſhould march out with their arms, the baggage of the officers and ſoldiers, and all the uſual neceſſaries of war; eſcorted by a detachment of French troops, or interpreters attached to the ſavages. It was agreed, that the gate of the fort ſhould be delivered to the troops of the moſt Chriſtian king, immediately after ſigning the capitulation; and the retrenched camp, on the departure of the Britiſh forces: that the artillery, warlike ſtores, proviſion, and in general every thing, except the effects of the ſoldiers, and officers, ſhould, upon honour, be delivered to the French troops; for which purpoſe it was agreed there ſhould be delivered, with the capitulation, an exact inventory of the ſtores, and other particulars ſpecified: that the garriſon of the fort, the troops in the retrenchment, and dependencies, ſhould not ſerve for the ſpace of eighteen months, from the date of the capitulation, againſt his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, or his allies: that with the capitulation there ſhould be delivered an exact ſtate of the troops, ſpecifying the names of the officers, engineers, artilleriſts, commiſſaries, and all employed: that the officers and ſoldiers, Canadians, women, and ſavages made priſoners by land ſince the commencement of the war in North America, be delivered in the ſpace of three months at Carrilon; in return for which an equal number of the garriſon of Fort William ſhould be capacitated to ſerve, agreeable to the return given by the Engliſh officer, and the receipt of the French commanding officers, of the priſoners ſo delivered: that an officer remain as an hoſtage, till the ſafe return of the eſcort ſent with the troops of his Britannic majeſty: that the ſick and wounded, not in a condition to be tranſported to Fort Edward, ſhould remain under the protection of the marquis de Montcalm; who engaged to uſe them with tenderneſs and humanity, and to return them as ſoon as recovered: that proviſion for two days ſhould be iſſued out for the Britiſh troops: that in teſtimony of his eſteem and reſpect for colonel Monro and his garriſon, on account of their gallant defence, the marquis de Montcalm ſhould return one cannon, a ſix pounder.

Whether the marquis de Montcalm was really aſſiduous to have theſe articles punctually executed, we cannot pretend to determine; but certain it is, that they were perfidiouſly broke, in almoſt every inſtance. The ſavages, in the French intereſt, either paid no regard to the capitulation, or were permitted, from views of policy, to act the moſt treacherous, inhuman, and inſidious part. They fell upon the Britiſh troops as they marched out, deſpoiled them of the few remaining effects, dragged the Indians in the Engliſh ſervice out of their ranks, ſcalping, tomohawking, and again acting the tragedy at Oſwego, with a thouſand additional outrages and barbarities. The throats of many women, we are told, were cut, their bodies ript open, bowels torn out, and inſultingly thrown in their faces, with ſuch ſavage marks of rage and horrible cruelty, as, for the ſake of humanity, ought to be diſcredited. Can poſterity be brought to believe, that two thouſand Britons, with arms in their hands, could be tame ſpectators of theſe, and more ſhocking barbarities? That they would permit a rabble of brutiſh ſavages to ſeize infants and children by the heels, and wantonly beat out their brains againſt trees and ſtones! Yet were theſe and other enormities, equally diſgraceful to humanity, committed in ſight of the French and Britiſh forces, if we may credit the teſtimony of credible evidences. However, the greateſt part of the Britiſh garriſon got ſafe, though in a miſerable condition, to Fort Edward, after being purſued for ſeven miles by the Indians; and the reſt, flying for protection to the marquis de Montcalm, were by him ſent home. A little time after the enemy demoliſhed the fort, carried off the effects, proviſion, artillery, and every thing elſe left by the garriſon, together with the veſſels preſerved in the lake, and departed, without purſuing their ſucceſs by any other attempt.

Thus ended the third campaign in America, where, with a vaſt increaſe of forces, a clear ſuperiority over the enemy, an army of twenty thouſand regular troops, a great number of provincial forces, and a prodigious naval power, not leſs than twenty ſhips of the line, we abandoned our allies, expoſed our people, ſuffered them to be cruelly maſſacred, in ſight of our troops, and relinquiſhed a large and valuable tract of country, to the eternal reproach and diſgrace of the Britiſh name.

We could not, without interrupting the principal operations, take notice of two occurrences which ought to have been mentioned.

In the month of July a ſtratagem, contrived by the enemy, had very nearly occaſioned the loſs of Fort Johnſon. They propoſed ruſhing into the fort in the evening, when the gate was open to admit the Negroe women, ſent out every day to milk the cattle. Happening to be a few minutes too late, the gates were fortunately ſhut before their arrival: upon which they knocked for admiſſion, were challenged, and fired upon by the centinel. Immediately the cannon were fired to alarm the country, and the enemy, perceiving their ſcheme baffled, retired with precipitation.

The other occurrence we mention is of a civil nature. The governor and council of Nova Scotia, taking into conſideration the moſt expedient methods for carrying into execution thoſe parts of his majeſty's commiſſion and inſtructions, relative to the manner of holding the general aſſembly of that province, came to a reſolution, that a houſe of repreſentatives of the province ſhould conſtitute the legiſlature of Nova Scotia, in conjunction with

his majeſty's governor and commander in chief for the time being, and his majeſty's council of the ſaid province. It was further reſolved, that the general aſſembly be elected and convened in the manner following, viz. Twelve members to be elected for the province at large, till ſuch time as it is divided into counties. Halifax was appointed to ſend four members, and other towns and corporations in proportion to their bulk and value to the province, making in all twenty-two; the number of repreſentatives to ſit in the houſe.

As to the naval tranſactions in this country, though leſs infamous, they were not leſs unfortunate. Immediately on lord Loudon's departure from Hallifax, admiral Holbourn, now freed from the care of the tranſports, ſet ſail for Louiſbourg, with fifteen ſhips of the line, one ſhip of fifty guns, three ſmall frigates, and a fire ſhip. What the object of this cruize might have been, can only be conjectured. Some imagine curioſity was the admiral's ſole motive, and the deſire of informing himſelf with certainty of the enemy's ſtrength; while others perſuaded themſelves, that he was in hopes of drawing M. de la Mothe to an engagement, notwithſtanding his ſuperiority in number of ſhips and weight of metal. Be this as it may, the Britiſh ſquadron appeared off Louiſbourg on the twentieth day of Auguſt; and approaching within two miles of the batteries, ſaw the French admiral make the ſignal to unmoor. Mr. Holbourn was greatly inferior in ſtrength; and it is obvious, that his deſign was not to fight the enemy, as he immediately made the beſt of his way to Hallifax. About the middle of September, being reinforced with four ſhips of the line, he again proceeded to Louiſbourg, probably with intention, if poſſible, to draw the enemy to an engagement; but he found de la Mothe too prudent to hazard an unneceſſary battle, the loſs of which would have greatly expoſed all the French colonies. Here the Engliſh ſquadron continued cruizing until the twenty-fifth, when they were overtaken in a terrible ſtorm from the ſouthward. When the hurricane began, the fleet was about forty leagues diſtant from Louiſbourg; but were driven in twelve hours within two miles of the rocks, and breakers on that coaſt. Here the wind providentially ſhifting ſaved the whole ſquadron, except the Tilbury, ſhipwrecked upon the rocks, and half her crew drowned. Eleven ſhips were diſmaſted; others threw over their guns; and all returned in a very ſhattered condition to England, at a very unfavourable ſeaſon of the year.

In this manner ended the expedition to Louiſbourg, more unfortunate to the nation than the preceding deſigns upon Rochefort; leſs diſgraceful to the commanders, but equally the occaſion of ridicule and triumph to our enemies. Indeed, the unhappy conſequences of the political diſputes at home, the inſtability of the adminiſtration, and the frequent revolutions in our councils, were ſtrongly manifeſted by that languor infuſed into all our military operations, and general unſteadineſs in our purſuit. Faction in the mother country, produced diviſions and miſconduct in the colonies. No ambition to ſignalize themſelves appeared among the officers, from the uncertainty whether their ſervices were to be rewarded or condemned. Their attachment to particular perſons weakened the love they ought to have entertained for their country in general, and deſtroyed that ſpirit of enterprize, that firmneſs and reſolution, which conſtitutes the commander, and without which the beſt capacity, joined to the moſt uncorruptible integrity, can effect nothing.

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paired, and their loſſes repaid: that the Engliſh ſhould have liberty to fortify Calcutta, in whatever manner they thought proper, without interruption: that they ſhould have the liberty of coining all the gold and bullion they imported, which ſhould paſs current in the province: that he would remain in ſtrict friendſhip and alliance with the Engliſh, uſe his utmoſt endeavours to heal up the late diviſions, and reſtore the former good underſtanding between them. All which ſeveral articles were ſolemnly ſigned and ſealed with the Nabob's own hand.

Such were the terms obtained for the company by the ſpirited and gallant conduct of the two Engliſh commanders. They had, however, too much diſcernment to rely on the promiſes of a barbarian, who had ſo perfidiouſly broke former engagements: but they prudently diſſembled their ſentiments, until they had thoroughly reinſtated the affairs of the company, and reduced the French power in this province. The chief object of their deſigns was the reduction of Chandenagore, a French ſettlement, higher up the river than Calcutta, of conſiderable ſtrength, and the chief in importance of any poſſeſſed by that nation in the bay. Colonel Clive, being reinforced by three hundred men from Bombay, began his march to Chandenagore, at the head of ſeven hundred Europeans and one thouſand ſix hundred Indians, where on his firſt arrival, he took poſſeſſion of all the out-poſts, except one redoubt mounted with eight pieces of cannon, which he left to be ſilenced by the admiral. On the eighteenth of March the admirals Watſon and Pocock arrived within two miles of the French ſettlement, with the Kent, Tiger, and Saliſbury men of war; and found their paſſage obſtructed by booms laid acroſs the river, and ſeveral veſſels ſunk in the channel. Theſe difficulties being removed, they advanced early on the twenty-fourth, and drew up in a line before the fort, which they battered with great fury for three hours; while colonel Clive was making his approaches on the land ſide, and playing vigorouſly from the batteries he had raiſed. Their united efforts ſoon obliged the enemy to ſubmiſſion. A flag of truce was waved over the walls, and the place ſurrendered by capitulation. The keys were delivered to captain Latham of the Tiger, and in the afternoon colonel Clive with the king's troops took poſſeſſion. Thus the reduction of a ſtrong fortreſs, garriſoned by five hundred Europeans, and one thouſand two hundred Indians, defended by one thundred and twenty-three-pieces of cannon, and three mortars, well provided with all kinds of ſtores and neceſſaries, and of very great importance to the enemy's commerce in India, was accompliſhed with a loſs not exceeding forty men on the ſide of the conquerors.

By the treaty of capitulation the director, counſellors, and inferior ſervants of the ſettlement, were allowed to depart with their wearing apparel: the Jeſuits were permitted to take away their church-ornaments, and the natives to remain in the full exertion of their liberties; but the garriſon were to continue priſoners of war. The goods and money found in the place were conſiderable; but the principail advantage aroſe from the ruin of the head ſettlement of the enemy on the Ganges, which could not but interfere with the Enliſh commerce in theſe parts.

I

Succeſs had hitherto attended all the operations of the Britiſh commanders, becauſe they were concerted with foreſight and unanimity; and executed with that vigour and ſpirit which have deſervedly raiſed them high in the eſteem of their country. They reduced the Nabob to reaſonable terms of accommodation, before they alarmed the French; and now, when the power of the latter was deſtroyed, they entered upon meaſures to oblige the treacherous viceroy to a ſtrict performance of the treaty he had ſo lately ſigned. However ſpecious his promiſes were, they found him extremely dilatory in the execution of ſeveral articles of the treaty, which, in effect, was the ſame to the Engliſh commerce as if none had been concluded. The company's goods were loaded with high duties, and ſeveral other infractions of the peace committed, upon ſuch frivolous pretences as evidently demonſtrated that he ſought to come to an open rupture as ſoon as his projects were ripe for execution. As recommencing hoſtilities againſt ſo powerful a prince was in itſelf dangerous, and, if poſſible, to be avoided, the affair was laid before the council of Calcutta, and canvaſſed with all the circumſpection and caution that a meaſure required, on which depended the fate of the whole trade of Bengal. During theſe deliberations a moſt fortunate incident occurred, that ſoon determined the council to come to an open rupture. The leading perſons in the viceroy's court found themſelves oppreſſed by his haughtineſs and inſolence. The ſame ſpirit of diſcontent appeared among the principal officers of his army: they were well acquainted with his perfidy, ſaw his preparations for war, and were ſenſible that the peace of the country could never be reſtored, unleſs either the Engliſh were expelled, or the Nabob depoſed. In conſequence, a plan was concerted for diveſting him of all his power; and the conſpiracy was conducted by Jaffier Ali Khan, his prime miniſter and chief commander, a nobleman of great influence and authority in the province. The project was communicated by Ali Khan to Mr. Watts, ſecond in council at Calcutta, and ſo improved by the addreſs of that gentleman as in a manner to inſure ſucceſs.

When the plan was fully concerted between the diſaffected Indians and the council, colonel Clive was ordered to take the field with his little army. Admiral Watſon undertook the defence of Chandenagore, and the garriſon was detached to reinforce the colonel, together with fifty ſeamen, to be employed as gunners, and in directing the artillery. On the nineteenth of June a detachment was ſent to attack Cutwa fort and town, ſituated on that branch of the river forming the iſland Caſſimbuzar. This place ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons; and here the colonel halted with the army for three days, expecting advices from Ali Khan. Diſappointed of the hoped-for intelligence, he croſſed the river on the twenty-ſecond, and the ſame day attacked the viceroy at the head of twenty thouſand men with his own forces only, Ali Khan declining as yet to declare himſelf openly. After a ſhort conteſt the enemy were put to flight, the Nabob's camp, baggage, and fifty pieces of cannon taken, and a moſt complete victory obtained. The colonel, purſuing his advantage, marched to Muxadavat, the capital of the province, and was there joined by Ali Khan and the malcontents.

It

It was before concerted, that this nobleman ſhould be inveſted with the dignity of Nabob: accordingly, the colonel proceeded ſolemnly to depoſe the Sulajud Dowla, and, with the ſame ceremony, to ſubſtitute Ali Khan in his room, who was publicly acknowleged by the people as ſuba, or viceroy of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa. Soon after the late viceroy was taken, and put to death by his ſucceſſor, who readily complied with all the conditions of his elevation. He conferred on his allies ſuch liberal rewards, and granted the company ſo extraordinary privileges, as fully demonſtrated how juſtly he merited their aſſiſtance. By this alliance, and the reduction of Chandenagore, the French were entirely excluded the commerce of Bengal and its dependencies; the trade of the Engliſh company was reſtored, and encreaſed beyond the moſt ſanguine hopes; a new ally was acquired, whoſe intereſt obliged him to remain firm to his engagements; above two millions ſterling paid to the company and the ſufferers at Calcutta, to indemnify their loſſes; the ſoldiers and ſeamen gratified with the ſum of ſix hundred thouſand pounds, as a reward for the courage and intrepidity they exerted; and a variety of other advantages gained, which it would be unneceſſary to enumerate. In a word, in the ſpace of fourteen days a great revolution was effected, and the government of a vaſt country, ſuperior in wealth, fertility, extent, and number of inhabitants, to moſt European kingdoms, transferred by a handful of troops, conducted by an officer untutored in the art of war, and a general rather by intuition than inſtruction and experience. But the public joy at theſe ſignal ſucceſſes was, however, conſiderably diminiſhed by the death of admiral Watſon, and the loſs of Vizagapatam, an Engliſh ſettlement on the Coromandel coaſt. The admiral fell a victim to the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, univerſally eſteemed and regretted; and the factory and fort at Vizagapatam were ſurrendered to the French a few days after colonel Clive had defeated the Nabob.

Having now particularized all the foreign tranſactions of this year, I ſhall, previous to my entering upon the hiſtory of the next ſeſſion of parliament, as well as to prevent the narrative of parliamentary affairs being interrupted, mention a few domeſtic occurrences which happened during the year 1757, and which deſerve to be recorded, however deſultory, unconnected, and incapable of hiſtorical embelliſhment they may appear. Among the moſt intereſting we may reckon thoſe tumults and riots of the populace in Kent, Hertfordſhire, Nottinghamſhire, Lincolnſhire, Bedfordſhire, York city and county, to oppoſe the execution of the militia bill. Many diſorders were committed on theſe occaſions; and the people, incenſed at the irregularity of the proceedings of thoſe gentlemen appointed to carry the act into execution, and with certain defects in the act, ſeemed wholly to neglect the real advantages which in time muſt neceſſarily flow from a meaſure the moſt conſtitutional and ſalutary that can be imagined, for the defence and protection of public liberty.

His majeſty having taken into conſideration the incredible damage ſuſtained by the commerce of theſe kingdoms, for want of proper harbours and forts on the weſtern coaſt to receive and protect merchantmen, was graciouſly pleaſed to order that a temporary ſecurity ſhould be provided for the ſhipping which might touch at Milford-haven, until the fortifications voted in parliament could be erected. How far his majeſty's directions have been complied with, the number of merchantmen taken by the enemy's privateers upon that coaſt, ſufficiently indicates. His majeſty likewiſe, reflecting on the late hardſhips ſuſtained by the innholders in the county of Kent, by the conſtant quartering of ſoldiers in their houſes, was pleaſed to direct the ſum of three thouſand pounds to be tranſmitted to them, and diſtributed by Mr. Auſten, clerk of the peace for that county: a well-timed act of liberality, that fully evinced his majeſty's extreme affection and tender regard for the intereſt and happineſs of his people.

On the firſt day of December his majeſty opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech, in which he declared, that it would have given him a moſt ſenſible pleaſure to acquaint them, at the beginning of the ſeſſion, that his ſucceſs in carrying on the war had been equal to the juſtice of his cauſe, and the extent and vigour of the meaſures formed for that purpoſe: that, for his own part, he had the firmeſt confidence that the ſpirit and bravery of the nation, ſo renowned in all times, and which had formerly ſurmounted ſo many difficulties, were not to be abated by a few diſappointments which, he truſted, might be retrieved, by the bleſſing of God, and the zeal and ardour of his parliament for his majeſty's honour and the advantage of their country: that it was his determined reſolution to apply his utmoſt efforts for the ſecurity of his kingdoms, and for the recovery and protection of the poſſeſſions and rights of his crown in America, and elſewhere, as well by the ſtrongeſt exertion of his naval force as by all other methods: that another great object which he had at heart was, the preſervation of the proteſtant religion and the liberties of Europe; and, with that view, to encourage and adhere to his allies: that, for this cauſe, he would decline no inconveniencies; and, in this cauſe, he confidently expected their hearty concurrence and vigorous aſſiſtance: that the late ſignal ſucceſs in Germany had given a happy turn to affairs, which it was incumbent on them to improve; and that, in ſuch a critical conjuncture, the eyes of all Europe were upon them: that he hoped they would be of opinion, that his good brother and ally the king of Pruſſia ought to be ſupported in ſuch a manner as his magnanimity and active zeal for the common cauſe deſerved: that it gave him, indeed, the moſt ſenſible concern, that the large ſupplies they had already granted had not produced all the good fruits they had reaſon to expect; but he had ſo great a reliance on their wiſdom, as not to doubt of their perſeverance: that he deſired only ſuch ſupplies as ſhould be neceſſary for the public ſervice; and they might reſt aſſured that the beſt and moſt faithful œconomy ſhould be uſed: that, notwithſtanding his firm conviction of the loyalty and good affections of his faithful ſubjects, he could not help taking notice of that ſpirit of diſorder which had lately ſhewn itſelf among the common people in ſome parts of the kingdom; he hoped they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours for diſcouraging and ſuppreſſing ſuch abuſes, and for maintaining the laws and lawful authority:

authority: and, finally, that nothing would ſo effectually conduce to the defence of all that was dear to the nation, as well as to the reducing their enemies to reaſon, as union and harmony among themſelves."

Addreſſes of thanks having been preſented by both houſes, the commons proceeded to ſettle the ſupply. They granted for the ſea-ſervice of the enſuing year ſixty thouſand men, including fourteen thouſand eight hundred and forty-five marines; and the ſtanding army, comprehending four thouſand invalids, was fixed at fifty-three thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſeven effective men, commiſſion and non-commiſſion officers included. For the maintenance of theſe forces, by ſea and land, the charge of guards and garriſons at home and abroad, the expence of the ordnance, and in order to make good the ſum which had been iſſued by his majeſty's orders, in purſuance of the addreſs from the commons, they now allotted four millions twenty-two thouſand eight hundred and ſeven pounds ſeven ſhillings and three-pence. They unanimouſly granted, as a preſent ſupply in the then critical exigency, towards enabling his majeſty to maintain and keep together the army formed laſt year in his electoral dominions, and then again put in motion, and actually employed againſt the common enemy, in concert with the king of Pruſſia, the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds: for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to the ſea-officers, they allowed two hundred twenty-four thouſand four hundred twenty-one pounds five ſhillings and eight-pence: towards the building and ſupport of the three hoſpitals for ſeamen at Goſport, Plymouth, and Greenwich, thirty thouſand pounds: for the reduced officers of the land-forces and marines, penſions to the widows of officers, and other ſuch military contingencies, forty thouſand nine hundred and twenty-ſix pounds ſeventeen ſhillings and eleven pence: towards building, rebuilding, and repairs of his majeſty's ſhips for the enſuing year, the ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds: for defraying the charge of two thouſand one hundred and twenty horſe, and nine thouſand nine hundred infantry, together with the general and ſtaff-officers, the officers of the hoſpital and the train of artillery, being the troops of the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel in the pay of Great Britain for ſixty days, together with the ſubſidy for the ſaid time, purſuant to the treaty, they aſſigned thirty-eight thouſand three hundred and ſixty pounds nineteen ſhillings and ten pence three farthings.

To the Foundling-hoſpital they gave forty thouſand pounds, for the maintenance and education of deſerted young children, as well as for the reception of all ſuch as ſhould be preſented under a certain age, to be limited by the governor and guardians of that charity. Three hundred thouſand pounds were given towards diſcharging the debt of the navy; and two hundred eighty-four thouſand eight hundred and two pounds for making up the deficiency of the grants for the ſervice of the preceding year. The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel was, moreover, gratified with the further ſum of two hundred and three thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſix pounds four ſhillings and nine pence one farthing for the maintenance of his forces, and the remainder of his ſubſidy.

They granted ſix hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds for enabling his majeſty to make good his engagements with the king of Pruſſia, purſuant to a convention lately concluded with that potentate. For defraying the charge of thirty-eight thouſand men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttle, Saxe Gotha, and the count of Buckbourg, together with that of general and ſtaff-officers, actually employed againſt the common enemy, in concert with the king of Pruſſia, from the twenty-eighth day of November in the laſt, to the twenty-fourth day of December in the preſent year incluſive, to be iſſued in advance every two months, they allotted the ſum of four hundred and ſixty-three thouſand eighty-four pounds ſix ſhillings and ten pence: and furthermore, they granted three hundred and eighty-ſix thouſand nine hundred and fifteen pounds thirteen ſhillings and two pence, to defray the charges of forage, bread-waggons, train of artillery, proviſions, wood, ſtraw, and all other extraordinary expences, contingencies, and loſſes whatſoever incurred, or to be incurred on account of his majeſty's army, conſiſting of 38,000 men, actually employed againſt the common enemy, in concert with the king of Pruſſia, from November laſt to next December incluſive.

For the extraordinary expences of the land forces, and other ſervices, incurred in the courſe of the laſt year, and not provided for by parliament, they allowed one hundred forty-five thouſand four hundred and fifty-four pounds fifteen ſhillings and one farthing. They provided eight hundred thouſand pounds to enable his majeſty to defray the like ſum raiſed in purſuance of an act made in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, and charged upon the firſt aids and ſupplies to be granted in the current ſeſſion. Twenty-ſix thouſand pounds were beſtowed on the out-penſioners of Chelſea-hoſpital; above twenty thouſand for the expence of maintaining the colonies of Nova Scotia and Georgia: for reimburſing to the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay and the colony of Connecticut, their expence in furniſhing proviſions and ſtores to the troops raiſed by them for his majeſty's ſervice in the campaign of the year 1756, the ſum of forty-one thouſand one hundred ſeventeen pounds ſeventeen ſhillings and ſixpence halfpenny; to be applied towards the rebuilding of London-bridge, carrying on the works for fortifying and ſecuring the harbour of Milford, and repairing the pariſh-church of St. Margaret in Weſtminſter, they allotted twenty-nine thouſand pounds.

The Eaſt India company were indulged with twenty thouſand pounds upon account, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their ſettlements, to be maintained by them in lieu of the battalion of his majeſty's forces withdrawn from thoſe ſettlements: the ſum of ten thouſand pounds was given, as uſual, for maintaining and ſupporting the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa: and eleven thouſand four hundred and fifty pounds were granted as an augmentation to the ſalaries of the judges in the ſuperior courts of judicature. They likewiſe provided one hundred thouſand pounds for defraying the charge of pay and cloathing to the militia; and advanced eight hundred thouſand pounds to enable his majeſty to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred, or to be incurred for the ſervice of the

the current year; and to take all ſuch meaſures as might be neceſſary to diſappoint or defeat any enterprizes or deſigns of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs might require. The whole ſupplies of this ſeſſion amounted to the ſum of ten millions four hundred eighty-ſix thouſand four hundred fifty-ſeven pounds and one penny.

The funds eſtabliſhed by the committee of ways and means, in order to make good theſe liberal grants, conſiſted of the malt-tax, the land-tax at four ſhillings in the pound, ſums remaining in the Exchequer produced from the ſinking fund, four millions five hundred thouſand pounds to be raiſed by annuities, at three pounds ten ſhillings per cent. per ann. and five hundred thouſand pounds by a lottery, attended with annuities redeemable by parliament, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per annum: theſe ſeveral annuities to be transferable at the Bank of England, and charged upon a fund to be eſtabliſhed in this ſeſſion of parliament for payment thereof, and for which the ſinking fund ſhould be a collateral ſecurity; one million ſix hundred and ſix thouſand ſeventy-ſix pounds five ſhillings and one penny farthing, iſſued and applied out of ſuch monies as ſhould or might ariſe from the ſurpluſſes, exceſſes, and other revenues compoſing the ſinking fund; a tax of one ſhilling in the pound to be annually paid from all ſalaries, fees, and perquiſites of offices and employments in Great Britain, and from all penſions and other gratuities payable out of any revenues belonging to his majeſty in Great Britain, exceeding the yearly value of one hundred pounds; an impoſition of one ſhilling annually upon every dwelling-houſe inhabited within the kingdom of Great Britain, over and above all other duties already chargeable upon them, to commence from the fifth day of April; an additional tax of ſixpence yearly for every window or light in every dwelling-houſe inhabited in Britain, which ſhall contain fifteen windows or upwards; a continuation of certain acts near expiring, with reſpect to the duties payable on foreign ſail-cloth imported into Great Britain, the exportation of Britiſh gun powder, the ſecuring and encouraging the trade of his majeſty's ſugar colonies in America, and the impowering the importers and proprietors of ſpirits from the Britiſh ſugar plantations, to land them before payment of the duties of exciſe, and to lodge them in warehouſes at their own expence; an annual tax of forty ſhillings for a licence to be taken out by every perſon trading in, ſelling, or vending gold or ſilver plate, in lieu of the duty of ſix-pence per ounce on all ſilver plate, made or wrought, or which ought to be touched, aſſayed, or marked in this kingdom, which duty now ceaſed and determined; a ceſſation of all drawbacks payable on the exportation of ſilver plate; a law prohibiting all perſons from ſelling by retail any ſweets or made wines, without firſt having procured a licence for that purpoſe; and a loan, by Exchequer bills, for eight hundred thouſand pounds, to be charged on the firſt aids to be granted in the next ſeſſion of parliament. Theſe proviſions amounted to the ſum of eleven millions ſeventy nine thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-two pounds ſix ſhillings and ten-pence, exceeding the grants in the ſum of five hundred and ninety-three thouſand two hundred and ſixty-five pounds ſix ſhillings and nine-pence; the ſurplus being intended to ſupply the deficiencies that might happen in collecting the ſeveral duties.

The ſupply granted by the commons for maintaining the Hanoverian army was, in conſequence of a meſſage, communicated by Mr. ſecretary Pitt, intimating, that the king had ordered his electoral army to be put again into motion, that it might act with vigour againſt the common enemy, in concert with his good brother and ally the king of Pruſſia; and that the exhauſted and ruined ſtate of the electorate, having rendered it incapable of maintaining that army, until the further neceſſary charge thereof, as well as the more particular meaſures then concerting for the effectual ſupport of his Pruſſian majeſty, could be laid before the houſe, the king relying on the conſtant zeal of his faithful commons, for the ſupport of the proteſtant religion, and of the liberties of Europe, againſt the dangerous deſigns of France and her confederates, found himſelf, in the mean time, under the abſolute neceſſity of recommending to the houſe the ſpeedy conſideration of ſuch a preſent ſupply as might enable his majeſty in this critical conjuncture to ſubſiſt and keep together the ſaid army. This meſſage was no ſooner read by the ſpeaker than it was referred to the committee of ſupply, who immediately granted the ſum above-mentioned.

At the ſame time, in order the more effectually to provide for the ſecurity of Hanover, and the ſupport of the proteſtant cauſe in Germany, the miniſtry concluded a new treaty or convention with his Pruſſian majeſty; which, that it might have the firmer conſiſtence and the greater authority, was, on the part of Great Britain, tranſacted and ſigned by almoſt all the privy-counſellors who had any ſhare in the adminiſtration *. This treaty, which was ſigned at Weſtminſter on the eleventh day of April, imported, That the contracting powers having mutually reſolved to continue their efforts for their mutual defence and ſecurity, for the recovery of their poſſeſſions, the protection of their allies, and the ſupport of the liberties of the Germanic body; his Britannic majeſty had, from theſe conſiderations, determined to grant to his Pruſſian majeſty an immediate ſuccour in money, as being the moſt ready and efficacious method; and their majeſties having judged it proper, that thereupon a convention ſhould be made for declaring and fixing their intentions upon this head, they had nominated and authoriſed their reſpective miniſters, who, after having communicated their full powers to one another, agreed to the following ſtipulations: that the king of Great Britain ſhould

* Theſe were, ſir Robert Henley, lord-keeper of the privy-ſeal; John earl Granville, preſident of the council; Thomas Holles, duke of Newcaſtle, firſt commiſſioner of the Treaſury; Robert earl of Holderneſſe, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate; Philip earl of Hardwicke; and William Pitt, eſq. another of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate. In the name and on the part of his Pruſſian majeſty, the ſieurs Dado Henry, baron of Knyphauſen, his privy-counſellor of embaſſy, and miniſter-plenipotentiary at the court of London; and Lewis Michel, his reſident and chargè d'affaires.

pay in the city of London, to ſuch perſon as ſhould be authorized to receive it by his Pruſſian majeſty, the ſum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to ſix hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds ſterling, to be payed at once, and in one whole ſum, immediately after the exchange of ratifications, upon being demanded by his Pruſſian majeſty: that this prince, on his part, ſhould apply that ſum to the maintaining and augmenting his forces, which ſhould act in the beſt manner for the good of the common cauſe, and for the purpoſe of reciprocal defence and mutual ſecurity propoſed by their ſaid majeſties: that the high contracting parties ſhould conclude no treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, nor any other ſort of convention or agreement, with the powers engaged in the preſent war, but in concert and by mutual agreement, wherein both ſhould be nominally comprehended: and, finally, that this convention ſhould be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged on both ſides, within the terms of ſix weeks, to be computed from the day of ſigning this preſent convention, or ſooner, if poſſible.

All the reſolutions to which the committee of ways and means agreed were executed by bills, or clauſes in bills, which afterwards received the royal aſſent. The militia ſtill continued to be an object of parliamentary care and attention; but the ſcheme was not yet proſecuted with any kind of ſpirit, becauſe ſeemingly diſcouraged by the remnant of the old miniſtry, which ſtill enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare in the government, and indeed almoſt wholly ingroſſed the diſtribution of penſions and places.

The commons having preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, with reſpect to the harbour of Milford-haven, a book of plans and eſtimates for fortifying that harbour was laid before the houſe, and a committee appointed to examine the particulars. They gave it as their opinion, that the mouth of the harbour was too wide to admit of any fortification or effectual defence; but that the paſſage called Nailand-point, lying higher than Hubberſtone-road, might be fortified ſo as to afford ſafe riding and anchorage to the trade and navy of Great Britain: that, if it ſhould be thought proper hereafter to form a yard and dock for building and equipping fleets at Milford, no place could, from the ſituation, nature, ſoil, and a general concurrence of all neceſſary local circumſtances, be more fitted for ſuch a deſign: that if proper uſe were made of this valuable, though long-neglected, harbour, the diſtreſsful delays, ſo often embarraſſing and diſappointing the nation in her naval operations, might be in a great meaſure happily removed, to the infinite relief and advantage of the kingdom in the means of improving its naval force; the neceſſary progreſs and free execution of which was now ſo unhappily and frequently reſtrained and fruſtrated, by the want of an harbour like that of Milford-haven, framed by nature for ſuch a convenience. This report appeared to be ſo well founded, in fact, that a bill was prepared and paſſed into a law, for granting ten thouſand pounds towards carrying on the works for fortifying and ſecuring the harbour of Milford in the county of Pembroke.

Other laws of national importance were enacted in the courſe of this ſeſſion, with little or no oppoſition. On the very firſt day of their ſitting, the commons received a petition from the mayor, magiſtrates, merchants, and inhabitants of Liverpool, complaining of the high price of wheat and other grain; expreſſing their apprehenſion that it would continue to riſe, unleſs the time for the importation of foreign corn, duty free, ſhould be prolonged, or ſome other ſalutary meaſure taken by parliament, to prevent dealers from engroſſing corn; ſubmitting to the wiſdom of the houſe a total prohibition of diſtilling and exporting grain, while the high price ſhould continue; and praying they would take the premiſes into conſideration, and grant a ſeaſonable relief to the petitioners, by a continuance of a free importation, and taking ſuch other effectual means to reduce the growing price of corn, as to them ſhould ſeem neceſſary and expedient.

This being a public grievance that equally affected the nation in general, and the manufacturers in particular, it was canvaſſed and diſcuſſed with remarkable diſpatch. In a few days a bill was paſſed through both houſes, and enacted into a law, continuing till the twenty-fourth day of December, in the preſent year, the three acts of laſt ſeſſion; prohibiting the exportation of corn, reſtraining the diſtillation of ſpirits, and permitting the importation of corn duty free.

A ſecond law was eſtabliſhed, regulating the price and aſſize of bread, and ſubjecting thoſe to ſevere penalties who ſhould be concerned in its adulteration. In conſequence of certain reſolutions taken in a committee of the whole houſe, a bill was prepared for prohibiting the payment of the bounty upon the exportation of corn, unleſs ſold at a lower price than is allowed in an act paſſed in the firſt year of the reign of king William and queen Mary: but this bill, after having been twice read and committed, was firſt poſtponed and finally let fall.

In purſuance of a motion made by Mr. Grenville, a humane bill was framed and brought in for the encouragement of ſeamen employed in the royal navy, eſtabliſhing a regular method for the punctual, frequent, and certain payment of their wages; enabling them more eaſily and readily to remit money for the ſupport of their wives and families, and preventing frauds and abuſes attending ſuch payments. This bill being paſſed by the commons, was ſent up to the lords, who examined the matter with great attention, and, by divers meſſages to the lower houſe, deſired the attendance of ſeveral of its members. Theſe meſſages were no ſooner communicated than ſeveral precedents were produced; and a debate aroſe about the propriety of complying with their contents.

The houſe therefore unanimouſly reſolved, that a meſſage ſhould be ſent to the lords, acquainting them, that the houſe of commons, not being ſufficiently informed by their meſſages upon what grounds, or for what purpoſes, their lordſhips deſired the houſe would give leave to ſuch of their members as were named in the ſaid meſſages to attend the houſe of lords, in order to be examined upon the ſecond reading of the bill; the commons hoped their lordſhips would make them acquainted with their intention.

The lords, in anſwer to this requeſt, gave the commons to underſtand, that they deſired the attendance of the members mentioned in their meſ-

ſages,

ſages, that they might be examined as witneſſes upon the ſecond reading of the bill. This explanation being deemed ſatisfactory, the members attended the houſe of lords, where they were carefully and fully examined, as perſons converſant in ſea affairs, touching the inconveniencies which had formerly attended the ſea-ſervice, as well as the remedies now propoſed; and the bill having paſſed through their houſe, though not without warm oppoſition, was finally confirmed by the royal ſanction.

The militia act, as it paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion, being found upon trial defective, Mr. Townſhend moved for leave to bring in a new bill to explain, amend, and enforce it: this was accordingly allowed, prepared, and paſſed into a law, which ſtill continues in force.

The great number of houſes upon London-bridge, and the narrowneſs of the paſſage as well over as under it, had frequently been the cauſe of many accidents, and had always been conſidered as a public nuiſance. Some ſteps had already been taken, and certain ſums of money allotted for removing this inconvenience; but theſe being deemed by no means ſufficient, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, preſented a petition to the houſe of commons, alledging, that the toll upon loaded veſſels, and other craft paſſing through the arches of London-bridge, granted by a former act paſſed in the year 1750, for improving, widening, and enlarging the paſſage both under and over the ſaid bridge, was altogether precarious and inſufficient to defray the expence, including that of a temporary wooden bridge already erected; and praying that a bill might be prepared for explaining and rendering that act effectual.

A committee was appointed to examine the contents, and a bill brought in according to their requeſt. This, however, was oppoſed by a petition from ſeveral perſons, owners of barges and other craft navigating the river Thames, who affirmed, that if the bill ſhould paſs into a law as it then ſtood, it would be extremely injurious to the petitioners in particular, and to the public in general. Theſe were heard by their counſel before the committee, but no report was yet given, when the temporary bridge was reduced to aſhes.

Then the mayor, aldermen, and commons of London, delivered another petition, repreſenting, that, in purſuance of the powers veſted in them by act of parliament, they had already demoliſhed a good number of the houſes on London-bridge, and directed the reſt that were ſtanding to be taken down with all convenient expedition, that two of the arches might be laid into one for the improvement of the navigation; that they had, at a very great expence, erected a temporary wooden bridge, to preſerve a public paſſage to and from the city, until the great arch could be finiſhed; which temporary bridge being conſumed by fire, they muſt rebuild it with the greateſt expedition, at a farther conſiderable expence: that the ſum neceſſary for carrying on and completing this great and uſeful work, including the rebuilding of the ſaid temporary bridge, was eſtimated at fourſcore thouſand pounds; and as the improving, widening, and enlarging London-bridge, was calculated for the general good of the public, for the advancement of trade and commerce, for making the navigation upon the river Thames more ſafe and ſecure; they therefore prayed the houſe to take the premiſes into conſideration.

This petition being recommended by his majeſty to the conſideration of the houſe, was referred to the committee of ſupply, and produced the reſolution of granting fifteen thouſand pounds towards the rebuilding of London-bridge. A bill was prepared, under the title of, An act to improve, widen, and enlarge the paſſage over and through London-bridge, enforcing the payment of the toll impoſed upon loaded veſſels, which had been found extremely burthenſome to trade; but this incumbrance was prevented by another petition of ſeveral merchants, tradeſmen, and other inhabitants of the borough of Southwark, taking notice of the fifteen thouſand pounds granted towards the repair of London-bridge, and, as they were informed, intended to make the ſaid bridge free for all his majeſty's ſubjects: they ſaid, they hoped to partake of this public bounty; but afterwards, hearing that the bill then depending was confined to the tolls formerly granted for repairing the ſaid bridge, they repreſented the hardſhips which they and all traders would continue to labour under.

They alleged, that the ſurveyors and workmen then employed upon this work had diſcovered the true principles on which the bridge was built: that the foundation of the piers conſiſted of hard durable ſtone, well cemented together, and now as ſtrong and firm as when firſt built: that when the bridge ſhould be finiſhed, great ſavings would be made in keeping it in repair, from the ſums formerly expended, on a miſtaken opinion that the foundation was of wood: that there were very conſiderable eſtates appointed ſolely for the repairs of the bridge, which they apprehended would be ſufficient to maintain it without any toll; or if they ſhould not be thought adequate to that purpoſe, they hoped the deficiency would not be made up by a toll upon trade and commerce, but rather by an impoſition on coaches, chariots, chaiſes, and ſaddle-horſes. This remonſtrance made ſuch an impreſſion on the houſe, that ſeveral amendments were made to the bill, and an expreſs clauſe added, that none of the tolls impoſed by the act of the twenty-ninth year of his preſent majeſty ſhould be exacted after next Midſummer. Thus altered and amended, it paſſed through both houſes, and obtained the royal aſſent.

The intereſt of the manufactures was promoted by an act encouraging the growth of madder, a plant eſſentially neceſſary in dying and printing callicoes, which may be raiſed in England without the leaſt inconvenience. It was found upon enquiry, that the moſt effectual means to encourage the growth of this commodity would be to aſcertain the tythe of it; and a bill was brought in for that purpoſe. The rate of the tythe was eſtabliſhed at five ſhillings an acre; and it was enacted that this law ſhould continue in force for fourteen years, and to the end of the ſeſſion of parliament next enſuing after the expiration of that term.

The laws relating to the poor, though equally numerous and oppreſſive to the ſubject, having been found defective, a new clauſe relating to the ſettlement of ſervants and apprentices, was now added to an act paſſed in the twentieth year of the preſent

preſent reign, intitled, An act for the better adjuſting and more eaſy recovery of the wages of certain ſervants and of certain apprentices.

No country in the world can boaſt ſuch a number of laws made in behalf of the poor, as thoſe that are daily enacted in England: in no other country is there ſo much money raiſed for their ſupport, by private charity as well as by public taxation; yet this, as much as any country, ſwarms with vagrant beggars, and teems with objects of miſery and diſtreſs; a ſure ſign either of the inſufficiency of the laws, or the moſt ſhameful neglect in the execution of them.

Such ſcenes of corruption, perjury, riot, and intemperance, had lately been acted at all the elections for members of parliament, that it was found abſolutely neceſſary to provide ſome remedy for this growing evil. Accordingly, ſir John Philips, a gentleman of Wales, who had long diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his free and independent ſpirit, moved for leave to bring in a bill that ſhould obviate any doubts which might ariſe concerning the electors of knights of the ſhire to ſerve in parliament for England, and further regulate the proceedings of ſuch elections. He was permitted to bring in ſuch a bill, in conjunction with Mr. Townſhend, Mr. Cornwall, the lords North and Carysfort: and in the uſual courſe the bill being prepared, was enacted into a law under the title of "An act for further explaining the laws touching the electors of knights of the ſhire to ſerve in parliament for that part of Great Britain called England."

The preamble declared, That though, by an act paſſed in the eighteenth year of the preſent reign, it was provided, that no perſon might vote at the election of a knight or knights of a ſhire, within England and Wales, without having a freehold eſtate in the county for which he votes, of the clear yearly value of forty ſhillings, over and above all rents and charges, payable out of or in reſpect to the ſame; nevertheleſs, certain perſons who hold their eſtates by copy or court-roll, pretend to a right of voting, and have at certain times preſumed to vote at the election of any knight or knights of a ſhire within England or Wales; but every ſuch vote ſhould be void, and the perſon ſo voting ſhould forfeit fifty pounds to any candidate for whom ſuch vote ſhould not have been given, and who ſhould firſt ſue for the ſame, to be recovered with full coſts, by action of debt, in any court of judicature. For the more eaſy recovery of this forfeit, it was enacted, That the plaintiff in ſuch action might only ſet forth in the declaration or bill, that the defendant was indebted to him in the ſum of fifty pounds, alledging the offence for which the ſuit ſhould be brought, and that the defendant had acted contrary to this act, without mentioning the writ of ſummons to parliament, or the return thereof; and upon trial of any iſſue, the plaintiff ſhould not be obliged to prove the writ of ſummons to parliament, or the return thereof, or any warrant or authority to the ſheriff upon any ſuch writ: that every ſuch action ſhould be commenced within nine months after the fact committed; and that if the plaintiff ſhould diſcontinue his action, or be nonſuited, or have judgment given againſt him, the defendant ſhould recover treble coſts.

So far the act, thus procured, may be attended with ſalutary conſequences; but, in all probability, the intention of its firſt movers and patrons was not fully anſwered, inaſmuch as no proviſion was made for putting a ſtop to that ſpirit of licence, drunkenneſs, and debauchery, which prevails at almoſt every election, and throws the whole nation, at the commencement of a parliament, into a ſtate of the moſt brutal intoxication.

The proprietors of the privateer called the Antigallican, which had taken a rich French ſhip homeward-bound from China, and carried her into Cadiz, where the Spaniſh government had wreſted her by violence from the captors, and reſtored her to the French owners, now preſented a petition to the houſe of commons, complaining of this interpoſition as an act of partiality and injuſtice; repreſenting the great expence at which the privateer had been fitted out, the legality of the capture, the loſs and hardſhips which they the petitioners had ſuffered, and imploring ſuch relief as to the houſe ſeem reaſonable.

Though theſe allegations were ſupported by a number of concurrent evidences, and it might be thought incumbent on the parliament to vindicate the honour of the nation, when thus inſulted by a foreign power, the houſe, upon this occaſion, paid little or no regard to the petition, either diſbelieving the aſſertions it contained, or unwilling to take any ſtep which might at this juncture embroil the nation with the court of Spain on ſuch a frivolous ſubject. True it is, the Spaniards alleged, as an excuſe for their own conduct, that the prize was taken under the guns of Corunna, inſomuch that the ſhot fired by the privateer entered that place, and damaged ſome houſes; but this circumſtance was never ſufficiently proved, and the prize was certainly condemned as legal by the court of admiralty at Gibraltar.

The African trade being juſtly conſidered as a matter of great importance to the nation, an annual ſum had for ſome years been granted for the ſupport of the ſettlements in that part of the world, and for the maintenance and repairs of caſtles and factories. While a committee was employed in peruſing the accounts relating to the ſum granted in the preceding ſeſſion for this purpoſe, a petition from the African company, recommended in a meſſage from his majeſty, was preſented to the houſe, ſoliciting farther aſſiſtance for the enſuing year.

In oppoſition to this petition, a remonſtrance was offered by certain planters and merchants intereſted in and trading to the Britiſh ſugar colonies in America, alleging, that the price of negroes was greatly advanced ſince the forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa had been under the direction of the committee of the company of merchants trading to that coaſt; a circumſtance that greatly diſtreſſed and alarmed the petitioners, prevented the cultivation of the Britiſh colonies, and was of great detriment to the trade and navigation of the kingdom: that this misfortune, they believed, was in ſome meaſure owing to the ruinous ſtate and condition of the forts and ſettlements: that, in their opinion, the moſt effectual method for maintaining the intereſt of that trade on a reſpectable footing, next to that of an incorporated joint-ſtock company, would be the putting thoſe forts and ſettlements under the ſole direction of the com-

commiſſioners for trade and plantations: that the preſervation or ruin of the American ſugar colonies went hand in hand with that of the ſlave-trade to Africa; and that, by an act paſſed in the year 1750, for extending and improving this trade, the Britiſh ſubjects were debarred from lodging their ſlaves and merchandize in the forts and ſettlements on the coaſt.

They therefore prayed that this part of the act might be repealed: that all commanders of Britiſh and American veſſels, free merchants, and all other of his majeſty's ſubjects who were ſettled, or might at any time thereafter ſettle in Africa, ſhould have free liberty, from ſun-riſe to ſun-ſet, to enter the forts and ſettlements, and to depoſit their goods and merchandize in the warehouſes thereunto belonging; to ſecure their ſlaves or other purchaſes, without paying any conſideration for the ſame; but the ſlaves to be victualled at the proper coſt and charges of their reſpective owners. The houſe having taken this petition into conſideration, enquired into the proceedings of the company, and reviſed the act for extending and improving the trade to Africa, reſolved, That the committee of the African company had faithfully diſcharged the truſt repoſed in them; and granted ten thouſand pounds for maintaining the Britiſh forts and ſettlements in that part of the world.

Some attempts were made in the courſe of this ſeſſion to revive the act for triennial parliaments; but as this meaſure had been found, by former experience, to be attended with more bad than good conſequences, it was rejected, on a diviſion, by a conſiderable majority.

Several committees were likewiſe appointed to enquire into the expence incurred by new lines and fortifications raiſed at Gibraltar; to examine the original ſtandards of weights and meaſures uſed in England, conſider the laws relating to them, and report their obſervations, together with their opinion of the moſt effectual means for aſcertaining and enforcing uniform ſtandards, to be uſed for the future. The commons were perfectly ſatisfied with the new works which had been raiſed at Gibraltar; and with reſpect to the weights and meaſures, the committee agreed to certain reſolutions; but no further progreſs was made in this enquiry except an order for printing theſe reſolutions, with the appendix: however, as the boxes containing the ſtandards were ordered to be locked up by the clerk of the houſe, it ſeemed as if they had ſome intention to reſume the ſubject in the enſuing ſeſſion.

On the ninth day of June ſeveral bills received the royal aſſent by commiſſion, his majeſty being indiſpoſed; and on the twentieth day of the ſame month the lords commiſſioners cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech to both houſes, expreſſing his majeſty's deep ſenſe of their loyalty and good affection demonſtrated in their late proceedings; in their zeal for his honour and real intereſt in all parts; in their earneſtneſs to ſurmount every difficulty; and their ardour to maintain the war with the utmoſt vigour: circumſtances which muſt convince mankind, that the ancient ſpirit of the Britiſh nation ſtill ſubſiſted in its full force. They were given to underſtand, that the king had taken all ſuch meaſures as appeared the moſt conducive to the accompliſhment of their public-ſpirited views and wiſhes: that, with their aſſiſtance, crowned by the bleſſing of God upon the conduct and bravery of the combined army, his majeſty had been enabled not only to deliver his dominions in Germany from the oppreſſions and devaſtations of the French, but alſo to puſh his advantages on this ſide the Rhine: that he had cemented the union between him and his good brother the king of Pruſſia, by new engagements: that the Britiſh fleets and armies were now actually employed in ſuch expeditions as appeared likely to annoy the enemy in the moſt ſenſible manner, to promote the welfare and proſperity of theſe kingdoms; in particular, to preſerve the Britiſh rights and poſſeſſions in America, and to make France feel in thoſe parts the real ſtrength and importance of Great Britain. The commons were thanked for the ample ſupplies which they had ſo freely and unanimouſly given; and aſſured on the part of his majeſty, that they ſhould be managed with the moſt frugal œconomy. They were deſired, in conſequence of the king's earneſt recommendation, to promote harmony and good agreement amongſt his faithful ſubjects; to make the people acquainted with the rectitude and purity of his intentions and meaſures; and to exert themſelves in maintaining the peace and good order of the country, by enforcing obedience to the laws and lawful authority.

The king, it muſt be owned, had great reaſon to be ſatisfied with the conduct of his miniſters, and the ſpirit of his people. The whole nation repoſed the moſt unlimited confidence in the courage and diſcretion, as well as in the integrity of the miniſter, who ſeemed bent upon proſecuting the war with ſuch vigour and activity as might ſoon bring the enemy to reaſonable terms. New levies were made, new ſhips equipped, freſh expeditions planned, and freſh conqueſts projected. Such was the credit of the adminiſtration, that people ſubſcribed to the government loans with ſurpriſing alacrity. An uncommon ſpirit of courage and intrepidity ſeemed to animate all the individuals that compoſed the army and navy; and the paſſion for military fame diffuſed itſelf through all ranks in the civil department of life, even to the very loweſt of the populace. Such a remarkable change from indolence to activity, from indifference to zeal, from timorous caution to undaunted reſolution, was effected by the influence and example of an intelligent and intrepid miniſter, who, chagrined at the loſſes and diſgraces of the preceding campaign, had on a very ſolemn occaſion lately declared his belief, that there was a fixed reſolution, both in the naval and military commanders, againſt any vigorous exertion of the national power in the ſervice of their country.

He affirmed, that though his majeſty appeared ready to embrace every meaſure propoſed by his miniſters for the honour and intereſt of his Britiſh dominions, yet ſcarce a man could be found with whom the execution of any one plan, in which there was the leaſt appearance of danger, could with confidence be truſted. He mentioned in particular, the inactivity of one general in North America, from whoſe abilities and perſonal bravery the nation had conceived the greateſt expectations. He complained, that this commander had expreſſed the moſt contemptuous diſregard for the civil power, from which he derived his authority, by

neglecting to tranſmit, for a conſiderable length of time, any other advice of his proceedings but what appeared on a written ſcrap of paper. He obſerved, that, with a force by land and ſea greater than ever the nation had heretofore maintained; with a king and miniſtry ardently deſirous of redeeming her glory, ſuccouring her allies, and promoting her true intereſt; a ſhameful diſlike to ſervice every where prevailed; and few ſeemed affected with any other zeal than that of aſpiring to the higheſt poſts, and graſping the largeſt ſalaries.

The cenſure pointed at the commander in America ſeems, in a great meaſure, to have been founded on miſtake: the inactivity of that able general was principally, if not entirely, owing to the ſpirit of diſcord and diſſenſion that prevailed among the Engliſh provinces in America; and which, while it continued to ſubſiſt in its full force, effectually prevented the accompliſhment of any enterprize of importance.

Having thus brought the hiſtory of this ſeſſion of parliament to a concluſion, I ſhall now, agreeable to the method I have hitherto purſued, open the military tranſactions of this year with recording the progreſs of the war in Germany; obſerving, firſt, however, that the beginning of the year was a little clouded by a general concern for the death of his majeſty's third daughter, the princeſs Caroline, a lady of the moſt exemplary virtue and amiable endowments, who died at the age of forty-five, ſincerely regretted as a pattern of unaffected piety and unbounded benevolence.

When the Ruſſian general, Apraxin, retreated from Pomerania, mareſchal Lehwald, who commanded the Pruſſians in that country, was left at liberty to turn his arms againſt the Swedes; and he accordingly drove them before him almoſt without oppoſition. By the beginning of January they were entirely expelled from the Pruſſian Pomerania, and Lehwald, in his turn, invaded their dominions. He in a little time ſubdued all the Swediſh Pomerania, except Stralſund and the iſle of Rugen, and poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral magazines which the enemy had eſtabliſhed.

The Auſtrian army, after their defeat at Breſlau, had retired into Bohemia, where they were cantoned, the head quarters being fixed at Koningſgratz. The king of Pruſſia having recovered all his part of Sileſia, except the town of Schweidnitz, which he ſtraitened with a blockade, ſent detachments from his army cantoned in the neighbourhood of Breſlau, to invade the Auſtrian or ſouthern part of that province, where they reduced Troppau and Jaggornſdorf; while he himſelf remained at Breſlau, entertaining his officers with concerts of muſic: not that he ſuffered theſe amuſements to divert his attention from more important objects. He laid Swediſh Pomerania under contribution, and made a freſh demand of five hundred thouſand crowns from the electorate of Saxony. Having received information that the duke of Mecklenbourg was employed in providing magazines for the French army, he detached a body of troops into that country, who not only took poſſeſſion of the magazines, but levied conſiderable contributions; and the duke retired to Lubeck, accompanied by the French miniſter.

In order to give the reader a more diſtinct idea of the tranſactions of this campaign in Germany, it may not be improper to acquaint him, that the forces brought into the field by the empreſs-queen of Hungary, the ſtates of the empire, the czarina, and the kings of France and Sweden, fell very little ſhort of three hundred thouſand men; whereas the armies maintained by the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia, the only powers that acted on the other ſide, did not amount to above two hundred and twenty thouſand. The conſequence of this inequality was, that the confederates of the former party gained many advantages over thoſe of the oppoſite ſide, by invading, and even conquering their dominions, particularly Hanover, the government of which was now entirely changed.

In the month of December of the preceding year, a farmer of the revenues from Paris arrived at Hanover, where he eſtabliſhed his office, in order to act by virtue of powers from one John Faidy, to whom the French king had granted the direction, receipt, and adminiſtration of all the duties and revenues of the electorate. This director was, by a decree of the council of ſtate, impowered to receive the revenues not only of Hanover, but alſo of all other countries that ſhould be ſubjected to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty in the courſe of the campaign; and to remove the receivers who had been employed in any part of the direction, receipt, and adminiſtration of the duties and revenues of Hanover, and appoint others in their room.

The French king, by the ſame decree, ordained, that all perſons who had been intruſted under the preceding government with titles, papers, accounts, regiſters, or eſtimates, relating to the adminiſtration of revenues, ſhould communicate them to John Faidy or his attornies; that the magiſtrates of the towns, diſtricts, and commonalties, as well as thoſe who directed the adminiſtration of particular ſtates and provinces, ſhould deliver to the ſaid John Faidy, or his attornies, the produce of ſix years of the duties and revenues belonging to the ſaid towns, diſtricts, and provinces, reckoning from the firſt of January in the year 1751, together with an authentic account of the ſums they had paid during that term to the preceding ſovereign, and of the charges neceſſarily incurred.

It appears from the contents of this decree, which was dated on the eighteenth day of October, that immediately after the conventions of Cloſter Seven and Bremeworden *, the court of Verſailles had determined to change the government and ſyſtem of the electorate, contrary to an expreſs article of the capitulation granted to the city of Hanover, when it ſurrendered on the ninth day of Auguſt; and that the crown of France intended to take advantage of the ceſſation of arms, in ſeizing places and provinces which were not yet ſubdued; for, by

* Six days after the convention was ſigned at Cloſter Seven, another act of accommodation was concluded at Bremeworden, between the generals Sporcken and Villemur, relating to the releaſe of priſoners, and ſome other points omitted in the convention.

the

the decree above-mentioned, the adminiſtration of John Faidy extended to the countries which might hereafter be conquered. With what regard to juſtice, then, could the French government charge the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, with the infraction of articles? or what reſpect to good faith and humanity did the duke de Richelieu obſerve, in the order iſſued from Zell, towards the end of the year, importing, that as the treaty made with the country of Hanover had been rendered void by the violation of the articles ſigned at Cloſter Seven, all the effects belonging to the officers, or others employed in the Hanoverian army, ſhould be confiſcated for the uſe of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty?

The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, being deſirous of ſecuring his dominions againſt the like calamities, not only promiſed to renounce all connection with the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia, but even ſolicited the court of France to receive him into the number of its dependants; for, on the eighteenth day of October, the miniſter of the duc de Deuxponts delivered at Verſailles, in the name of the landgrave, the plan of a treaty, to be founded on the following conditions: That the landgrave ſhould enter into no engagement againſt the French king and his allies, nor give any aſſiſtance, directly or indirectly, to the enemies of his majeſty and the other confederates: that he ſhould never give his vote, in the general or particular aſſemblies of the empire, againſt his majeſty's intereſt; but, on the contrary, employ his influence, jointly with France, to quiet the troubles of the empire; and that, for this end, his troops which had ſerved in the Hanoverian army ſhould engage in the ſervice of France, on condition that they ſhould not act in the preſent war againſt his Britannic majeſty: that, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty ſhould reſtore the dominions of the landgrave in the ſame condition they were in when ſubdued by the French forces: that theſe dominions ſhould be exempted from all further contributions, either in money, corn, forage, wood, or cattle, though already impoſed on the ſubjects of Heſſe; and the French troops pay for all the proviſion with which they might be ſupplied; in which caſe the landgrave ſhould exact no toll for warlike ſtores, proviſions, or other articles of that nature which might paſs through his dominions: that the king of France ſhould guaranty all his eſtates, all the rights of the houſe of Heſſe Caſſel, particularly the act of aſſurance, ſigned by his ſon the hereditary prince, with regard to religion; uſe his intereſt with the emperor and the empreſs-queen, that, in conſideration of the immenſe loſſes and damages his moſt ſerene highneſs had ſuffered ſince the French invaded his country, and of the great ſums he ſhould loſe with England in arrears and ſubſidies by this accommodation, he might be excuſed from furniſhing his contingent to the army of the empire, as well as from paying the Roman months granted by the diet of the empire; and if, in reſentment of this convention, the eſtates of his ſerene highneſs ſhould be attacked, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty ſhould afford the moſt ſpeedy and effectual ſuccours.

This treaty, it muſt be confeſſed, exhibits but a very indifferent ſpecimen of the fidelity of a German ally. The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel had been retained as a ſubſidiary of England, even in time of peace, when his friendſhip could not avail, nor his enmity prejudice, the intereſts of Great Britain: but he had been retained in that ſeaſon of tranquillity as a friend, on whoſe ſervices the moſt implicit dependence might be placed in any future ſtorm or commotion. How little he merited this confidence and favour appeared too plainly by his preſent conduct, when the cauſe of Hanover ſeemed to be on the decline; and his own dominions having ſuffered ſo much by the fate of war, he not only diſcovered an inclination to abandon his benefactor and ally, but even ſued to be enliſted into the ſervice of his adverſary. This intended defection was, however, prevented by a ſudden turn of fortune which he could not poſſibly foreſee; and his troops continued to act in conjunction with the Hanoverians.

Nor was the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel the only prince that acted this ungrateful and diſingenuous part towards the king of Great Britain. The duke of Brunſwic, ſtill more nearly connected with that monarch, uſed ſuch uncommon expedition in detaching himſelf from the ſinking fortune of Hanover, that, in ten days after the convention of Cloſter Seven, he concluded a treaty with the courts of Vienna and Verſailles; ſo that, in all probability, the negociation muſt have been begun before that convention took place. On the twentieth day of September his miniſter at Vienna, by virtue of full powers from the duke of Brunſwic, accepted and ſigned the conditions which the French king and his Auſtrian ally thought proper to preſcribe.

Theſe imported, That his moſt Chriſtian majeſty ſhould keep poſſeſſion of the cities of Brunſwic and Wolfenbuttle during the war, and make uſe of the artillery, arms, and military ſtores depoſited in their arſenals: that the duke's forces, on their return from the camp of the duke of Cumberland, ſhould be diſbanded and diſarmed; and take an oath that they ſhould not, during the preſent war, ſerve againſt the king or his allies: that the duke ſhould be permitted to maintain a battalion of foot, and two ſquadrons of horſe, for the guard of his perſon and caſtles; but the regulations made by the mareſchal Richelieu and the intendant of his army ſhould ſubſiſt on their preſent footing: that the duke ſhould furniſh his contingent in money and troops, agreeably to the laws of the empire: that his forces ſhould immediately join thoſe which the Germanic body had aſſembled; and that he ſhould order his miniſter at Ratiſbon to vote conformably to the reſolutions of the dyet, approved and confirmed by the emperor.

In return for all theſe conceſſions the duke was reſtored to the favour of the French king, who graciouſly promiſed that neither his revenues nor his treaſure ſhould be touched, nor the adminiſtration of juſtice invaded; and that nothing further ſhould be demanded but winter-quarters for the regiments which ſhould paſs that ſeaſon in the country of Brunſwic.

How faithfully ſoever the duke might have intended to perform the articles of this treaty, his intentions were defeated by his brother prince Ferdinand, who, being inveſted with the command of the Hanoverian army, and ordered to reſume the operations of war againſt the enemy, detained the

troops of Brunſwic, as well as his nephew the hereditary prince, notwithſtanding the treaty which his brother had ſigned, and the injunctions which he had laid upon his ſon to retire from the army, and make a tour to Holland. The duke either was, or affected to be, ſo offended at this ſtep in his brother, that he wrote him with his own hand the following letter:

"SIR,

"I know you too well to doubt that the ſituation in which we ſtand at preſent, with reſpect to each other, gives you abundance of uneaſineſs: nor will you doubt that it gives me equal concern: indeed it afflicts me greatly. Mean while, I could never, my deareſt brother, have believed that you would be the perſon who ſhould carry away from me my eldeſt ſon. I am exceedingly mortified to find myſelf under the hard neceſſity of telling you, that this ſtep is contrary to the law of nations and the conſtitutions of the empire; and that, if you perſiſt in it, you will diſgrace your country, which you pretend to ſerve.

"The hereditary prince, my ſon, was at Hamburgh by my order, and you have carried him to Stade. Could he diſtruſt an uncle? an uncle who hath done ſo much honour to his family? Could he believe that this uncle would deprive him of liberty, a liberty never refuſed to the loweſt officer? I ordered him to make a tour to Holland: could not the loweſt officer have done as much? Let us ſuppoſe, for a moment, that my troops, among whom he ſerved, were to have ſtayed with the Hanoverians; would it not ſtill have been in my power to give an officer leave of abſence, or even leave to reſign his commiſſion? and would you hinder your brother, the head of your family, and of ſuch a family as ours, to exerciſe this right with regard to a ſon, who is the hereditary prince, of whoſe rights and prerogatives you cannot be ignorant? It is impoſſible you could have conceived ſuch deſigns, without the ſuggeſtion of others. Thoſe who did ſuggeſt them have trampled on the rights of nature, of nations, and of the princes of Germany: they have induced you to add to all theſe the moſt cruel inſults on a brother whom you love, and who always loved you with the warmeſt affection.

"Would you have your brother lay his juſt complaints againſt you before the whole empire, and all Europe? Are not your proceedings without example? What is Germany become? What are its princes become, and our houſe in particular? Is it the intereſt of the two kings, the cauſe of your country, and my cauſe, that you pretend to ſupport? I repeat it, brother, that this deſign could never have been framed by you. I again command my ſon to purſue his journey; and I cannot conceive you will give the leaſt obſtruction: if you ſhould (which I pray God avert) I ſolemnly declare that I will not be conſtrained by ſuch meaſures, nor ſhall I ever forget what I owe to myſelf.

"As to my troops, you may ſee what I have written on that head to the Hanoverian miniſtry. The duke of Cumberland, by the convention of Cloſter Seven, diſmiſſed them, and ſent them home: the ſaid miniſtry gave me notice of this convention, as a treaty by which I was bound. The march of the troops was ſettled; and an incident happening, they halted: that obſtacle being removed, they were to have continued their march. The court of Hanover will be no longer bound by the convention; while I not only accepted their word, but have alſo, in conformity with their inſtructions, negociated at Verſailles and at Vienna. After all theſe ſteps, they would have me contradict myſelf, break my word, and entirely ruin my eſtate, as well as my honour. Did you ever know your brother guilty of ſuch things?

"True it is, I have, as you ſay, ſacrificed my all; or rather, I have been ſacrificed. The only thing left me is my honour; and, in the unhappy contraſt of our ſituations, I lament both you and myſelf, that it ſhould be from you, my dear brother, I ſhould receive the cruel advice to give up my honour. I cannot liſten to it: I cannot recede from my promiſe. My troops therefore muſt return home, agreeably to what the duke of Cumberland and the Hanoverian miniſtry ſtipulated with regard to me in the ſtrongeſt manner. I am afraid that the true circumſtances of things are concealed from you. Not to detain your expreſs too long, I ſhall ſend you, by the poſt, copies of all I have written to the Hanoverian miniſtry. It will grieve your honeſt heart to read it. I am, with an heart almoſt broken, yet full of tenderneſs for you, your, &c."

Notwithſtanding this warm remonſtrance, prince Ferdinand detained the troops and the hereditary prince, who being fond of the ſervice, in a little time diſtinguiſhed himſelf by very extraordinary acts of bravery and conduct; and means were found to reconcile his father to meaſures that were more contrary to his engagements than his inclinations."

The defeat of the French army at Roſbach, and the retreat of the Ruſſians from Pomerania, had entirely altered the face of affairs in Germany. The French king was ſoon obliged to abandon his conqueſts on that ſide of the Rhine, and his threats ſounded no longer terrible in the ears of the Hanoverian and Pruſſian allies. As little formidable were the denunciations of the emperor, who had, by a decree of the Aulic council, communicated to the dyet certain mandates, iſſued in the month of Auguſt in the preceding year, on pain of the ban of the empire, with avocatory letters annexed, againſt the king of Great Britain, elector of Hanover, and the other princes acting in concert with the king of Pruſſia.

The French court publiſhed likewiſe a ſcurrilous memorial, after the convention of Cloſter Seven had been violated and ſet aſide, drawing an invidious compariſon between the conduct of the French king and the proceedings of his Britannic majeſty; in which the latter is charged with breach of faith, and almoſt every meanneſs that could ſtain the character of a monarch. In anſwer to the emperor's decree, and this virulent charge, baron Gimmengen, the electoral miniſter of Brunſwic Lunenbourg, preſented to the dyet, in November, a long memorial, recapitulating the important ſervices his ſovereign had performed to the houſe of Auſtria, and the ungrateful returns he had reaped, in the queen's refuſing to aſſiſt him when his dominions were threatened with an invaſion. He enu-

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References.
A. County of E. Friesland.
B. County of Oldenburg.
C. Lower Bishop.k of Munster.
D. Bishop.k of Munster.
E. County of Hoy.
F. County of Bentheim.
G. Bishop.k of Osnaburg.
H. Bishop.k of Minden.
I. Duchy of Cleves.
K. Bishop.k of Paderborn.
L. Bishop.k of Liege.
M. Duchy of Juliers.
N. Arch. Bishop.k of Cologne.
O. To Hesse.
P. County of Diepholt.
Q. To Hesse.
R. County of Scamburg.
S. County of Coppenburg.
T. County of Stirpurd.
U. County of Ravensburg.
W. County of Tiddenburg.
X. County of Ridberg.
Y. County of Lip.
Z. County of Mark.
a. Duchy of Westphalia.
b. Duchy of Berg.
c. Duchy of Ferden.
THE NORTH SEA OR GERMANOCEAN
SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES
AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS
DUCHY OF LUXEMBURG
PART OF FRANCE
CIRCLE OF LOWER RHINE
CIRCLE OF THE UPPER RHINE
LOWER SAXONY
HANOVER
A New MAP of the CIRCLE of WESTPHALIA &c. Drawn from the best Authorities.
British Miles 69 to a Degree
German Miles 15 to a Degree
Long.e E. from London
N. Williams Sculp.

merated many inſtances in which ſhe had countenanced, encouraged, and even joined the enemies of the electorate, in violation of her former engagements, and directly contrary to the conſtitution of the empire. He refuted, to the ſatisfaction of the whole world, every article of the charge which the French court had brought againſt him in their virulent libel, retorted the imputations of perfidy and ambition, and, with reſpect to France, juſtified every particular of his own conduct.

While the French and Hanoverian forces continued in their winter-quarters, the former at Zell, and the latter at Lunenbourg, divers petty rencounters happened between the detached parties of the two armies. The Hanoverian general, Juncheim, having taken poſt at Halberſtadt and Quedlimburg, from whence he made excurſions even to the gates of Brunſwic, and kept the French army in continual alarm, he was attacked by a large body of the enemy, who compelled him to retire to Ackerſleben, committed great outrages in the town of Halberſtadt and its neighbourhood, and carried off hoſtages for the payment of contributions.

General Hardenberg, another Hanoverian officer, having diſlodged the French detachments that occupied Burgh, Voglesack, and Ritterhude, and cleared the whole territory of Bremen, in the month of January the duke of Broglio collected a conſiderable corps of troops that were cantoned at Otterſburg, Rothenburg, and the adjacent country; and advancing to Bremen, demanded admittance, threatening that, in caſe of a refuſal, he would proceed to extremities, and puniſh the inhabitants ſeverely, ſhould they make the leaſt reſiſtance. When their deputies waited upon him to deſire a ſhort time for deliberation, he anſwered, "Not a moment; the duke de Richelieu's orders are peremptory, and admit of no delay"

He accordingly ordered the cannon to be brought up, the wall was ſcaled, and the gates would have been forced open, had not the magiſtrates, at the earneſt importunity of the people, reſolved to comply with his demand. A ſecond deputation was immediately diſpatched to the duke of Broglio, ſignifying their ſubmiſſion; and the gates being opened, he marched into the city at midnight, after having promiſed, upon his honour, that no attempt ſhould be made to the prejudice of its rights and prerogatives, nor any outrage offered to the privileges of the regency, to the liberty, religion, or commerce of the inhabitants.

This conqueſt, however, was of ſhort duration. Prince Ferdinand being joined by a body of Pruſſian horſe, under the command of prince George of Holſtein Gottorp, the whole army began its march, and advanced to the country of Bremen about the middle of February. The enemy were driven from Rottenburg, Otterſburg, and Verden; and they abandoned the city of Bremen at the approach of the Hanoverian general, who entered it without oppoſition.

By this time the court of Verſailles, being diſſatisfied with the conduct of the duke de Richelieu, had recalled that general from Germany, and beſtowed the command of the army upon the count de Clermont, to the general ſatisfaction of the army, as well as to the joy of the Hanoverian ſubjects, among whom Richelieu had committed many flagrant acts of cruelty and oppreſſion. The new commander found his maſter's forces reduced to a deplorable condition, by the accidents of war, the relaxation of diſcipline, the ſeverity of the weather, and the want of almoſt every neceſſary. As he could not pretend with ſuch a ruined army to oppoſe the deſigns of prince Ferdinand in the field, or even preſerve the ground which his predeceſſor had gained, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of retiring with all poſſible expedition towards the Rhine. As the allies advanced, his troops retreated from their different quarters with ſuch precipitation as to leave behind them all their ſick, together with a great part of their baggage and artillery, beſides a great number of officers and ſoldiers that fell into the hands of thoſe parties by whom they were purſued.

The inhabitants of Hanover, hearing that the French intended to evacuate their city, were filled with apprehenſions of being ſubjected to every ſpecies of violence and abuſe: but their fears were happily diſappointed, by the honour and integrity of the duke de Randan, the French governor, who not only took effectual meaſures for reſtraining the ſoldiers within the bounds of the moſt rigid diſcipline, but likewiſe exhibited a noble proof of generoſity and moderation. Inſtead of deſtroying his magazine of proviſions, according to the uſual practice of war, he ordered the whole to be either ſold at a low price, or diſtributed among the poor of the city, who had been long expoſed to the horrors of famine: an act of godlike humanity, which ought to dignify the character of that worthy nobleman above all the titles that military fame can deſerve, or arbitrary monarchs beſtow.

The two grand diviſions of the French army, quartered at Zell and Hanover, retired in good order to Hamelen, where they aſſembled all their forces, except thoſe that were left in Hoya, and about four thouſand men placed in garriſon at Minden, to intercept the progreſs of the combined army. Towards the latter end of February, prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic having received intelligence that the count de Chabot was poſted with a conſiderable body of troops at Hoya upon the Weſer, detached the hereditary prince of Brunſwic with four battalions, and ſome light troops and dragoons, to oblige him to retire from that neighbourhood. This enterprize was executed with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs. The hereditary prince croſſed the Weſer at Bremen with part of his detachment, while the reſt advanced on this ſide of the river; and the enemy, being attacked in front and rear, were in a little time forced and thrown into confuſion.

The bridge being abandoned, and near ſeven hundred men taken priſoners, the count de Chabot threw himſelf with two battalions into the caſtle, where he reſolved to defend himſelf in hope of being ſupported. The regiment of Bretagne and ſome detachments of dragoons were actually on the march to his aſſiſtance. The hereditary prince being informed of this circumſtance, being alſo deſtitute of heavy artillery to beſiege the place in form, and apprehending at the ſame time that he ſhould not be able to maintain the poſt after it might be taken, thought proper to liſten to the terms of capitulation propoſed by the French general, whoſe garriſon was ſuffered to march out with the honours of war; but their cannon, ſtores,

and ammunition, were delivered to the victor. This was the firſt exploit of the hereditary prince, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf on many ſubſequent occaſions by the moſt ſignal acts of valour and activity. He had no ſooner ſubdued Hoya than he advanced to the attack of Minden, which he inveſted on the fifth of March, and on the fourteenth the garriſon ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war.

After the reduction of this city, the allied army proceeded towards Hamelen, where the French general had eſtabliſhed his head quarters: but theſe he abandoned at the approach of the allies; and leaving behind him all his ſick and wounded, with part of his magazines, retreated without halting to Paderborn, and from thence to the Rhine, recalling in his march the troops that were in Embden, Caſſel, and the landgraviate of Heſſe, all which places were now evacuated. The French were terribly annoyed in their march by the Pruſſian huſſars and a body of light horſe, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Hanoverian hunters, who took a great number of priſoners, together with many baggage-waggons, and ſome artillery. Such was the precipitation of the enemy's retreat, that they could not find time to deſtroy all their magazines of proviſion and forage, and even forgot to call in the garriſon of Vechte, a ſmall fortreſs in the neighbourhood of Diepholt, who were made priſoners of war; and here was found a complete train of battering cannon and mortars.

The count de Clermont having arrived on the banks of the Rhine, diſtributed his forces into quarters of refreſhment in Weſel and the adjoining country, while prince Ferdinand quartered the allied army in the biſhopric of Munſter. Here however he did not long remain inactive. In the latter end of May he detached colonel Scheither acroſs the Rhine with a ſmall detachment, which attacked and defeated three battalions of the enemy, and took five pieces of cannon. In the beginning of June the whole army paſſed the Rhine on a bridge built for the purpoſe, defeated a body of French cavalry, and obtained ſeveral other advantages in their march towards Weſel. Keiſerworth was ſurpriſed, the greater part of the garriſon either taken or killed; and prince Ferdinand began to make preparations for the ſiege of Duſſeldorp. In the mean time the count de Clermont, being unable to ſtop the rapidity of his progreſs, was obliged to ſecure his troops with ſtrong entrenchments until he ſhould be properly reinforced.

The court of Verſailles was equally mortified and confounded at this ſudden turn of their affairs in Germany. Their miniſters had been long the ſport of female caprice: it was their power of pleaſing a miſtreſs, who governed their king, that alone enabled them to obtain poſts under the government. Some of the moſt able men were turned out of their employments with diſgrace; others retired from the public ſervice with indignation; and a certain low character had, for a long time, appeared in all the proceedings of the French, both in the field and the cabinet.

Even in their domeſtic diſputes, where ſomething of a free and manly ſpirit appeared, this ſpirit evaporated, and ſpent itſelf upon unworthy and deſpicable objects. Theſe conteſts, which involved the church, the law, and the crown, weakened the whole nation; and the ſtate felt all the ill effects of a diſunion of its orders, without ſeeing an augmentation of power thrown into the ſcale of any.

But now, taught by their misfortunes and diſgraces, they were obliged to adopt an alteration in their conduct: they were forced to call men to the public ſervice upon public principles; at a time, indeed, when in many reſpects things could only be altered, not mended; and when wiſe and able miniſters could do little more by their penetration and public ſpirit than to ſee and lament the ruin cauſed by the want of thoſe virtues in their predeceſſors.

The duke de Belleiſle, known to all Europe for his great abilities and his great exploits, was at length placed at the head of the military department, as ſecretary at war. On this occaſion he delivered himſelf in the preſence of his ſovereign in council, with a ſpirit of patriotiſm that does honour to his name.

"I know, ſaid he, the ſtate of our armies. It gives me great grief, and no leſs indignation: for, beſides the real evil of the diſorder in itſelf, the diſgrace and infamy which it reflects on our government and on the whole nation is more to be apprehended. The choice of officers ought to be made with mature deliberation. I know but too well to what length the want of diſcipline, pillaging and robbing have been carried on by the officers and common men, after the example ſet them by their generals.

"It mortifies me to think I am a Frenchman: my principles are known to be very different from thoſe which are now followed. I had the ſatisfaction to retain the eſteem, the friendſhip, and regard of all the princes, noblemen, and even of all the common people, in all parts of Germany, where I commanded the king's forces. They lived there in the midſt of abundance: every one was pleaſed: it fills my ſoul with anguiſh to find, that at preſent the French are held in execration; that every body is diſpirited; and that many officers publicly ſay things that are criminal and highly puniſhable.

"The evil is ſo great that it demands immediate redreſs. I can eaſily judge, by what paſſes in my own breaſt, of what our generals feel from the ſpeeches they muſt daily hear in Germany, concerning our conduct: which indeed would loſe much to be compared with that of our allies. I muſt particularly complain of the delays and irregularity of the poſts; a ſervice for which there has not yet been made any ſufficient proviſion. I am likewiſe diſpleaſed with the negligence of our generals in returning anſwers, which is a manifeſt breach of their duty.

"Had I commanded the army, a thouſand things which are done would not have been done; and others which have been neglected would have been executed. I would have multiplied my communications; I would have had ſtrong poſts on the right, on the left, and in the center, lined with troops. I would have had magazines in every place. The quiet and ſatisfaction of the country people ſhould have been equal to their preſent diſſatisfaction at being harraſſed and plundered; and we ſhould have been as much beloved as we are at preſent abhorred. The conſequences are too apparent to need being mentioned. I muſt inſiſt on theſe things, becauſe late redreſs is better than the continuation of the evil."

This

This ſpirited harangue was followed by no leſs ſpirited reſolutions. A large body of troops was aſſembled at Hanau, under the direction of the prince of Soubiſe, who, it was ſaid, had orders to penetrate by the way of Donawert, Ingoldſtadt, and Arneberg, into Bohemia. The army on the Rhine was likewiſe augmented; troops were every-where drawn from the interior parts of the kingdom, towards the ſeat of action; and the fortifications on the frontiers were put into the beſt poſture of defence that the diſordered ſtate of the finances could poſſibly admit.

At the ſame time the duke de Belleiſle wrote a letter, directed to all the colonels of infantry, threatening them, in the king's name, with the loſs of their regiments, ſhould they connive any longer at the ſcandalous practice of buying commiſſions; an abuſe which had crept into the ſervice under various pretexts, to the diſcouragement of merit, the relaxation of diſcipline, and the total extinction of laudable emulation.

The prince of Clermont having abandoned his ſtrong camp at Rhinefeldt, retired to Nuys a little higher up the river, and detached a conſiderable corps, under the command of the count de St. Germain, to take poſt at Crevelt, ſituated in a plain between his army and the camp of the allies, which fronted the town of Meurs. After ſeveral motions on both ſides, prince Ferdinand determined to attack the enemy, and forthwith made a diſpoſition for this purpoſe.

He aſſigned the command of the whole left wing, conſiſting of eighteen battalions and twenty-eight ſquadrons, to lieutenant-general Sporcken; the conduct of the right wing, compoſed of ſixteen battalions and fourteen ſquadrons, was intruſted to the hereditary prince and major-general Wangenheim; the ſquadrons, with the addition of two regiments of Pruſſian dragoons, were under the immediate direction of the prince of Holſtein; while the hereditary prince commanded the infantry. The light troops, conſiſting of five ſquadrons of huſſars, were divided between the prince of Holſtein and lieutenant-general Sporcken. Major Luckner's ſquadron, together with Scheither's corps, were ordered to obſerve the flank of the enemy's right, and with this view were poſted in the village of Papendeick; and a battalion of the troops of Wolfembuttle were left in the town of Hulſte, to cover the rear of the army. Prince Ferdinand's deſign was to attack the enemy on their left flank; but the execution was rendered extremely difficult by the woods and ditches that encumbered the road, and the numerous ditches that interſected this part of the country.

On the twenty-third day of June, at four in the morning, the army began to move; the right advancing in two columns as far as St. Anthony, and the left marching up within half a league of Crevelt. The prince having ſurveyed the ſituation of the enemy from the ſteeple of St. Anthony, procured guides; and having obtained all the neceſſary hints of intelligence, proceeded to the right, in order to charge the enemy's left flank by the villages of Worſt and Anrath; but, in order to diſtract their attention, and keep them in ſuſpence with regard to the nature of his principal attack, he directed the generals Sporcken and Oberg to advance againſt them by the way of Crevelt and St. Anthony, and in particular to ply with vigour their artillery, that being employed in three different places at once, they might be prevented from ſending any reinforcement to the left, where the chief attack was intended.

This diſpoſition being made, prince Ferdinand putting himſelf at the head of the grenadiers of the right wing, proſecuted his march in two columns to the village of Anrath, where he fell in with an advanced party of the French, which, after a few diſcharges of muſquetry, retired to their camp and gave the alarm. In the mean time, both armies were drawn up in order of battle; the troops of the allies in the plain between the villages of Anrath and Willich, oppoſite to the French forces, whoſe left was ſecured by a wood. The action began about one in the afternoon with a ſevere cannonading on the part of prince Ferdinand, which, though well ſerved, was not able to draw the enemy from their cover: he therefore determined to diſlodge them from the wood by dint of ſmall arms. The hereditary prince immediately advanced with the whole front, and a very obſtinate action enſued.

Mean while, the cavalry on the right in vain endeavoured to penetrate the wood on the other ſide, where the enemy had raiſed two batteries, which were ſupported by forty ſquadrons of horſe. After a terrible fire had continued on both ſides till five in the afternoon, the grenadiers forced the intrenchments in the wood, which were lined by the French infantry. Theſe giving way, abandoned the wood in the utmoſt diſorder; but the purſuit was checked by the conduct and reſolution of the enemy's cavalry, which, notwithſtanding a dreadful fire from the artillery of the allies, maintained their ground, and covered the foot in their retreat to Nuys.

The ſucceſs of the day was in a good meaſure owing to the artillery on the left and in the centre, under the direction of the generals Sporcken and Oberg, who plied the enemy with great vigour, and effectually employed their attention on that ſide, while prince Ferdinand proſecuted his attack on the other. It muſt be owned, however, that their right wing and centre retired in good order to Nuys, though the left was defeated with the loſs of ſeveral ſtandards, colours, and pieces of cannon, and ſix thouſand men, killed, wounded, or taken priſoners.

This victory, however important, was far from being deciſive. True it is, the enemy were obliged to take refuge under the cannon of Cologne, and tamely to behold the reduction of Duſſeldorp, which was ſubdued by prince Ferdinand after a ſiege of a few days: nevertheleſs, they were ſoon joined by ſuch a number of freſh troops as not only enabled them to make head againſt the allies, but even to ſend a conſiderable detachment to the aſſiſtance of Soubiſe.

It was at this period that the command of the French army was taken from the count de Clermont, and beſtowed upon M. de Contades, who ſeemed determined to attack prince Ferdinand in his turn, and even made ſome motions for that purpoſe. This ſcheme, however, he was prevented from carrying into execution, by the little river Erff, behind which the prince reſolved to lie quiet until he ſhould be joined by the body of Britiſh

troops under the command of the duke of Marlborough, the firſt diviſion of which had juſt landed at Embden. He flattered himſelf that the prince of Yſenbourg, at the head of the Heſſian troops, would find employment for the prince de Soubiſe, who had marched from Hanau with a deſign to penetrate into the landgraviate of Heſſe-Caſſel: his vanguard had been already ſurpriſed and defeated by the militia of the country; and the prince of Yſenbourg was at the head of a conſiderable body of regular forces, aſſembled to oppoſe his further progreſs.

Prince Ferdinand therefore hoped that the operations of the French general would be effectually checked, until he himſelf, being reinforced by the Britiſh troops, ſhould be able to paſs the Meuſe, transfer the ſeat of the war into the enemy's country, thus make a diverſion from the Rhine, and perhaps oblige the prince of Soubiſe to come to the aſſiſtance of the principal French army, commanded by M. de Contades.

He had formed a plan which would have anſwered theſe purpoſes effectually, and in proſecution of it advanced to Ruremond on the Maeſe, when his meaſures were totally diſconcerted by a variety of incidents which he could not foreſee. The prince of Yſenbourg was, on the twenty-third day of July, defeated at Sangerſhauſen by the duke de Broglio, whom the prince de Soubiſe had detached againſt him with a number of troops greatly ſuperior to that which the Heſſian general commanded. The duke de Broglio, who commanded the vanguard of Soubiſe's army, having received intelligence that the Heſſian troops under the prince of Yſenbourg were retiring towards Munden, he marched on the twenty-third of July with a body of eight thouſand men to the village of Sangerſhauſen, where he found them drawn up in order of battle, and forthwith made a diſpoſition for the attack. At firſt his cavalry were repulſed by the Heſſian horſe, which charged the French infantry, and were broke in their turn.

The Heſſians, though greatly inferior in number to the enemy, made a very deſperate reſiſtance, by favour of a rock in the Fulde that covered their right, and a wood by which their left was ſecured. The diſpute was ſo obſtinate that the enemy's left was obliged to give ground; but the duke de Broglio ordering a freſh corps to advance, changed the fortune of the day. The Heſſians, overpowered by numbers, were forced to recoil; part plunged into the river, where many periſhed; and part threw themſelves into the wood, through which they eſcaped from the purſuit of the huſſars, who took above two hundred ſoldiers and fifty officers, including the count de Canitz, who was ſecond in command.

They likewiſe found on the field of battle ſeven pieces of cannon, and eight at Munden: but the loſs of the enemy was much greater than that of the allies, above two thouſand of the former being either killed or wounded in the action. The prince of Yſenbourg having collected the remains of his little army, took poſt at Eimbeck, where he ſoon was reinforced, and found himſelf at the head of twelve thouſand men; but, in conſequence of this advantage, the enemy became maſters of the Weſer, and opened to themſelves a free paſſage into Weſtphalia.

The operations of prince Ferdinand upon the Maeſe had been interrupted by a long ſucceſſion of heavy rains, which broke up the roads, and rendered the country impaſſable; and now the certain information of this unlucky defeat reduced him to the neceſſity of either retiring acroſs the Rhine, or of coming to a battle; the latter was carefully declined by the enemy: the firſt reſolution therefore he found himſelf unavoidably obliged to embrace. In his preſent poſition he was hemmed in by the French army on one wing, on the other by the fortreſs of Gueldre, the garriſon of which had been lately reinforced, as well as by divers other poſts, capable of obſtructing the convoys and ſubſiſtence of the combined army: beſides, he had reaſon to apprehend that the prince de Soubiſe would endeavour to intercept the Britiſh troops in their march from Embden.

Induced by theſe conſiderations, he reſolved to repaſs the Rhine, after having offered battle to the enemy, and made ſeveral motions for that purpoſe. Finding them averſe to an engagement, he made his diſpoſitions for forcing the ſtrong paſs of Wachtendonck, an iſland ſurrounded by the Niers, of very difficult acceſs, and ſituated exactly in his route to the Rhine. This ſcheme was executed by the hereditary prince of Brunſwic, who perceiving the enemy had drawn up the bridge, ruſhed into the river at the head of his grenadiers, who drove them away with their bayonets, and cleared the bridges for the paſſage of the army towards Rhinebergen.

At this place prince Ferdinand was informed that M. de Chevert, one of the beſt officers in the French ſervice, had croſſed the Lippe with fourteen battalions and ſeveral ſquadrons, to reinforce the garriſon of Weſel, and fall upon lieutenant-general Imhoff, who commanded a detached corps of the combined army at Meer, that he might be at hand to guard a bridge which the prince had thrown over the Rhine at Rees. His ſerene highneſs was extremely deſirous of giving ſome aſſiſtance to general Imhoff; but the troops were too much fatigued to begin this march before morning, and the Rhine had overflowed its banks in ſuch a manner as to render the bridge at Rees impaſſable; ſo that Mr. Imhoff was left to the reſources of his own conduct and the bravery of his troops, conſiſting of ſix battalions and four ſquadrons, already weakened by the abſence of different detachments.

This general having received intelligence, on the fourth day of Auguſt, that the enemy deſigned to paſs the Lippe that ſame evening with a conſiderable train of artillery, in order to burn the bridge at Rees, ſet out with a view to ſecure this place, and join two battalions which had paſſed the Rhine in boats, under the command of general Zaſtrow, who reinforced him accordingly; but the enemy, not appearing, he concluded the information was falſe, and determined to reſume his advantageous poſt at Meer. Of this he had no ſooner regained poſſeſſion than he ſaw his out-guards engaged with the enemy, who had marched to the attack from Weſel, under the command of lieutenant-general de Chevert, conſiſting of the whole corps intended for the ſiege of Duſſeldorp.

Imhoff's front was ſecured by coppices and ditches, there being a riſing ground on his right,

from

from whence he could plainly perceive the whole force that advanced againſt him, together with the manner of their approach. Obſerving them engaged in that difficult ground, he poſted one regiment in a coppice, with orders to attack the left flank of the enemy, which appeared quite uncovered; and as ſoon as their fire began, he advanced with the reſt of his forces to charge them in front. The bayonet was uſed on this occaſion, and the attack made with ſuch impetuoſity and reſolution, that after a ſhort reſiſtance the enemy was thrown into confuſion, and fled towards Weſel, leaving on the ſpot eleven pieces of cannon, with a great number of waggons and other carriages. Beſides the killed and wounded, who amounted to a pretty conſiderable number, the victor took three hundred and fifty-four priſoners, including eleven officers; and this advantage was gained with little or no loſs on the ſide of the allies.

Immediately after this action general Wangenheim croſſed the Rhine with ſeveral ſquadrons and battalions to join general Imhoff, and enable him to improve the victory he had gained, while prince Ferdinand proceeded with the reſt of the army to Santen; from whence he continued his march to Rhineberg, where he intended to paſs; but the river had overflowed its banks to ſuch a degree, that here, as well as at Rees, the ſhore was inacceſſible; ſo that he found it neceſſary to march farther down the river, and lay a bridge at Griethuyzen. The enemy had conſtructed four veſſels for the deſtruction of this bridge; but they were all happily taken before they could be executed, and the whole army paſſed on the tenth day of Auguſt, without any loſs or further interruption. At the ſame time the prince withdrew his garriſon from Duſſeldorp, of which the French immediately took poſſeſſion. Soon after his paſſage he received a letter from the duke of Marlborough, informing him that the Britiſh troops had arrived at Lingen, in their way to Coesfeldt; to which place general Imhoff was ſent with a ſtrong detachment to receive them: but notwithſtanding this junction, the two armies on the Rhine were ſo equally matched, that no ſtroke of importance was ſtruck on either ſide during the remaining part of the campaign.

M. de Contades ſeeing no proſpect of gaining any advantage over prince Ferdinand, detached prince Xaverius of Saxony with a ſtrong body of troops to reinforce the prince de Soubiſe, who had ſeized Gottingen, and ſeemed reſolved to attack the prince of Yſenbourg at Eimbeck. That this officer might be the better able to ſtand his ground, prince Ferdinand detached general Oberg with ten thouſand men to Lipſtadt; from whence, ſhould occaſion require, they might continue their march, and join the Heſſians. The whole body, when thus united, did not exceed twenty thouſand men, of whom general Oberg now aſſumed the command; whereas the troops of Soubiſe amounted to no leſs than thirty thouſand.

The allies had intrenched themſelves upon the river Fulde at Sanderſhauſen, where they hoped the French would attack them; but the deſign of Soubiſe was firſt to diſlodge them from that advantageous ſituation. With this view he made a motion as if he had intended to paſs the camp of the allies by the road of Munden. In order to prevent the execution of this ſuppoſed deſign, general Oberg decamped on the tenth of October, and, paſſing by the village of Landwernhagen, proceeded towards Luttenberg, where, being informed the enemy were at his heels, he forthwith drew up his troops in order of battle, his right to the Fulde, and his left extending to a thicket upon an eminence, where he planted five pieces of artillery. The cavalry covered the wings in a third line, the village of Luttenberg was in the rear, and four pieces of cannon were mounted on a riſing ground that flanked this village.

The French having likewiſe paſſed Landwernhagen, poſted their left towards the Fulde, their right extending far beyond the left of the allies, and their front being ſecured by above thirty pieces of cannon. At four in the afternoon the enemy began the battle with a ſevere cannonading, and at the ſame time the firſt line of their infantry attacked major-general Zaſtrow, who was poſted on the left wing of the allies. This body of the French was repulſed; but in the ſame moment a conſiderable line of cavalry advancing, charged the allies in front and flank. Theſe were ſuſtained by a freſh body of infantry with cannon, which, after a warm diſpute, compelled the confederates to give ground; and general Oberg, in order to prevent a total defeat, made a diſpoſition for a retreat, which was performed in tolerable order; not but that he ſuffered greatly, in paſſing through a defile, from the fire of the enemy's cannon, which was brought up and managed under the direction of the duke de Broglio. Having marched through Munden by midnight, the retiring army lay till morning under arms in the little plain near Grupen, on the other ſide of the Weſer; but at day-break continued their march, after having withdrawn the garriſon from Munden, until they arrived in the neighbourhood of Guntersheim, where they encamped.

In this engagement about fifteen hundred of the allies were either killed or wounded, though the loſs of the enemy was much more conſiderable. General Oberg, however, was obliged to abandon a magazine of hay and ſtraw at Munden, and leave part of his wounded men in that place to the humanity of the victor. Nevertheleſs, the French general reaped very little advantage from his victory.

By this time prince Ferdinand had retired into Weſtphalia, and fixed his head-quarters at Munſter, while M. Contades encamped near Ham upon the Lippe: ſo that, notwithſtanding the great increaſe of the French army, they were not able to make any farther progreſs during the remaining part of the ſeaſon. The Britiſh troops had joined the allies ſo late in the year, that they had no opportunity to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the field; yet the fatigues of the campaign, which they ſeverely felt, proved fatal to their commander the duke of Marlborough, who died of a dyſentery at Munſter, univerſally regretted.

Having thus related the operations of the allied army during this campaign, we ſhall now endeavour to trace the ſteps of the king of Pruſſia, from the period at which his army was aſſembled for action. Having collected his forces as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, he inveſted the town of Schweidnitz in form on the twenty-firſt day of March, and carried on his attacks with ſuch unremitting vigour,

that in thirteen days the garriſon ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, after having loſt one half of their number in the defence of the place.

While one part of his troops were employed in this ſervice, he himſelf at the head of another advanced to the eaſtern frontier of Bohemia, and detached a ſtrong body as far as Trawtenaw, garriſoned by a party of Auſtrians, who, after an obſtinate defence, abandoned the place and retreated towards their grand army. By this conqueſt he opened to himſelf a paſſage into Bohemia, by which he poured in detachments of light troops, to levy contributions and annoy the out-poſts of the enemy. At the ſame time the baron de la Mothe Fouquet marched with another body againſt the Auſtrian general Jahnus, poſted in the county of Glatz, whom he compelled to abandon all the places he poſſeſſed in that country, and purſued as far as Nachod, within twenty miles of Koningſgratz, where the grand Auſtrian army was encamped, under the command of marſhal Daun, who had lately arrived from Vienna.

Over and above theſe operations, the king ordered a body of thirty thouſand men to be aſſembled, to act under the command of his brother prince Henry, an accompliſhed general, againſt the army of the empire, which the prince of Deuxponts had with great difficulty made ſhift to collect once more in the diſtrict of Franconia.

The king of Pruſſia being bent upon proſecuting the campaign with the utmoſt vigour, reſolved to change the theatre of the war, and penetrate into Moravia, a fertile country, which had hitherto been kept free from all kinds of hoſtility. Having formed an army of fifty thouſand choice troops near Neiſs in Sileſia, he divided them into three columns; the firſt commanded by marſhal Keith, the ſecond by himſelf in perſon, and the third conducted by the prince of Anhalt Deſſau.

In the latter end of April they began their march towards Moravia; and general De la Ville, who commanded a body of Auſtrians in that country, retired as they approached, after having reinforced the garriſon of Olmutz, which the king was determined to beſiege. The place accordingly was immediately inveſted; orders were iſſued to haſten up the heavy artillery; and marſhal Keith was appointed to ſuperintend and direct the operations of the ſiege.

Mean while, count Daun being informed of his Pruſſian majeſty's motions and intentions, decamped with his army from Leutomyſſel in Bohemia, and entered Moravia by the way of Billa. Being ſtill too weak to oppoſe the Pruſſians in the field, he extended his troops in the neighbourhood of the king's army, between Gewitz and Littau, in a mountainous ſituation, where he ran little or no riſque of being attacked. Here he continued for ſome time in quiet, with the fertile country of Bohemia in his rear, from whence he received ſupplies of proviſion, and was daily joined by freſh reinforcements.

His deſign was to relieve the beſieged occaſionally, to annoy the beſiegers, and to cut off their convoys from Sileſia; and this ſcheme ſucceeded to his wiſh. Olmutz is ſo extenſive in its works, and ſo advantageouſly ſituated on the river Morava, that it could not be completely inveſted without weakening the poſts of the beſiegers, by extending them to a prodigious circuit; ſo that in ſome parts they were eaſily forced by detachments in the night, who fell upon them ſuddenly, and ſeldom failed to introduce into the place ſupplies of men, proviſion, and ammunition. The forage in the neighbourhood having been previouſly deſtroyed, the Pruſſian horſe were obliged to make excurſions at a diſtance for this neceſſary article; by which means they were expoſed to fatigue, and liable to ſurprize.

Count Daun knew how to take advantage of theſe circumſtances, without trying the chance of a battle, to which the king provoked him in vain. While the garriſon by repeated ſallies interrupted the operations of the beſieged, the Auſtrian general annoyed their foraging parties, fell upon different quarters of their army in the night, and kept them in continual alarm. Nevertheleſs the king completed his firſt parallel; and proceeded with ſuch vigour as ſeemed to promiſe a ſpeedy reduction of the place, when his deſign was entirely defeated by one untoward incident.

Marſhal Daun having received intelligence that a large convoy had ſet out from Sileſia for the Pruſſian camp, determined to lay hold of this opportunity to compel the king to relinquiſh his enterprize. For this purpoſe he ſent general Jahnus with a ſtrong body of troops towards Bahrn, and another detachment to Stadtoliebe, with inſtructions to attack the convoy on different ſides, while he himſelf marched up to the beſiegers, as if he intended to give them battle. The king of Pruſſia, far from being deceived by this feint, could eaſily, from the motion of the Auſtrian general, diſcover his deſign, and immediately diſpatched general Ziethen with a ſtrong reinforcement to protect the convoy, which was eſcorted by eight battalions, and about four thouſand men who had been ſick and were juſt recovered. Before this officer had joined them, the convoy had been attacked on the twenty-eighth day of June; but the aſſailants were repulſed with conſiderable loſs.

Marſhal Daun, however, took care that they ſhould be immediately reinforced; and the next day the attack was renewed with redoubled vigour. Four hundred waggons, guarded by four battalions and about one thouſand troopers, had juſt paſſed the defiles of Domſtadt, when the Auſtrians charged them furiouſly on every ſide: the communication between the head and the reſt of the convoy was cut off; and general Ziethen, after having exerted all his efforts for its preſervation, being obliged to abandon the waggons, retired to Troppau. Thus the whole convoy fell into the hands of the enemy, who took above ſix hundred priſoners, together with general Putkammer; and the king of Pruſſia was obliged to abandon his enterprize.

This was a mortifying neceſſity to a prince of his high ſpirit, at a time when he ſaw himſelf on the point of reducing the place, notwithſtanding the gallant defence made by the garriſon under general Marſhal, the governor. Nothing now remained but to raiſe the ſiege, and retire without loſs in the face of a vigilant enemy, prepared to ſeize every opportunity of advantage: a taſk which, however difficult and dangerous, he executed with a wonderful dexterity. Inſtead of withdrawing into Sileſia, he reſolved to avert the war from his own dominions,

nions, and take the route of Bohemia, the frontiers of which were left quite open by marſhal Daun's laſt motion, when he advanced with his troops to Poſnitz, in order the more effectually to relieve Olmutz.

After the king had concerted his meaſures, he carefully concealed his deſign from the enemy, and notwithſtanding the loſs of his convoy, continued the operations of the ſiege with redoubled vigour till the firſt day of July, when he decamped in the night, and began his march to Bohemia. He himſelf with one diviſion took the road of Konitz; and marſhal Keith having brought away all the artillery, except four mortars and one diſabled cannon, purſued his march by the way of Littau to Muglitz and Tribau.

Although his Pruſſian majeſty had gained an entire march upon the Auſtrians, their light troops, commanded by the generals Buccow and Laudohn, did not fail to harraſs him in his retreat; but their endeavours were in a great meaſure defeated by the conduct and circumſpection of the Pruſſian commanders. After the rear of the army had paſſed the defiles of Krenau, general Laſci, who was poſted at Gibau with a large body of Auſtrians, took poſſeſſion of the village of Krenau with a detachment of grenadiers, who were ſoon diſlodged; and the Pruſſians continued their march by Zwittau to Leutomyſſel, where they ſeized a magazine of meal and forage. In the mean time, general Retzow, who conducted the proviſions and artillery, found the hills of Hollitz occupied by the enemy, who cannonaded him as he approached; but marſhal Keith advancing, ordered them to be attacked in the rear, and they fled into a wood with precipitation, with the loſs of ſix officers and three hundred men, who were taken priſoners.

While the marſhal was thus employed, the king proceeded from Leutomyſſel to Koningſgratz, where general Buccow, who had got the ſtart of him, was poſted with ſeven thouſand Auſtrians behind the Elbe, and in the intrenchments which they had formed all around the city. The Pruſſian troops immediately croſſed the little river Adler; and as the enemy had deſtroyed the bridges over the Elbe, the king ordered them to be repaired with all expedition, being firmly reſolved to force the Auſtrian intrenchments: but general Buccow did not wait his approach. He abandoned his intrenchments, and withdrew with his troops to Clumetz; ſo that the king took poſſeſſion of the moſt important poſt of Koningſgratz without farther oppoſition.

An Auſtrian corps having taken poſt between him and Hollitz, in order to interrupt the march of the artillery, he advanced againſt them in perſon; and having diſlodged them from the place, all his cannon, military ſtores, proviſion, with fifteen hundred ſick and wounded men, arrived in ſafety at Koningſgratz, where the whole army encamped. His intention was to remove the ſeat of war from Moravia to Bohemia, where he ſhould be able to preſerve a more eaſy communication with his own dominions; but a more powerful motive ſoon obliged him to alter his reſolution.

After the Ruſſian troops, under marſhal Apraxin, had retired from Pomerania in the courſe of the preceding year, and the czarina ſeemed inclined to adopt new meaſures, the courts of Vienna and Verſailles had, by dint of ſubſidies, promiſes, preſents, and intrigues, attached her in all appearance more firmly than ever to the confederacy, and even prevailed with her to increaſe the number of troops deſtined to act againſt the Pruſſian monarch. She not only ſigned her acceſſion in form to the quadruple alliance with the empreſs-queen and the kings of France and Sweden; but, in order to demonſtrate her zeal for the common cauſe, ſhe diſgraced her chancellor count Beſtuchef, who was thought to be averſe to the war: ſhe divided her troops into ſeparate bodies, under the command of the generals Fermer and Brown, and ordered them to begin their march in the middle of winter.

Fermer accordingly put his army in motion in the beginning of January, and on the twenty-ſecond his light troops took poſſeſſion of Koningſberg, the capital of Pruſſia, without oppoſition; for the king's forces had left that country, in order to proſecute the war in the weſtern parts of Pomerania. They did not, however, continue long in this part of the country; but after having pillaged ſome diſtricts, returned to the main body, which halted on the Viſtula, to the no ſmall diſturbance of the city of Dantzick, where the reſident of the czarina actually demanded that the magiſtrates ſhould admit a Ruſſian garriſon: a demand which they not only peremptorily refuſed, but ordered all the citizens to arms, and took every other method to oppoſe force by force.

At length, after ſome negociation with general Fermer, the affair was compromiſed; he deſiſted from the demand, and part of his troops croſſed the Viſtula, ſeemingly with a view to invade Pomerania, in the eaſtern part of which count Dohna had collected a ſtrong body of Pruſſians to put a ſtop to their progreſs. But after they had plundered the open country, they rejoined their main body; and general Fermer returning to the left, proceeded towards Sileſia, in order to act in concert with the other Ruſſian army commanded by Brown, who had taken his route through Poland, and already paſſed the Poſna. By the firſt of July both armies had reached the frontiers of Sileſia; and ſome of the Coſſacks penetrating into that province, had committed dreadful ravages, and filled the inhabitants with terror and conſternation.

Count Dohna, with the Pruſſian army under his command, had carefully obſerved their motions, and even croſſed the Oder at Frankfort, as if he intended to attack them: but he was too much inferior in number to hazard ſuch a ſtep, which became an object of his ſovereign's own perſonal attention.

With this view the king made his diſpoſitions for retreating from Bohemia, and on the twenty-fifth day of July quitted the camp of Koningſgratz. He was harraſſed in his march by three thouſand Auſtrian light troops detached by count Daun, who had followed him into Bohemia: but notwithſtanding theſe impediments, he paſſed the Mittau, proceeded on his route, and on the ninth day of Auguſt arrived at Landſhut.

From thence he haſtened with a detachment towards Franckfort on the Oder, and joined the army commanded by lieutenant-general Dohna at Gorgas. Then the whole army croſſed the Oder by a bridge laid over it at Gataviſe; and having reſted one day, advanced to Dertmitzel, where they

encamped. The Ruſſians under general Fermer were poſted on the other ſide of the little river Mitzel, their right reaching to the village of Zwicker, and their left to Quertchem.

The king being determined immediately to attack them, croſſed the Mitzel on the twenty-fifth in the morning, and paſſing the left flank of the enemy, drew up his army in order of battle in the plain between the little river and the town of Zorndorf. The Ruſſians, who were ſuperior to him in number, did not decline the engagement; but as the ground would not allow them to extend themſelves in length, they were ranged in four lines, forming a front on every ſide, defended by cannon and chevaux de friſe, their right flank being ſecured by the village of Zwicker. After a ſevere cannonade, the Pruſſian infantry were ordered to attack the village, and a body of grenadiers advanced to the aſſault; but this brigade unexpectedly giving way, occaſioned a conſiderable opening in the line, and left the whole left flank of the infantry uncovered.

Before the enemy could profit by this diſorder, the interval was filled up by the cavalry under the command of general Seydelitz; and the king with his uſual preſence of mind, ſubſtituted another choice body of troops to carry on the attack. This began about noon, and continued for ſome time, during which both ſides fought with equal courage and perſeverance: at length, general Seydelitz having routed the Ruſſian cavalry, attacked the flank of the infantry with ſuch impetuoſity, that being alſo dreadfully annoyed by the Pruſſian artillery, they abandoned the village, together with their military cheſt and great part of their baggage. Notwithſtanding this loſs, which had greatly diſordered their right wing, they continued to ſtand their ground; and dreadful havock was made among them, not only with the ſword and bayonet, but alſo by the cannon, which was loaded with grape-ſhot, and being excellently ſerved, did great execution.

Towards evening they were thrown into ſuch terrible confuſion, that in all probability they would have been intirely routed, had they not been favoured by the approaching darkneſs, as well as by a particular operation which was performed with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs. One of the Ruſſian generals perceiving the fortune of the day turned againſt them, rallied a ſelect body of troops, and made a vigorous impreſſion on the right wing of the Pruſſians. This effort diverted their attention ſo ſtrongly to that quarter, that the right of the Ruſſians enjoyed a reſpite, during which they retired in tolerable order, and occupied a new poſt in the night, where the reſt of their forces were the more eaſily aſſembled.

In this battle they are ſaid to have loſt above twenty thouſand men, thirty-ſeven colours, five ſtandards, twelve mortars, the greater part of their baggage, and above one hundred pieces of cannon. Among the priſoners that fell into the hands of the victor, there were ſeveral general officers, and a good number loſt their lives on the field of battle. The loſs of the king did not amount to above two thouſand men, including ſome officers of diſtinction, particularly two aids-du-camp, who attended his own perſon, which he expoſed without ſcruple in the hotteſt parts of the battle. The carnage in all probability would not have been ſo great, had not the Pruſſians been in a peculiar manner exaſperated againſt this enemy, becauſe they had laid waſte the country, burned the villages, ruined the peaſants, and committed many other horrid acts of barbarity which the practice of war could not authorize.

The Pruſſian army remained all night under arms, and next morning renewed the cannonading againſt the enemy, who nevertheleſs maintained their poſt without flinching. On the twenty-ſeventh they ſeemed determined to hazard another action, and even to attack the conquerors in their turn: inſtead of advancing, however, they took the route of Landſberg; but afterwards wheeled off towards Vietzel, and intrenched themſelves in a ſtrong camp between the river Warta and that village.

Never was prince involved in greater difficulties than was his Pruſſian majeſty at this juncture; and though no prince ever exerted himſelf with greater ſpirit and activity, yet was he not able to guard againſt the dangers which threatened him from every quarter. At his departure from Bohemia, marſhal Daun, with the Auſtrian army, and the prince de Deux-ponts, who commanded the forces of the empire, advanced to the Elbe, in order to ſurround the king's brother prince Henry, who, without immediate aſſiſtance, muſt have been entirely ruined. The Pruſſian monarch therefore determined to ſupport him with equal vigour and expedition. In a few days after the battle of Zorndorff, he began his march from Cuſtrin with a reinforcement of twenty-four battalions and great part of his cavalry, and proſecuted his route with ſuch uncommon celerity, that by the fifth of September he arrived at Torgau, and on the eleventh joined his brother.

Marſhal Daun had taken poſt at Stolpen, to the eaſtward of the Elbe, in order to maintain a free communication with the army of the empire, encamped in the neighbourhood of Konigſtein; to favour the operations of general Laudohn, who had advanced through the Lower Luſatia to the frontiers of Brandenburgh; to draw the attention of the Ruſſians from the ſouthern parts of Sileſia, where a body of Auſtrian troops acted under the command of the generals Harrache and de Ville; and to interrupt the communication between prince Henry and the capital of Saxony. On the fifth day of September the ſtrong fortreſs of Konigſtein ſurrendered, after a very feeble reſiſtance, to the prince de Deux-ponts, who immediately took poſſeſſion of the advantageous camp at Pirna. When the king of Pruſſia therefore arrived at Dreſden, he found the army of the empire in this poſition, and marſhal Daun in a ſtill ſtronger ſituation at Stolpen, with bridges of communication thrown over the Elbe; ſo that he could not attack them without the moſt imminent danger of a repulſe.

He had no other reſolution to take but that of endeavouring to intercept their ſupplies of proviſion; and with this view he advanced to Bautzen, which he immediately ſeized. This motion obliged the Auſtrian general to abandon his poſt at Stolpen; but he choſe another of equal ſtrength at Libau; yet he afterwards proceeded to Rittlitz, that he might be at hand to take the firſt opportunity

tunity of executing the reſolution he had formed to attack the Pruſſians. The king having detached general Retzow on his left to take poſſeſſion of Weiſſenberg, advanced with the main body of his army, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Hochkirchen, after having diſlodged the Auſtrians from that village. Matters were now brought to ſuch a criſis, that a battle ſeemed altogether unavoidable, and indeed was equally deſired by both parties, as an event that would determine whether the Auſtrians ſhould be obliged to retreat for winter quarters into Bohemia, or be enabled to preſerve their footing in Saxony.

In this ſituation marſhal Daun reſolved to act offenſively, and formed a ſcheme for attacking, by ſurprize, the right flank of the Pruſſians. This meaſure was ſuggeſted to him by an overſight of the Pruſſians, who had neglected to ſecure the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen, which was only poſſeſſed by a few free companies. He determined to take the advantage of a very dark night, and to employ the flower of his whole army on this important ſervice; fully convinced that, ſhould they ſucceed in this attempt, the deſigns of his Pruſſian majeſty would be diſconcerted, and in all probability entirely defeated.

Having taken his meaſures with equal ſecrecy and expedition, he began his march in the night between the thirteenth and fourteenth of October, favoured by a thick fog, which contributed greatly to increaſe the darkneſs. His firſt care was to make himſelf maſter of the hill that commanded Hochkirchen, from whence his troops poured down upon the village, of which they took poſſeſſion, after having cut in pieces the free companies poſted there. The action began in this quarter about four in the morning, and continued ſeveral hours with great fury: for notwithſtanding the impetuoſity of the Auſtrian troops, and the confuſion occaſioned among the Pruſſians by the ſurprize, a vigorous ſtand was made by ſome general officers, who with wonderful ſpirit and preſence of mind, aſſembled and marſhalled the troops as they could take to their arms, and led them up to the attack without diſtinction of regiment, place, or precedence.

While the action was deſperately maintained in this quarter, the king exerted himſelf in the other parts of the field with uncommon vigour and activity, in drawing order from confuſion, arranging the different corps, altering poſitions, reinforcing weak poſts, encouraging the ſoldiery, and oppoſing the efforts of the enemy; for although they made their chief impreſſion upon the right by the village of Hochkirchen, marſhal Daun, in order to divide the attention of the king, made another attack on the left, which was very hard preſſed, and effectually prevented him from ſending reinforcements to the right, where marſhal Keith, under the greateſt diſadvantages, bore the brunt of the enemy's chief endeavours. Thrice was he repulſed from the village of Hochkirchen, and as often did he regain poſſeſſion of it; till at laſt, being overpowered by numbers, he was finally obliged to abandon it about nine in the morning, when, to the irreparable loſs of his ſovereign, he fell by a muſquet-ball. Prince Francis of Brunſwic had his head carried off by that of a cannon: prince Maurice of Anhalt was wounded and taken priſoner; and many others were either ſlain or diſabled.

As the right wing had been ſurpriſed, the tents continued ſtanding, and greatly incommoded them in their motions. The ſoldiers had never been properly marſhalled: the enemy ſtill perſevered in their attack with ſucceſſive reinforcements and redoubled fury; and a conſiderable ſlaughter was made by their artillery, which they had brought up to the heights of Hochkirchen. All theſe unhappy circumſtances could not fail to increaſe the confuſion and diſaſter of the Pruſſians; ſo that about ten the king was obliged to retire to Dobreſchutz, with the loſs of three thouſand men, though that of the enemy was much more conſiderable; nor could his Pruſſian majeſty be ſaid to have ſuſtained any damage which he could not eaſily repair, except the death of marſhal Keith, which was doubtleſs an irreparable misfortune.

He took poſt with his army about half a league from the field of action, where he continued ten days; during which he endeavoured to bring the enemy to a freſh engagement. This invitation, however, the Auſtrian general thought proper to decline, and kept his forces advantageouſly encamped on eminences planted with artillery. His deſign having been defeated at Hochkirchen, where he fought with many advantages on his ſide, he would not hazard another battle, upon equal terms, with ſuch an enterpriſing enemy, rendered more vigilant by the check he had ſuſtained, already reinforced from the army of prince Henry, and eager for an opportunity to wipe out the diſgrace which had been fixed upon his arms.

Count Daun having nothing farther to hope from the active operations of his own army, contented himſelf with amuſing the Pruſſian monarch in Luſatia; while the Auſtrian generals, Harſche and De Ville, ſhould carry on the ſiege of Neiſs and Coſel in Sileſia, which they now actually inveſted. As the Pruſſian monarch could not ſpare detachments to oppoſe every different corps of his enemies that acted againſt him in different parts of his dominions, he reſolved to make up in activity what he wanted in number, and, if poſſible, to relieve the city of Neiſs in perſon. With this view he ſet out from Dobreſchutz, and in ſight of the enemy advanced to Gorlitz without the leaſt interruption. From thence he continued his march towards Sileſia with his uſual rapidity, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of general Laudohn, who harraſſed the rear of the Pruſſians, and obtained over them ſome petty advantages.

Count Daun not only ſent this conſiderable corps to retard them in their march, but at the ſame time, by another route, detached a ſtrong body to reinforce the beſiegers. In the mean time, having received intelligence that the army of prince Henry in Saxony was greatly weakened, he himſelf marched thither, in hopes of driving the prince from that country, and reducing the capital in the king's abſence. Indeed his deſign was ſtill more extenſive; for he propoſed to reduce Dreſden, Leipſic, and Torgau, at the ſame time; the firſt, with the main body under his own command; the ſecond, by the army of the empire, under the prince de Deux Ponts; and the third, by a corps under general Haddick; while the forces conducted by Laudohn ſhould exclude the king from Luſatia.

In proſecution of this plan, he proceeded directly to the Elbe, which he croſſed at Pirna, and advanced to Dreſden, which he hoped he ſhould be

able to take by aſſault. The army of prince Henry had already retired to the weſtward of this capital, before the prince de Deux-Ponts, who had found means to cut off his communication with Leipſic, and even inveſted that city. During theſe tranſactions, general Haddick advanced againſt Torgau.

The field-marſhal count Daun appearing on the ſixth day of November within ſight of Dreſden, at the head of ſixty thouſand men, encamped next day at Lockowitz, and on the eighth his advanced troops attacked the Pruſſian huſſars and independent battalions, which were poſted at Strieſſen and Gruenewieſe. Count Schmettau, who commanded the garriſon, amounting only to twelve thouſand men, was ſenſible, that conſidering the weakneſs and extent of the ſuburbs, it would be abſolutely impoſſible for him to prevent the enemy from making themſelves maſters of them by a ſingle aſſault; and that if they ſucceeded in this attempt, the great height of the houſes, which were generally ſix or ſeven ſtories, and entirely commanded the ramparts, would render the reduction of the body of the place equally eaſy and certain. Theſe conſiderations unavoidably determined him to ſet the ſuburbs immediately on fire.

The ſuburbs of Dreſden, it is well known, compoſe one of the fineſt towns in Europe, and are greatly ſuperior to that part of the city which lies within the walls. Here the moſt ſubſtantial inhabitants reſide, and here are carried on thoſe curious manufactures for which Dreſden is ſo deſervedly famous.

Count Daun, foreſeeing this conſequence of his attempt, endeavoured to intimidate the governor from a meaſure, to which he knew he would be neceſſarily driven by the cruel neceſſity of war. With this view he ſent a meſſenger to Schmettau, whom he threatened to make perſonally reſponſible for whatever ſteps he ſhould take; but the governor replied, with the firmneſs that became a man of honour and a ſoldier, that he would boldly anſwer for whatever he ſhould do; and in caſe marſhal Daun advanced, would not only burn the ſuburbs, but likewiſe defend the city itſelf from ſtreet to ſtreet, and at laſt even take ſhelter in the royal palace, ſhould he be reduced to that extremity.

The magiſtrates were no ſooner apprized of this reſolution than they fell at the feet of count Schmettau, and implored him to change his mind, and to have mercy on that devoted part of their city. Such of the royal family as remained in Dreſden joined their ſupplications to thoſe of the magiſtrates, beſeeching him to ſpare that laſt refuge of diſtreſſed royalty, and to allow at leaſt a ſecure reſidence to thoſe who had been deprived of every thing elſe.

All their entreaties were of no avail. Schmettau continued firm in his reſolution. He told them that their ſafety depended on themſelves and on marſhal Daun; that, if that general made no attempts, the ſuburbs ſhould be ſtill ſecure; but that if he took any farther ſteps, the neceſſity of his maſter's ſervice and his own honour would compel him to act in a manner very diſagreeable to the lenity of his diſpoſition. The magiſtrates retired in deſpair. Combuſtibles were laid in all the houſes.

Marſhal Daun renewing his attacks, the ſignal for firing the ſuburbs was given next morning; and in a moment, a place ſo lately the ſeat of eaſe and luxury, flouriſhing in traffic, in pleaſures, and in ingenious arts, was involved in flames. Dreadful however as was the calamity, it was attended with as little miſchief as the nature of the thing could poſſibly admit. Very few loſt their lives, but many their whole ſubſtance. The Pruſſian troops abandoned the flaming ſuburbs, and retired in good order into the city.

Marſhal Daun ſeeing the fire, which at once laid waſte the capital of his ally, and effectually prevented him from taking it by aſſault, ſent ſome empty threats to the governor. The Saxon miniſter too, at Ratiſbon, made grievous complaints to the diet of the empire, exclaiming loudly againſt the burning of the ſuburbs, as the moſt unparalleled act of wanton and unprovoked cruelty that had ever been committed. The emiſſaries of the court of Vienna ſpread the ſame reports; nor did they ſcruple to invent and alter facts in ſuch a manner as to excite the greateſt pity towards the ſufferers, and the higheſt indignation againſt his Pruſſian majeſty.

All theſe, however, were in a ſhort time abundantly refuted, by the authentic certificates of the magiſtrates of Dreſden, and of the officers of that court, who were perfectly acquainted with the tranſaction. From theſe certificates it appeared, that no more than two hundred and fifty houſes were conſumed; and though this, it muſt be owned, was a terrible calamity, yet was it nothing in compariſon of the accounts that were confidently publiſhed in the Auſtrian gazettes. It was likewiſe proved that the people were not ſurpriſed, as was falſely pretended; but that they had ſufficient notice of the governor's intentions, to enable them to provide for their ſafety. In a word, all the charges of cruelty alleged againſt the Pruſſian governor and garriſon were fully and ſatisfactorily overthrown.

While count Daun was employed in making this fruitleſs attempt upon the capital of Saxony, the king of Pruſſia proceeded in his march to Neiſs, which was completely inveſted on the third day of October. The operations of the ſiege were proſecuted with great vigour by the Auſtrian general, de Harſche, and the place was as gallantly defended by the Pruſſian governor, Theſkau, till the firſt day of November, when the Pruſſian monarch arrived, and compelled the beſiegers to relinquiſh their enterprize. M. de Harſche having raiſed the ſiege, the king detached general Fouquet with a body of troops acroſs the river Neiſs, and immediately the blockade of Coſel was likewiſe abandoned. De Harſche withdrew into Bohemia, and De Ville hovered about Jagernſdorf.

The fortreſs of Neiſs was no ſooner relieved, than the king of Pruſſia ſet out on his return to Saxony, where his preſence was become indiſpenſably neceſſary. At the ſame time the two bodies under the generals Dohna and Wedel entered by different routes into that country. The former had been left at Cuſtrin to attend the motions of the Ruſſians, who had by this time retreated to the Viſtula, and even paſſed that river at Thorn; the other had, during the campaign, made head againſt the Swedes, who had now entirely withdrawn from the Pruſſian territories; ſo that Wedel was at liberty to act in concert with his majeſty.

He accordingly advanced to Torgau, which had been lately inveſted by the Auſtrian general Haddick, who was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and even purſued to the neighbourhood of Eulenbourg. Wedel being afterwards joined by Dohna, drove him from thence with conſiderable loſs, and then relieved the city of Leipſic. Mean while the king continued his march towards the capital of Saxony, the Auſtrians flying before him with the utmoſt precipitation. On the tenth of November count Daun retired from Dreſden, and with the army of the empire fell back towards Bohemia; and on the twentieth the king arrived in that city, where he approved of the governor's conduct.

The Ruſſian general, apprehenſive that he ſhould not be able to preſerve his footing during the winter in Pomerania, unleſs he could ſecure ſome ſeaport on the Baltic, by which he might be ſupplied with proviſions, detached general Palmbach with fifteen thouſand men to beſiege the town of Colberg, an inconſiderable place, very poorly fortified. It was accordingly inveſted on the third day of October; but the beſiegers were either ſo totally deſtitute of proper implements, or ſo entirely ignorant of the art of attack, that the garriſon, though feeble, bid defiance to all the attempts of the enemy, who, after a ſiege of twenty-ſix days, relinquiſhed their enterprize, and cruelly ravaged the open country in their retreat. Thus by the activity and valour of the Pruſſian monarch, his generals and officers, ſix ſieges were raiſed almoſt at the ſame period, namely, thoſe of Colberg, Neiſs, Coſel, Torgau, Leipſic, and Dreſden.

The king of Pruſſia, at his firſt entrance into Saxony, declared that he had no deſign to make a conqueſt of the electorate, but only to keep it as a ſacred depoſitum for the ſecurity of his own dominions, until he could oblige his enemies to agree to reaſonable terms of accommodation: but upon his laſt arrival at Dreſden, he thought proper to adopt new maxims.

In the beginning of December the Pruſſian directory of war iſſued a decree to the deputies of the ſtates of the electorate, demanding a certain quantity of flour and forage, according to the convention formerly ſettled; at the ſame time ſignifying, that though the king of Pruſſia had hitherto treated the electorate as a country taken under his ſpecial protection, the face of affairs was now changed in ſuch a manner, that for the future he would conſider it in no other light than that of a conquered country.

The Ruſſians had ſeized in Pruſſia all the eſtates and effects belonging to the king's officers: a retaliation was now made upon the effects of the Saxon officers who ſerved in the Ruſſian army. Seals were put on all the cabinets containing papers belonging to the privy counſellors of his Poliſh majeſty, and they themſelves ordered to depart for Warſaw at a very ſhort warning. Though the city had been impoveriſhed by former exactions, and very lately ſubjected to military execution, the king of Pruſſia demanded freſh contributions, and even extorted them by dint of ſeverities, which can by no means be juſtified. He ſurrounded the exchange with ſoldiers, and confining the merchants to ſtraw beds and naked apartments, compelled them to draw bills for very large ſums on their foreign correſpondents.

Having related all the tranſactions of the campaign, except thoſe in which the Swedes were concerned, it now remains that I ſhould deſcribe the progreſs which was made in Pomerania by the troops of that nation, under the command of count Hamilton. I have already obſerved, that in the beginning of the year the Pruſſian general, Lehwald, had conſtrained them to evacuate the whole province, except Stralſund, which was likewiſe inveſted. This, in all probability, would have been beſieged in form, had not Lehwald reſigned the command of the Pruſſians, on account of his great age and infirmities, and his ſucceſſor count Dohna been obliged to retire from that quarter, in order to make head againſt the Ruſſian army on the other ſide of Pomerania.

The blockade of Stralſund being conſequently raiſed, and that part of the country entirely abandoned by the Pruſſians, the Swediſh troops advanced again from the iſle of Rugen, to which they had retreated: but the ſupplies and reinforcements they expected from Stockholm were delayed in ſuch a manner, either from a deficiency in the ſubſidies ſtipulated by France, or from the management of thoſe who were in the Pruſſian intereſt, that great part of the ſeaſon was elapſed before they undertook any thing of importance. Indeed, while they lay encamped under the cannon of Stralſund waiting for theſe ſupplies, their operations were retarded by the exploſion of a whole ſhip-load of gun-powder intended for their uſe; an event owing, in all likelihood, to accident, but maliciouſly imputed by the enemy to the practices of the Pruſſian party in Sweden, which at this period ſeemed to gain ground, and even threatened a change in the miniſtry. At length the reinforcement arrived about the latter end of June, and their general determined to reſume his operations.

In the beginning of July, his army being put in motion, he ſent a detachment to diſlodge the few Pruſſian troops that were left at Anclam, Demmin, and other places, to guard that frontier; and they retreated accordingly. Count Hamilton meeting with no farther reſiſtance in the field, recovered in a little time the whole of the Swediſh Pomerania, and even made frequent incurſions into the Pruſſian territories. Mean while, a combined fleet of thirty-three Ruſſian and ſeven Swediſh ſhips of war appeared in the Baltic, and anchored between the iſlands of Dragoe and Amagh; but they neither landed troops nor committed hoſtilities. The Swediſh general advanced as far as Fehrbellin, ſent out parties that raiſed contributions in the adjacent country, and even ſtruck terror into the capital of Brandenburgh.

The king of Pruſſia being appriſed of their progreſs, detached general Wedel from Dreſden with a body of troops that were augmented on their route; ſo that on the twentieth of September he found himſelf at Berlin with eleven thouſand effective men, at the head of whom he marched againſt count Hamilton, while the prince of Bevern with five thouſand advanced on the other ſide from Stetin. At their approach the Swediſh commander retired, after having left a garriſon of fourteen hundred men at Fehrbellin, in order to retard the Pruſſians, and ſecure the retreat of his army. The place was immediately aſſaulted by general Wedel; and though the Swedes made a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance,

ſiſtance, he at laſt compelled them to ſurrender with the loſs of one half of their number either killed or taken priſoners. The body of the Swediſh army, without attempting any thing farther, immediately evacuated the Pruſſian territories, and returned to the neighbourhood of Stralſund, intending to take winter quarters in the iſle of Rugen. Count Hamilton, either diſſatisfied with the reſtrictions impoſed on him, or finding himſelf unable to act in ſuch a manner as might encreaſe his reputation, threw up his command, retired from the army, and reſigned all his other employments.

The cauſe of his Pruſſian majeſty was not only eſpouſed by a ſtrong party in Sweden, but was alſo ſupported by a great many in Poland, eſpecially by ſuch of the Palatines as had always oppoſed the meaſures of the reigning family. Theſe were now joined by ſeveral patriots, who dreaded the vicinity, and ſuſpected the deſigns of the Ruſſian army. The dyet of the republic was opened on the ſecond day of November, and after warm debates, M. Malachowſki was unanimouſly choſen marſhal; but no ſooner had the chamber of nuncios begun their deliberations, than a number of voices were raiſed againſt the encroachment of the Ruſſian troops, who had taken up their quarters in Poland, and heavy complaints were made of the damages occaſioned by their cruelty and rapine.

Great pains were taken to appeaſe theſe clamours, and many were perſuaded to refer their grievances to the king in ſenate: but when this difficulty ſeemed almoſt overcome, Padhorſki, the nuncio of Volhinia, ſtood up and declared, that he would not allow any other point to be debated in the dyet, while the Ruſſians preſerved the leaſt footing within the territories of the republic. The other courtiers exerted their utmoſt influence to cajole and mollify this ſtubborn patriot; but all their endeavours were abſolutely ineffectual. He ſolemnly proteſted againſt their proceedings, and withdrew; ſo that the marſhal was obliged to diſſolve the aſſembly, and recourſe was had to a ſenatus concilium, to concert ſuch meaſures as ſeemed at preſent neceſſary.

The ſcheme which his Poliſh majeſty had formed of procuring the dukedom of Courland for his ſon prince Charles, was likewiſe attended with great clamour and diſſenſion. He had been recommended by the court of Ruſſia, and even approved by the ſtates of that country; but two difficulties remained. The ſtates alleged, that they could not proceed to a new election during the life of their former duke, count Biron, who was ſtill alive, though a priſoner in Siberia, unleſs their duchy ſhould be declared vacant by the king and republic of Poland; and that, according to the laws of that country, no prince could be elected until he ſhould have ſolemnly ſubſcribed to the Augſbourg confeſſion of faith. His Poliſh majeſty, however, being determined to carry his point at all adventures, ordered count Malachowſki, high-chancellor of Poland, to deliver to prince Charles a diploma, by which the king granted permiſſion to the ſtates of Courland, to chuſe that prince for their duke; and appointed the day for his election and inſtalment, which accordingly took place in the month of January, notwithſtanding the clamour of many Poliſh grandees, who perſiſted in aſſerting that the king had no right to grant ſuch permiſſion without the conſent of the dyet.

The events of the campaign, however various, had produced no change in the political ſyſtems adopted by the ſeveral courts of Europe. The czarina, who in the month of June had expreſſed her ſentiments with regard to the king of Pruſſia, in a declaration delivered to all the foreign miniſters at Peterſburg, ſeemed now more bent than ever on proſecuting her deſigns againſt that monarch. The queen of Hungary diſtributed, among the imperial miniſters at the ſeveral courts of the empire, copies of a reſcript, explaining the conduct of her generals ſince the commencement of the campaign, and concluding with expreſſions of ſelf-approbation, to the following effect: "Though the iſſue of the campaign be not as yet entirely ſatisfactory, and ſuch as might be deſired, the imperial court enjoys at leaſt the ſincere ſatisfaction of reflecting, that, according to the change of circumſtances, it inſtantly took the moſt vigorous reſolutions; that it was never deficient in any thing that might contribute to the good of the common cauſe; and that it is now employed in making preparations from which the moſt happy conſequences may be expected."

I have already taken notice of a decree of the Aulic council, publiſhed in the month of Auguſt, enjoining all directors of circles, all imperial towns, and the nobleſſe of the empire, to tranſmit to Vienna an exact liſt of all thoſe who had diſobeyed the avocatoria of the empire, and ſupported the rebellion raiſed by the elector of Brandenburgh; that their revenues might be ſequeſtered, and themſelves puniſhed in their honours, perſons, and effects. As the king of Great Britain, in quality of elector of Hanover, was plainly pointed at, and indeed expreſsly mentioned in this decree, that prince, by the hands of baron Gemmegen, his electoral miniſter, preſented a memorial to the dyet of the empire in the month of November, enumerating the inſtances in which he had exerted himſelf, and even expoſed his life, for the preſervation and aggrandizement of the houſe of Auſtria.

In return for theſe important ſervices, he affirmed that the empreſs-queen had refuſed him the aſſiſtance ſtipulated in treaties, againſt an invaſion planned by France, whoſe hatred he had drawn upon himſelf by his friendſhip to that princeſs; and his Imperial majeſty even denied him the dictatorial letters which he ſolicited: that the court of Vienna had ſigned a treaty with the crown of France, in which it was ſtipulated, that the French troops ſhould paſs the Weſer, and invade the electorate of Hanover, where they were joined by the troops of the empreſs-queen, who ravaged his Britannic majeſty's dominions, with greater cruelty than even the French had practiſed; and the ſame duke of Cumberland who had been wounded at Dettingen, in defence of her Imperial majeſty, was obliged to fight at Haſtenbeck againſt the troops of that very princeſs, in defence of his father's dominions: that ſhe had ſent commiſſaries to Hanover, who ſhared with the crown of France the contributions extorted from that electorate; rejected all propoſals of peace, and diſmiſſed from her court the miniſter of Brunſwic Lunenburg: that his Imperial majeſty, who had ſworn to protect the em-

pire, and oppoſe the entrance of foreign troops deſtined to oppreſs any of the ſtates of Germany, afterwards required the king of England to withdraw his troops from the countries which they occupied, that a French army might again have free paſſage into his German dominions: that the emperor had recalled theſe troops, releaſed them from their allegiance to their ſovereign, enjoined them to abandon their poſts, their colours, and the ſervice in which they were embarked, on pain of being puniſhed in body and eſtate; and that the king of England himſelf was threatened with the ban of the empire.

He obſerved, that in quality of elector, he had been accuſed of refuſing to concur with the reſolutions of the diet taken in the preceding year, of entering into alliance with the king of Pruſſia, joining his troops to the armies of that prince, employing auxiliaries belonging to the ſtates of the empire, ſending Engliſh forces into Germany, where they had taken poſſeſſion of Embden, and exacting contributions in different parts of Germany.

In anſwer to theſe allegations, he declared that he could not, conſiſtent with his own ſafety, or the dictates of common ſenſe, concur with a majority, in joining his troops, which were immediately neceſſary for his own defence, to thoſe which, from the arbitrary views of the court of Vienna, were led againſt his friend and ally the king of Pruſſia, by a prince who did not belong to the generality of the empire, and on whom the command had been conferred, without a previous concluſum of the Germanic body: that, with reſpect to his alliance with the king of Pruſſia, he had a right, when deſerted by his former allies, to ſeek aſſiſtance whereſoever it could be procured; and ſurely no juſt grounds of complaint could be offered againſt that which his Pruſſian majeſty lent, to deliver the electoral ſtates of Brunſwic, as well as thoſe of Brunſwic Wolfenbuttle, Heſſe, and Buckbourg, from the oppreſſions of their common enemy. Poſterity, he ſaid, would hardly believe, that at a time when the troops of Auſtria, the Palatinate, and Wirtemberg, were engaged to invade the counties of the empire, other members of the Germanic body, who employed auxiliaries in their defence, ſhould be threatened with outlawry and ſequeſtration.

He owned that, in quality of king, he had ſent over Engliſh troops to Germany, and taken poſſeſſion of Embden; ſteps for which he was accountable to no power on earth, although the conſtitutions of the empire permit the co-eſtates to make uſe of foreign troops, not indeed for the purpoſe of invaſion or conqueſt in Germany, but for their defence and preſervation. He alſo acknowleged that he had reſented the conduct, and puniſhed the injuſtice, of thoſe co-eſtates who had aſſiſted his enemies, and helped to ravage his dominions; inferring, that if the crown of France was free to pillage the eſtates of the duke of Brunſwic, and the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, becauſe they had ſupplied the king of England with auxiliaries; if the empreſs-queen had a right to appropriate to herſelf half of the contributions raiſed by the French king in theſe countries, ſurely his Britannic majeſty had an equal right to make thoſe feel the burden of the war who had favoured the unjuſt enterprizes of his enemies.

He expreſſed his hope that the dyet, after having duly conſidered theſe circumſtances, would, by way of advice, propoſe to his Imperial majeſty, that he ſhould annul his moſt inconſiſtent mandates, and not only take effectual meaſures to protect the electorate and its allies, but alſo give orders for commencing againſt the empreſs-queen, as archduchefs of Auſtria, the elector Palatine, and the duke of Wirtemberg, ſuch proceedings as ſhe wanted to enforce againſt his Britannic majeſty, elector of Brunſwic Lunenbourg.

Such was the ſubſtance of this famous memorial which the Hanoverian miniſter preſented to the dyet of the empire, and which made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon many of its members, that on the twenty-ninth of November the evangelic body publiſhed a concluſum, importing, that with reſpect to the ban of the empire, with which ſeveral princes were now threatened, they would never conſent to any innovation that ſhould be propoſed, contrary to the twentieth article of the capitulation, which the emperor had confirmed by oath at his election; and that whatever ſhould be done contrary to that agreement, ſhould be looked upon by them as null and void, and ſhould be treated accordingly.

Having thus particularized the moſt important events and tranſactions which attended the proſecution of the war on the continent of Germany and the northern parts of Europe, I ſhall now proceed to trace its progreſs, during the courſe of this year, in the other quarters of the globe, where we ſhall find the ſcenes as buſy, intereſting, and ſtriking, as thoſe already related.

I ſhall begin firſt with relating the ſucceſs of ſome naval atchievements performed by our fleets and cruizers at the beginning of the year, previous to the expedition againſt and deſcent made upon the coaſts of France.

The Britiſh cruizers kept the ſea during all the ſeverity of winter, in order to protect the trade of the kingdom, and diſtreſs that of the enemy. They exerted themſelves with ſuch diligence and ſucceſs, that a great number of prizes were taken, and the commerce of France almoſt entirely ruined. A very gallant exploit was performed by one captain Bray, commander of the Adventure, a ſmall armed veſſel in the government's ſervice. Falling in with the Machault, a large privateer of Dunkirk, near Dungeneſs, he ran her aboard, faſtened her boltſprit to his capſtan, and after a warm engagement compelled her to ſubmit. A French frigate of thirty-ſix guns was taken by captain Parker, in a new fir-ſhip of inferior force. Several privateers of the enemy were ſunk, burned, or taken; and a great number of merchant ſhips fell into the hands of the Engliſh.

Nor were the Engliſh ſhips of war leſs ſucceſsful in the American than in the European ſeas. About this time the board of admiralty received advice from admiral Cotes, in Jamaica, of an action which happened off the iſland of Hiſpaniola, in the month of October of the preceding year, between three Engliſh ſhips of war and a French ſquadron. Captain Forreſt, an officer of diſtinguiſhed abilities, had, in the ſhip Auguſta, ſailed from Port-Royal in Jamaica, accompanied by the Dreadnought and Edinburgh, under the command of the captains Suckling and Langdon. He was ordered to cruize off Cape François; and this ſervice he punctually performed, in the face of a French ſquadron of much greater force, lately arrived at that place from the coaſt of Africa. The

commander, piqued at ſeeing himſelf thus inſulted by an inferior armament, reſolved to give them battle; and that he might either take them, or at leaſt drive them out of thoſe ſeas, ſo as to afford a free paſſage to a great number of merchant ſhips then lying at the Cape, bound for Europe, he took every precaution which he thought neceſſary to inſure ſucceſs. With this view he ſtrengthened his ſquadron with ſome ſtore ſhips, mounted with guns and armed for the occaſion, and ſupplied the deficiency in his complements by taking on board ſeamen from the merchant ſhips, and ſoldiers from the garriſon.

Thus equipped, he weighed anchor and ſtood out to ſea, having under his command four large ſhips of the line and three ſtout frigates. They were no ſooner perceived advancing than captain Forreſt held a ſhort council with his two captains. "Gentlemen (ſaid he) you know our own ſtrength, and ſee that of the enemy: ſhall we give them battle?" They replying in the affirmative, he added, "Then fight them we will; there is no time to be loſt: return to your ſhips, and get them ready for engaging."

After this laconic conſultation among theſe three gallant officers, they bore down upon the French ſquadron without further heſitation, and between three and four in the afternoon the action began with incredible fury. The enemy exerted themſelves with uncommon activity, conſcious that their honour was peculiarly at ſtake, and that they fought in ſight, as it were, of their own coaſt, which was lined with people, expecting to ſee them return in triumph. But notwithſtanding their moſt vigorous efforts, their commodore, after having ſuſtained a ſevere engagement that laſted two hours and a half, found his ſhip in ſuch a ſhattered condition that he made ſignal for one of his frigates to come and tow him out of the line. His example was followed by the reſt of his ſquadron, which by this means, with the favour of a land breeze and the approach of night, made ſhift to accompliſh their eſcape from the three Britiſh ſhips, that were too much diſabled in their maſts and rigging to proſecute their victory.

One of the French ſquadron was rendered altogether unfit for ſervice: their loſs in men amounted to three hundred killed, and as many wounded; whereas that of the Engliſh did not exceed one third of this number. Nevertheleſs they were ſo damaged, that being unable to keep the ſea, they returned to Jamaica; and the French commodore ſeized the opportunity of ſailing with a great convoy for Europe.

Captain Forreſt's bravery was not more remarkable in this engagement than his conduct and ſagacity in a ſubſequent adventure near Port-au-Prince, a French harbour ſituated at the bottom of a bay on the weſtern part of Hiſpaniola, behind the ſmall iſland of Gonave. After Mr. de Kerſin had ſet ſail from Cape François for Europe, admiral Cotes, beating up to windward from Port Royal in Jamaica with three ſhips of the line, received intelligence that there was a French fleet at Port-au Prince ready to ſail on their return to Europe. In conſequence of this advice, he ordered captain Forreſt to cruize off the iſland Gonave for two days only, enjoining him at the ſame time to return at the expiration of that period, and rejoin the ſquadron at Cape Nicholas.

Accordingly captain Forreſt, in the Auguſta, proceeded up the bay, between the iſland Gonave and Hiſpaniola, with a view to execute a plan which he had himſelf projected. Next day in the afternoon, though he perceived two ſloops, he forbore chaſing that he might not riſque a diſcovery: for the ſame purpoſe he hoiſted Dutch colours, and diſguiſed his ſhip with tarpaulins. At five in the afternoon he diſcovered ſeven ſail of ſhips ſteering to the weſtward, and hauled from them to avoid ſuſpicion, but at the approach of night gave chace with all the ſail he could carry. About ten he perceived two ſail, one of which fired a gun, and the other made the beſt of her way for Leoganne, another harbour in the bay.

At this time captain Forreſt reckoned eight ſail to leeward, near another port called Petit Goave: coming up with the ſhip which had fired the gun, ſhe ſubmitted without oppoſition, after he had hailed and told her captain what he was, produced two of his largeſt cannon, and threatened to ſink her if ſhe ſhould give the leaſt alarm. He forthwith removed the priſoners from this prize, and placed on board of her five and thirty of his own crew, with orders to ſtand for Petit Goave, and intercept any of the fleet that might attempt to get into that harbour. Then he made ſail after the reſt, and in the dawn of the morning finding himſelf in the middle of their fleet, he began to fire at them all in their turns, as he could bring his guns to bear. They returned the fire for ſome time; at length the Marguerite, the Solide, and the Theodore, ſtruck their colours. Theſe being ſecured, were afterwards employed in taking the Maurice, Le Grand, and La Flore; the Brilliant alſo ſubmitted, and the Mars made ſail in hope of eſcaping; but the Auguſta coming up with her about noon, ſhe likewiſe fell into the hands of the victor.

Thus, by a well-conducted ſtratagem, a whole fleet of nine ſail was taken by a ſingle ſhip, in the neighbourhood of four or five harbours, in any one of which they would have found immediate ſhelter and protection. The prizes, which happened to be richly laden, were ſafely conveyed to Jamaica, and there ſold at public auction for the benefit of the captors, who may ſafely challenge hiſtory to produce ſuch another inſtance of ſucceſs.

The miniſtry having reſolved to make vigorous efforts againſt the enemy in North America, admiral Boſcawen was appointed to the command of the fleet deſtined for that ſervice, and ſailed from St. Helen's on the nineteenth day of February, when the Invincible, of ſeventy-four guns, one of the beſt ſhips that compoſed his ſquadron, ran aground and periſhed; but her men, ſtores, and artillery were ſaved.

In the courſe of the enſuing month ſir Edward Hawke entered the Bay of Biſcay with another ſquadron, in order to intercept any ſupplies from France deſigned for Cape Breton or Canada; and about the ſame time the town of Embden, belonging to his Pruſſian majeſty, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, was happily delivered by the conduct of commodore Holmes, ſtationed on that coaſt, who ſent up two of his ſmall ſhips to anchor in the river between Knok and the city. The garriſon, conſiſting of three thouſand ſeven hundred men, finding themſelves thus cut off from all

all communication with the country below, evacuated the place with great precipitation; and ſome of their baggage being ſent off by water, was taken by the boats which the commodore detached for that purpoſe.

It was about the ſame time that the admiralty received information of another advantage by ſea, which had been gained by admiral Oſborne while he cruized between Cape de Gatt and Carthagena on the coaſt of Spain. On the twenty-eighth day of March he fell in with a French ſquadron, commanded by the marquis du Queſne, conſiſting of four ſhips, namely, the Foudroyant of eighty guns, the Orphée of ſixty-four, the Oriflamme of fifty, and the Pleiade frigate of twenty-four, in their paſſage from Toulon to reinforce M. de la Clue, who had for ſome time been blocked up by admiral Oſborne in the harbour of Carthagena.

The enemy no ſooner deſcried the Engliſh ſquadron than they diſperſed, and ſteered different courſes; then Mr Oſborne detached ſeveral ſhips in purſuit of each, while he himſelf with the body of his fleet ſtood off for the bay of Carthagena, to obſerve the motions of the French ſquadron which lay there at anchor. About ſeven in the evening the Orphée, having on board five hundred men, ſtruck to captain Stor in the Revenge, who loſt the calf of one leg in the engagement, during which he was ſupported by the ſhips Berwick and Preſton.

The Monmouth of ſixty-four guns, commanded by captain Gardiner, attacked the Foudroyant, one of the largeſt ſhips in the French navy, mounted with fourſcore cannon, and containing eight hundred men, under the conduct of the marquis du Queſne. This is the ſame Mr. Gardiner who, in the famous battle between the admirals Byng and Galiſſoniere in the Mediterranean, commanded the Ramillies, under the direction of the Britiſh admiral; and his courage having incurred ſome ſuſpicion on account of his behaviour in that action, he was determined to wipe off the diſgrace. He therefore maintained the engagement with incredible fury until he loſt his life by a muſket-ball: nevertheleſs the fight was continued with unabating vigour by his lieutenant Mr. Carkett, and the Foudroyant diſabled in ſuch a manner that her commander ſtruck, as ſoon as the other Engliſh ſhips, the Swiftſure and the Hampton-Court, appeared.

This laſt ſtep, however, he did not take until he ſaw his ſhip lie like a wreck upon the water, and the deck covered with dead carcaſſes. The Oriflamme was driven on ſhore under the caſtle of Aiglos by the ſhips Montagu and Monarque, commanded by the captains Rowley and Montague, who could not complete her deſtruction without violating the neutrality of Spain. As for the Pleiade frigate, ſhe made her eſcape by being a prime ſailor.

This was a ſevere blow to the enemy, who not only loſt two of their capital ſhips, but had the misfortune to ſee them added to the navy of Great Britain; and the diſaſter was followed by another, which they could not help feeling with an equal degree of ſenſibility. In the beginning of April ſir Edward Hawke ſteering with his ſquadron into Baſque-road, on the coaſt of Poictou, deſcried off the iſle of Aix a French fleet at anchor, conſiſting of five ſhips of the line, with ſix frigates and forty tranſports, having on board three thouſand troops, and a large quantity of ſtores and proviſion, intended as a reinforcement for their ſettlements in North America.

They no ſooner ſaw the Engliſh admiral advancing than they began to ſlip their cables and fly with the utmoſt precipitation. Some of them eſcaped to ſea, but the greater number ran into ſhallow water, where they could not be purſued; and next morning they appeared aground lying on their broadſides. Sir Edward Hawke, who had rode all night at anchor abreaſt of the iſle of Aix, furniſhed the ſhips Intrepid and Medway with truſty pilots, and ſent them farther in when the flood began to make, with orders to ſound a-head, that he might know whether there was any poſſibility of attacking the enemy; but the want of a ſufficient depth of water rendered this ſcheme impracticable.

In the mean time the French threw over board their cannon, ſtores, and ballaſt; and boats and launches from Rochefort were employed in carrying out warps to drag their ſhips through the ſoft mud, as ſoon as they ſhould be floated by the tide. By theſe means their large ſhips of war and many of their tranſports were conveyed into the river Charente; but their loading was loſt, and the end of their equipment totally defeated.

Another convoy of merchant ſhips, under the protection of three frigates, had a few days before been chaced by ſir Edward Hawke into the harbour of St. Martin's on the iſle of Rhé, where they ſtill remained, waiting an opportunity for hazarding a ſecond departure: and a third, conſiſting of 12 ſail, bound from Bourdeaux to Quebec, under convoy of a frigate and armed veſſel, was encountered at ſea by one Britiſh ſhip of the line and two fire-ſhips, which took the frigate and armed veſſel, and two of the convoy afterwards met with the ſame fate; but this advantage was dearly purchaſed by the loſs of captain James Hume, commander of the Pluto fire-ſhip, a brave accompliſhed officer, who, in an unequal combat with the enemy, refuſed to quit the deck even when he was diſabled, and fell glorioufly covered with wounds, exhorting the people with his lateſt breath to continue the engagement while the ſhip could ſwim, and acquit themſelves with honour in the ſervice of their country.

On the twenty-ninth day of May the Raiſonable, a French ſhip of the line, mounted with ſixty-four cannon, having on board ſix hundred and thirty men, commanded by the prince de Mombazon chevalier de Rohan, was, in her paſſage from Port l'Orient to Breſt, attacked by captain Dennis in the Dorſetſhire of ſeventy guns, and taken, after an obſtinate engagement, in which one hundred and ſixty men of the prince's complement were killed or wounded, and the ſails and rigging of his ſhip almoſt entirely deſtroyed.

The joy ariſing from theſe ſucceſſes was conſiderably damped by a lamentable diſaſter that befel the ſhip prince George, of eighty guns, commanded by rear admiral Broderick, in his paſſage to the Mediterranean. On the thirtieth day of April, between one and two in the afternoon, a dreadful fire broke out in the fore part of the ſhip, and raged with ſuch violence, that notwithſtanding all the efforts

efforts of the officers and men for ſeveral hours, the flames increaſed; and the ſhip being conſumed to the water-edge, the remnant ſunk about ſix o'clock in the evening. The horror and conſternation of ſuch a ſcene are more eaſily conceived than deſcribed. When all endeavours proved ineffectual, and no hope of preſerving the ſhip remained, the barge was hoiſted out for the preſervation of the admiral, who entered it accordingly; but all diſtinction of perſons being now aboliſhed, the ſeamen ruſhed into it in ſuch crowds, that in a few moments it overſet. The admiral foreſeeing that this would be the caſe, ſtripped off his cloaths, and committing himſelf to the mercy of the waves, was ſaved by the boat of a merchant ſhip, after he had ſuſtained himſelf in the ſea a full hour by ſwimming.

Captain Payton, who was the ſecond in command, remained upon the quarter-deck as long as it was poſſible to keep that ſtation; and then deſcending by the ſtern-ladder, had the good fortune to be taken into a boat belonging to the ſloop Alderney. The hull of the ſhip, maſts, and rigging, were now in a blaze, burſting tremendous in ſeveral parts through horrid clouds of ſmoak: nothing was heard but the crackling of the flames, mingled with the diſmal cries of terror and diſtraction; nothing was ſeen but acts of frenzy and deſperation. The miſerable wretches, affrighted at the horrors of ſuch a conflagration, ſought a fate leſs dreadful, by plunging into the ſea; and about three hundred men were preſerved by the boats belonging to ſome ſhips that accompanied the admiral in the his voyage, but five hundred periſhed in ocean.

The king of Great Britain being firmly reſolved, notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs, not to ſay diſgrace, which attended the expedition ſent the preceding year to annoy the coaſts of France, to renew his attempts upon that kingdom, ordered a very formidable armament to be equipped for that purpoſe. Two powerful ſquadrons by ſea were appointed for the ſervice of this expedition: the firſt, conſiſting of eleven great ſhips, was commanded by lord Anſon and ſir Edward Hawke: the other, compoſed of four ſhips of the line, ſeven frigates, ſix ſloops, two fireſhips, two bombs, ten cutters, twenty tenders, ten ſtoreſhips, and one hundred tranſports, was put under the direction of commodore Howe, who had ſignalized himſelf by his gallantry and conduct in the courſe of the laſt fruitleſs expedition.

The plan of a deſcent upon France having been projected by the miniſtry, a body of troops, conſiſting of ſixteen regiments, nine troops of light horſe, and ſix thouſand marines, was aſſembled for the execution of this deſign, and embarked under the command of the duke of Marlborough; a nobleman who, though he did not poſſeſs all the military genius of his grandfather, was yet confeſſedly a brave and gallant officer. On this occaſion he was aſſiſted by the counſels of lord George Sackville, ſecond in command, ſon to the duke of Dorſet.

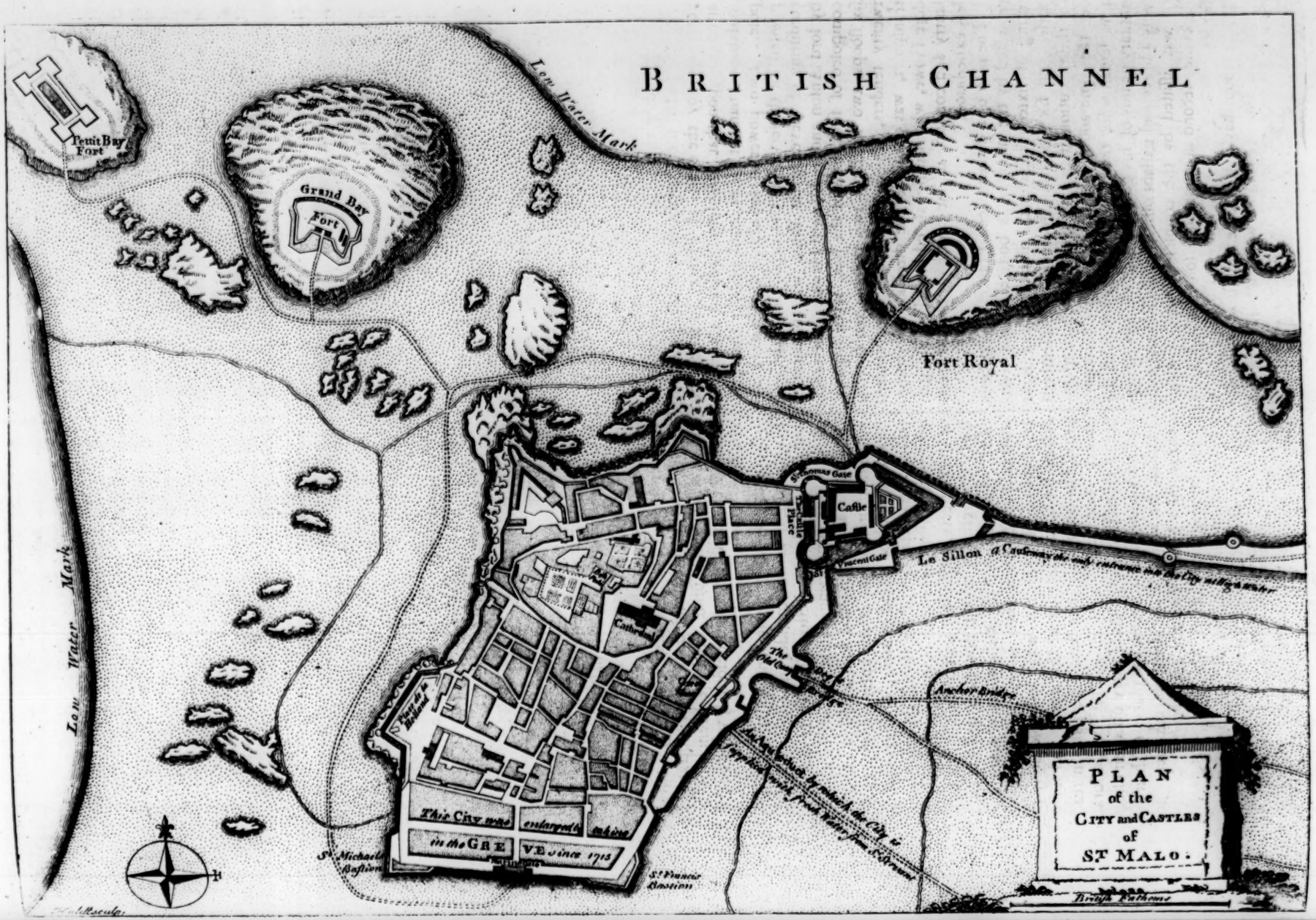
The troops having for ſome time been encamped on the Iſle of Wight, were embarked in the latter end of May, and the two fleets ſailed in the beginning of June for the coaſt of Bretagne, leaving the people of England big with the expectations of the event of the enterprize.

The two fleets ſeparated at ſea: lord Anſon with his ſquadron bent his courſe to the Bay of Biſcay, in order to watch the motions of the enemy's ſhips, and interrupt their navigation; while commodore Howe with the land forces ſteered directly towards St. Malo, a ſtrong place of conſiderable commerce, ſituated on the coaſt of Bretagne, againſt which the preſent invaſion ſeemed to be chiefly levelled. The town, however, was ſo well fortified, both by art and nature, that no attempt by ſea could be made upon it with any proſpect of ſucceſs; and therefore it was reſolved to make a deſcent in the neighbourhood. After the fleet had been, by contrary winds, detained ſeveral days in ſight of the French coaſt, it arrived in the bay of Cancalle, about two leagues to the eaſtward of St. Malo; and Mr. Howe having ſilenced a ſmall battery which the enemy had occaſionally erected upon the beach, the troops were landed, without farther oppoſition, on the ſixth day of June.

The duke of Marlborough immediately began his march towards St. Servan, with a view to deſtroy ſuch ſhipping and magazines as might be in any acceſſible parts of the river; and this ſcheme was executed with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs. A great quantity of naval ſtores, two ſhips of war, ſeveral privateers, and about fourſcore veſſels of different ſorts, were ſet on fire, and reduced to aſhes, almoſt under the cannon of the place, which however they could not pretend to beſiege in form. His grace having received intelligence that the enemy were buſily employed in collecting forces to cut off his retreat, returned to Cancalle, where Mr. Howe had made ſuch a maſterly diſpoſition of the boats and tranſports, that the reimbarkation of the troops was accompliſhed with ſurpriſing eaſe and expedition. The forces, while they continued on ſhore, were reſtrained from all outrages by the moſt ſevere diſcipline; and the French houſes, which their inhabitants had deſerted, were left untouched.

Immediately after their landing, the duke of Marlborough, as commander in chief, publiſhed and diſtributed a manifeſto, addreſſed to the people of Bretagne, importing, That his deſcent upon the coaſt was not effected with a deſign to make war on the inhabitants of the open country, except ſuch as ſhould be found in arms, or otherwiſe oppoſing the operations of the Britiſh forces: that all who were willing to remain in peaceable poſſeſſion of their effects might ſtay unmoleſted in their reſpective dwellings, and follow their uſual occupations: that, beſides the cuſtoms and taxes they uſed to pay to their own king, nothing ſhould be required of them but what was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the army; and for all proviſions brought in they ſhould be paid in ready money: but that if, notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances of protection, they ſhould carry off their effects and proviſions, and abandon the places of their habitation, he would treat them as enemies, and deſtroy their houſes with fire and ſword.

To the magiſtracy of St. Malo he likewiſe ſent a letter, intimating, that as all the inhabitants of the town and villages between Dinant, Rennes, and Doll, now in his poſſeſſion, had deſerted their habitations, probably to avoid the payment of the uſual contributions; and as he was informed that the magiſtrates had compelled the people of the country to retire into the town of St. Malo, he now


BRITISH CHANNEL
Low Water Mark
Petit Bay Fort
Grand Bay Fort
Fort Royal
Castle
Le Sillon a Causeway the only entrance into the City at high water
Anchor Bridge
PLAN
of the
CITY and CASTLES
of
ST MALO.
British Fathoms
Low Water Mark
This City was
in MDCCXI
VE since 1715

B R I T I S H C H A N N E L
ISLE ELE'E
British Fathoms.
100 200 300 400 500 600
Course of the Tides
ROAD PROJECTED
Entrance for Small Ships
Rock du Hommet
Equeudreville
Redoubt de Tourlaville
Road
PLAN of
CHERBOURG
with the
Forts & Batteries,
when taken by ye English
in August 1758.
Milton sculp.

gave them notice, that if they did not immediately ſend them back to their houſes, and come themſelves to his head-quarters to ſettle the contributions, he ſhould think himſelf obliged to proceed to military execution. Theſe threats, however, were not put in force, although the magiſtrates of St. Malo did not think proper to comply with his injunction.

But it was found altogether impoſſible to prevent irregularities among troops employed in ſuch an expedition. Some houſes were plundered, and not without acts of cruelty: but thoſe offenders were brought to immediate juſtice; and it muſt be owned, as an inconteſtible proof of the general's humanity, that in deſtroying the magazines of the enemy at St. Servan, which may be termed the ſuburbs of St. Malo, he ordered one ſmall ſtore-houſe to be ſpared, becauſe it could not be ſet on fire without endangering the whole diſtrict.

The Britiſh forces being reimbarked, with the loſs of about thirty men miſſing, the fleet was detained by contrary winds in the bay of Cancalle for ſeveral days; during which a deſign ſeems to have been formed for attacking Granville, which had been reconnoitred by ſome of the engineers: but, in conſequence of their report, the ſcheme was laid aſide, and the fleet ſtood out to ſea, where it was expoſed to ſome rough weather.

In a few days, the wind blowing in a northern direction, they ſteered again towards the French coaſt, and ran in with the land near Havre de Grace, where the flat-bottomed boats provided for landing were hoiſted out, and a ſecond diſembarkation expected. But the wind blowing violently towards the evening, the boats were again hauled on board, and the fleet obliged to quit the land, in order to avoid the dangers of a lee ſhore. Next day the weather being more moderate, they returned to the ſame ſtation, and orders were given to prepare for a deſcent; but the duke of Marlborough having taken a view of the coaſt in an open cutter, accompanied by commodore Howe, thought proper to wave the attempt.

Their next ſtep was to bear away before the wind for Cherbourg, in the neighbourhood of which place the fleet came to anchor. Here ſome of the tranſports were ſaluted by the fire of ſix different batteries, and a conſiderable body of troops appeared in arms to oppoſe the landing: nevertheleſs, the general determined that the forts Querqueville and Gallet ſhould be attacked in the night by the firſt regiment of guards. The ſoldiers were actually diſtributed in the flat-bottomed boats, and every preparation made for this purpoſe, when the wind began to blow with ſuch violence, that the troops could not be landed without the moſt imminent danger; nor properly ſuſtained, in caſe of a repulſe, even if the diſembarkation could have been effected.

This attempt was therefore abandoned; but at the ſame time a reſolution taken to ſtand in towards the ſhore with the whole fleet, to cover a general landing. A diſpoſition was made accordingly; but the ſtorm increaſing, the tranſports ran foul of each other, and the ſhips were expoſed to all the perils of a lee ſhore; for the gale blew directly upon the coaſt: beſides, the proviſions began to fail, and the hay for the horſes was almoſt exhauſted. Theſe concurring reaſons induced the commanders to defer the diſembarkation to a more favourable opportunity. The fleet ſtood out to ſea, the tempeſt abated; they ſteered for the Iſle of Wight, and next day anchored at St. Helen's.

Such was the iſſue of an enterprize, which, tho' it did not anſwer the expectations of the public, was yet productive of infinite damage to the enemy; for the loſs they ſuſtained by the conflagration at St. Malo is ſaid to have amounted to twenty-four millions of livres.

The deſigns upon the coaſt of France, though interrupted by tempeſtuous weather, were not as yet laid aſide for the whole ſeaſon: but, in the mean time, the troops were diſembarked on the Iſle of Wight, and one brigade marched to the northward, to join a body of troops with which the government reſolved to reinforce the army of the allies in Germany, commanded by prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic. The duke of Marlborough and lord George Sackville being appointed to conduct this Britiſh corps upon the continent, the command of the marine expeditions devolved upon lieutenant-general Bligh, an old experienced officer who had ſerved with reputation; and his royal highneſs prince Edward, afterwards created duke of York, entered as a volunteer with commodore Howe, in order to learn the rudiments of the ſea-ſervice.

The remainder of the troops being reimbarked, and every thing prepared for the ſecond expedition, the fleet ſailed from St. Helen's on the firſt of Auguſt; and, after a tedious paſſage from calms and contrary winds, arrived on the ſeventh in the bay of Cherbourg. By this time the enemy had intrenched themſelves within a line, extending from the fort of Ecoeurdeville, which ſtands about two miles to the weſtward of Cherbourg, along the coaſt for the ſpace of four miles, fortified with ſeveral batteries at proper diſtances. Behind this retrenchment a large body of regular troops, reinforced by militia, appeared in good order; but as they did not advance to the open beach, the leſs riſque was run in landing the Britiſh forces.

At firſt a bomb-ketch had been ſent to anchor near the town and throw ſome ſhells into the place, as a feint to amuſe the enemy, and deceive them with regard to the place of diſembarkation; while the general had determined to land about a league to the weſtward of Querqueville, the moſt weſtern fort in the bay. The other bomb ketches being poſted along ſhore, did conſiderable execution upon the intrenchments, not only by throwing ſhells in the uſual way, but alſo by uſing ball-mortars, filled with great quantities of balls, which may be thrown to a great diſtance, and, by ſcattering as they fly, do abundance of miſchief.

While theſe ketches maintained a continual fire, the grenadiers and guards were conveyed regularly aſhore in the flat bottomed boats; and landing without oppoſition, inſtantly drew up in a ſmall open part of the beach, with a natural breaſtwork in their front, having on one ſide a hollow way, and a village riſing beyond it with a ſudden aſcent: on the other, the ground was interſected by hedges and covered with orchards; and from this quarter the enemy advanced in order. The Britiſh troops immediately quitted the breaſtwork, in order to meet them half way, and a ſtraggling fire began; but the French edging to the left, took poſſeſſion

of the hill, from whence they piquered with the advanced poſts of the Engliſh.

In the mean time the reſt of the infantry were diſembarked, and the enemy at night retreated. As the light troops were not yet landed, general Bligh encamped that night at the village of Erville, on a piece of ground that did not extend four hundred paces, ſo that the tents were crowded together in a confuſed and irregular manner. Next morning, the general being informed that no parties of the enemy were ſeen moving on the hill or in the plain, and that fort Querqueville was entirely deſerted, made a diſpoſition for marching to Cherbourg. An advanced party took immediate poſſeſſion of Querqueville, and the lines and batteries along the ſhore were now abandoned by the enemy.

The Britiſh forces marching behind St. Aulne, Ecoeurdeville, Hommet, and la Gallet, found Cherbourg likewiſe undefended, and the gates being open, entered it without oppoſition. The citizens, encouraged by a promiſe of protection, received their new gueſts with a profuſion of civilities; notwithſtanding which the ſoldiers indulged themſelves in ſome irregularities; but theſe were no ſooner diſcovered than the offenders were brought to condign puniſhment, and the army kept to the moſt ſtrict diſcipline. Next morning the place being ſurveyed, the general determined to deſtroy the forts and the baſon; and the execution of this deſign was left to the engineers, aſſiſted by the officers of the fleet and artillery.

Great ſums of money had been expended upon the harbour and baſon of Cherbourg, which at one time was conſidered by the French court as an object of great importance, from its ſituation reſpecting the river Seine, as well as the oppoſite coaſt of England; but as the works were left unfiniſhed, in all probability the plan had grown into diſrepute. The enemy had raiſed ſeveral unconnected batteries along the bay, but the town itſelf was quite open and defenceleſs. While the engineers were employed in demoliſhing the works, the light horſe ſcoured the country, and detachments were every day ſent out towards Walloign, at the diſtance of four leagues from Cherbourg, where the enemy were encamped, and every hour received reinforcements. Several ſkirmiſhes were fought by the out-parties of each army; in one of which captain Lindſay, a gallant young officer, who had a conſiderable ſhare in training the light horſe, was mortally wounded.

The harbour and baſon of Cherbourg being deſtroyed, together with all the forts in the neighbourhood, and about twenty pieces of braſs cannon conveyed on board the Engliſh ſhips, a contribution, amounting to about three thouſand pounds ſterling, was exacted from the town, and a plan of reimbarkation concerted, as it appeared, from the reports of peaſants and deſerters, that the enemy were already increaſed to a formidable number. A ſlight intrenchment being raiſed, ſufficient to defend the laſt diviſion that ſhould be reimbarked, the ſtores and artillery were ſhipped, and the light horſe immediately carried on board their reſpective tranſports, by means of platforms laid in the flat-bottomed veſſels. On the ſixteenth day of Auguſt, at three o'clock in the morning, the forces marched from Cherbourg down to the beach, and reimbarked at Fort Gallet, without the leaſt diſturbance from the enemy.

This ſervice being happily performed, the fleet ſet ſail for the coaſt of England, and anchored in the road of Weymouth, under the high land of Portland. In two days it weighed and ſtood again to the ſouthward, but was obliged by contrary winds to return to the ſame ſtation. The ſecond effort, however, was more ſucceſsful. The fleet with ſome difficulty kept the ſea; and ſteering to the French coaſt, arrived in the bay of St. Lunaire, two leagues to the weſtward of St. Malo, upon which it was determined to make another attempt. The ſloops and ketches being poſted along-ſhore to cover the landing, the troops were debarked on a fair open beach, and a ſmall party detached to the harbour of St. Briac, above the town of St. Malo, where they deſtroyed about fifteen ſmall veſſels: but St. Malo itſelf being carefully reconnoitered, appeared to be impregnable either by the land-forces or the ſhipping.

The mouth of the river that forms its baſon extends above two miles in breadth at its narroweſt part, ſo as to be out of the reach of land-batteries; and the entrance is defended by ſuch forts and batteries as the ſhips of war could not pretend to ſilence, conſidering the difficult navigation of the channel: beſides fifty pieces of large cannon planted on theſe forts and batteries, the enemy had mounted forty on the weſt ſide of the town; and the baſon was, moreover, ſtrengthened by ſeven frigates or armed veſſels, whoſe guns might have been brought to bear upon any batteries that could be raiſed on ſhore, as well as upon ſhips entering by the uſual channel.

For theſe reaſons the deſign againſt St. Malo was relinquiſhed; but the general being unwilling to reimbark without having taken ſome ſtep for the further annoyance of the enemy, determined to penetrate into the country, regulating his motions, however, by thoſe of the fleet, which had by this time quitted the bay of St. Lunaire, where it could not ride with any ſafety, and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the weſtward.

On the eighth of September general Bligh with his little army began his march for Guildo, at the diſtance of nine miles, which he reached in the evening. Next day he paſſed a little gut or inlet of the ſea, at low water; and his troops being harraſſed by the peaſants, who fired at him from hedges and houſes, he ſent a prieſt with a meſſage, importing, that if they would not deſiſt he would reduce their houſes to aſhes. No regard being paid to this intimation, the houſes were actually ſet on fire as ſoon as the troops had formed their camp, about two miles on the other ſide of the inlet. Next morning he advanced to the village of Matignon, where, after ſome irregular firing, the French piquets appeared, drawn up in order, to the number of two battalions; but having ſtood a few diſcharges of the Engliſh field-pieces, and ſeeing the grenadiers approach, they ſuddenly diſperſed.

General Bligh continuing his route through the village, encamped in the open ground about three miles from the bay of St. Cas, which was this day reconnoitred for reimbarkation; for he now received certain intelligence that the duke d'Aiguillon had advanced from Breſt to Lambale, within ſix miles of the Engliſh camp, at the head of twelve regular battalions, ſix ſquadrons, two regiments of

militia, eight mortars, and ten pieces of cannon. The bay of St. Cas was covered by an intrenchment which the enemy had thrown up, the more effectually to prevent any diſembarkation; and on the outſide of this work there was a range of ſand hills extending along ſhore, which could have ſerved as a cover to the enemy, from whence they might have annoyed the troops in reimbarking. For this reaſon a propoſal was made, that the forces ſhould be reimbarked from a fair open beach on the left, between St. Cas and Guildo; but this advice was rejected, and indeed the ſubſequent operations of the army ſeem to have been conducted with little prudence or diſcretion.

Had the troops decamped in the night, without noiſe, in all probability they would have arrived at the beach before the French had received the leaſt intelligence of their motion; and in that caſe the whole army, amounting to about ſix thouſand five hundred men, might have been reimbarked without interruption: but inſtead of this cautious manner of proceeding, the drums were beaten at two o'clock in the morning, which could not fail to betray their intention to the enemy. The troops were in motion before three; and though the length of the march did not exceed three miles, the halts and interruptions were ſo numerous and frequent, that they did not arrive on the beach at St. Cas till nine. Then the embarkation was begun, and might have been happily accompliſhed, had the tranſports lain near the ſhore and received the men as faſt as the boats could have conveyed them on board without diſtinction; but many ſhips rode at a conſiderable diſtance, and every boat carried the men on board the reſpective tranſports to which they belonged; a punctilio of diſpoſition which in caſes of emergency, ought never to be regarded. The ſmall ſhips and bomb-ketches were brought near the ſhore to cover the reimbarkation; and a conſiderable number of ſea-officers were ſtationed on the beach to ſuperintend the boats crews, and regulate the ſervice; but notwithſtanding all their attention, ſome of the boats were employed in carrying off horſes and cows, and other booty. Had all the cutters and ſmall craft belonging to the fleet been properly occupied in the ſervice, the diſgrace and diſaſter of the day would in a great meaſure have been prevented.

The Britiſh forces had ſkirmiſhed a little on their march, but no conſiderable body of the enemy appeared until the embarkation was begun; then they took poſſeſſion of an eminence by a wind-mill, and forthwith opened a battery of ten cannon and eight mortars, from whence they fired with conſiderable effect upon the ſoldiers on the beach, and on the boats in their paſſage. They afterwards began to march down the hill, partly covered by a hollow way on their left, with deſign to gain a wood, where they might form and extend themſelves along the front of the Engliſh, and advance againſt them under ſhelter of the ſand-hills; but in their deſcent they ſuffered extremely from the cannon and mortars of the ſhipping, which made great havock, and threw them into confuſion. Their line of march down the hill was broken, and for ſome time continued in diſorder; then they turned off to one ſide, extended themſelves along a hill to their left, and advanced in a hollow way, from whence they ſuddenly ruſhed out to the attack.

Though the greater part of the Britiſh troops were already embarked, the rear-guard, conſiſting of all the grenadiers, and half of the firſt regiment of guards, remained on the ſhore, to the number of fifteen hundred, under the command of major-general Drury. This officer ſeeing the enemy advance, ordered his troops to form in grand diviſions, and march from behind the bank that covered them, in order to attack the enemy before they could be formed on the plain. This ſtep of Mr. Drury's has been generally condemned as raſh and imprudent; for had he kept behind the breaſtwork, he might either have defended himſelf till he could have been taken on board; or he might have retreated along the beach to a rock on the left, in which progreſs his right flank would have been ſecured by the intrenchment; and the enemy could not have purſued him along the ſhore without being expoſed to ſuch a fire from the ſhipping as, in all probability, they could not have withſtood.

The Engliſh line being drawn up in uneven ground, began the action with an irregular fire from right to left, which the enemy returned; but their uſual fortitude and reſolution ſeemed to forſake them on this occaſion. They ſaw themſelves in danger of being ſurrounded and cut in pieces; their officers dropped on every ſide; and all hope of retreat was now intercepted. In this cruel dilemma their ſpirits failed; they were ſeized with a panic; they faultered, they broke; and in leſs than five minutes after the engagement began, they fled in the utmoſt confuſion, purſued by the enemy, who no ſooner ſaw them give way than they fell in among them with their bayonets fixed, and made a terrible havock. General Drury being dangerouſly wounded, ran into the ſea, where he periſhed; and this was the fate of a great number, officers as well as ſoldiers. Many ſwam towards the boats and veſſels, which were ordered to give them all manner of aſſiſtance; but by far the greater number were either butchered on the beach or drowned in the water; a ſmall body, however, inſtead of throwing themſelves into the ſea, retired to the rock on the left, where they made a ſtand, until they had exhauſted all their ammunition, and then ſurrendered at diſcretion. The carnage was moreover increaſed by the ſhot and ſhells diſcharged from the battery which the enemy had raiſed on the hill: yet the ſlaughter would not have been ſo great, had not the French ſoldiers been exaſperated by the fire from the frigates, which, through the general confuſion that then prevailed, was ſtill maintained, even after the Engliſh troops were routed: but this was no ſooner ſilenced by a ſignal from the commodore, than the enemy granted quarter to the vanquiſhed. About one thouſand choſen men of the Engliſh army were killed and taken priſoners on this occaſion; though the loſs of the enemy is ſaid to have amounted to double the number.

This affair elated the French, and diſpirited the Engliſh, much more than could reaſonably be expected from a matter of ſo little conſequence. It was in fact no more than the cutting off a rear-guard. There was often more blood ſhed in ſome of the ſkirmiſhes in Germany, which were never thought worthy of a place in the Gazettes. So far from complaining of our bad fortune, we ought rather to think ourſelves extremely fortunate, that

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we were able to land three times on the coaſt of France without ſuffering any other or more conſiderable loſs. The French miniſtry indeed had reaſon to magnify our defeat, and this they did in a moſt extravagant manner: but ſome ſuch cordial was abſolutely neceſſary to conſole their people, who were filled with chagrin at the utter ruin which had ſeized their trade, and the diſgrace and calamities which had been brought upon their country.

After the action of St. Cas, ſome civilities by meſſage paſſed between the duke d'Aiguillon and the Engliſh commanders, who were favoured with a liſt of the priſoners, including four ſea-captains; and aſſured that the wounded ſhould receive all poſſible comfort and aſſiſtance. Theſe matters being adjuſted, commodore Howe returned with the fleet to Spithead, and the ſoldiers were diſembarked.

No further attempts were made upon the French coaſt during the remainder of this ſeaſon. The Engliſh cruizers, however, ſtill continued active and alert. Captain Hervey, in the ſhip Monmouth, deſtroyed a French ſhip of forty guns in the iſland of Malta; an exploit of which the Malteſe loudly complained as a violation of their neutrality. About twenty ſail of ſmall French veſſels were driven aſhore on the rocks of Bretagne by ſome cruizers belonging to the fleet commanded by lord Anſon, after a ſmart engagement with two frigates, under whoſe convoy they ſailed.

In the month of November the Belliqueux, a French ſhip of war mounted with ſixty-four guns, having by miſtake run up St. George's Channel, and anchored in Lundy road, captain Saumarez, of the Antelope, then lying in King's Road, immediately weighed and went in queſt of her, according to the advice he had received. When he appeared, the French captain heaved up his anchor and made a ſhew of reſiſtance; but ſoon hauled down his colours, and, without firing a ſhot, ſurrendered, with a compliment of four hundred and ſeventeen men, to a ſhip of inferior force, both in number of hands and weight of metal.

By this time the Engliſh privateers ſwarmed to ſuch a degree in the Channel, that ſcarce a French veſſel durſt leave their harbours, and conſequently there was little or no booty to be got. In this ſcarcity of legal prizes, ſome of the adventurers were tempted to commit acts of piracy, and actually plundered the ſhips of neutral nations. A Dutch veſſel, having on board the baggage and domeſtics belonging to the marquis de Pignatelli, ambaſſador from the court of Spain to the king of Denmark, was boarded three times ſucceſſively by the crews of three different privateers, who forced the hatches, rummaged the hold, broke open and rifled the trunks and boxes of the ambaſſador, and committed many other acts of violence. Complaints of theſe outrages being made to the court of London, the lords of the admiralty promiſed, in the Gazette, a reward of five hundred pounds, without deduction, to any perſon who ſhould diſcover the offenders concerned in theſe acts of piracy. Some of them were detected accordingly, and brought to condign puniſhment.

The Dutch had for ſome time carried on a very conſiderable traffick, not only in taking the fair advantages of the neutrality, but alſo in ſupplying the French with naval ſtores, and tranſporting the produce of the French ſugar colonies to Europe, as carriers hired by the proprietors. The Engliſh government, incenſed at this unfair commerce, proſecuted with ſuch flagrant partiality for their enemies, iſſued orders for the cruizers to arreſt all ſhips of neutral powers that ſhould have French property on board; in conſequence of which orders, ſeveral Dutch ſhips were taken, and condemned as legal prizes, both in England and Jamaica.

The ſubjects of the United Provinces raiſed a loud clamour againſt the Engliſh for having thus, as they ſaid, violated the laws of nations, and the particular treaty of commerce ſubſiſting between Great Britain and the republic. Remonſtrances were made to the Engliſh miniſtry, who expoſtulated in their turn with the deputies of the States-general; and the two nations were inflamed againſt each other with the moſt bitter animoſity.

The Britiſh reſident at the Hague, in a conference with the States, repreſented that the king his maſter could not hope to ſee peace ſpeedily reſtored, if neutral princes ſhould aſſume a right of carrying on the trade of his enemies: that he expected, from their known juſtice, and the alliance by which they were ſo nearly connected with his ſubjects, they would honeſtly abandon this fraudulent commerce, and agree that naval ſtores ſhould be comprehended in the claſs of contraband commodities. He anſwered ſome articles of the complaints they had made with great candour and moderation; declared his majeſty's abhorrence of the violences which had been committed upon the ſubjects of the United Provinces; explained the ſteps which had been taken by the Engliſh government to bring the offenders to juſtice, as well as to prevent ſuch outrages for the future; and aſſured them, that his Britannic majeſty had nothing more at heart than to renew, and maintain in full force, the mutual confidence and friendſhip by which the maritime powers of England and Holland had been ſo long united.

Theſe profeſſions of eſteem and affection were not ſufficient to allay the apprehenſions of the Dutch merchants; and the French party, which was both numerous and powerful, employed all their artifice and addreſs in exaſperating their paſſions, and widening the breach between the two nations. The court of Verſailles did not fail to lay hold of ſuch a favourable opportunity: while, on one hand, their miniſters and emiſſaries in Holland exaggerated the indignities and injuries which the States had ſuffered from the proceedings of the Engliſh; they, on the other hand, flattered and cajoled them with little advantages in trade, and formal profeſſions of friendſhip.

The ſpirit of the Dutch merchants at this juncture, and their ſentiments with reſpect to England, may be learned from a memorial to the States General, ſubſcribed by two hundred and ſixty-nine traders, compoſed and preſented with equal ſecrecy and circumſpection. In this famous remonſtrance they complained, that the violences and unjuſt depredations, committed by the Engliſh ſhips of war and privateers on the veſſels and effects of them and their fellow-ſubjects, were not only continued, but daily multiplied; and cruelty and exceſſes carried to ſuch a height, that the petitioners were forced to implore the aſſiſtance of their High Mightineſſes

tineſſes to protect, in the moſt efficacious manner, their commerce and navigation, which were the two ſinews of the republic. For this neceſſary purpoſe they offered to contribute each his contingent, and to arm at their own charge; and other propoſitions were made for an immediate augmentation of their marine.

While this party induſtriouſly laboured to effect a rupture with England, the princeſs Governante employed all her intereſt and addreſs to divert them from this object, by alarming them with juſt apprehenſions of the power of France, and exhorting them to augment their forces, ſo as to prepare againſt all attempts from that quarter. At the ſame time ſhe ſpared no pains to compromiſe the differences between her huſband's country and her father's kingdom; and, without doubt, her healing counſels were of great efficacy in preventing matters from coming to a very dangerous extremity.

The operations of Great Britain during this campaign were not confined to Europe: the continent of America and the coaſt of Africa both felt the weight of her arms. The whole gum trade from Cape Blanco to the river Gambia, an extent of five hundred miles, had been engroſſed by the French, who built Fort Louis within the mouth of the Senegal, extending their factories near three leagues up that river, and on the ſame coaſt had fortified the iſland of Goree, in which they maintained a conſiderable garriſon. The gum-ſenega, of which a great quantity is uſed by the manufacturers of England, being wholly in the hands of the enemy, the Engliſh dealers were obliged to buy it at ſecond hand from the Dutch, who purchaſed it of the French, and exacted an exorbitant price for that commodity. This conſideration forwarded the plan for annexing that country to the poſſeſſions of Great Britain.

The project was firſt conceived by Mr. Thomas Cumming, a ſenſible quaker, who, as a private merchant, had made a voyage to Portenderrick, an adjoining part of the coaſt, and contracted a perſonal acquaintance with Amir, the Mooriſh king of Legibelli *. He found this African prince extremely well diſpoſed towards the ſubjects of Great Britain, whom he publicly preferred to all other Europeans; and ſo enraged againſt the French, that he declared he ſhould never be eaſy till they were extirpated from the river Senegal. At that very time he had denounced war againſt them, and earneſtly deſired that the king of England would ſend out an armament to reduce Fort Louis and Goree, with ſome ſhips of force to protect the traders. In that caſe he promiſed to join his Britannic majeſty's forces, and indulge his ſubjects with an excluſive commerce.

Mr. Cumming not only perceived the advantage that would accrue from ſuch an extluſive privilege with regard to the gum, but foreſaw many other important conſequences of an extenſive trade in a country which, over and above the gum-ſenega, abounds in many valuable articles, ſuch as gold duſt, elephants teeth, hides, cotton, bees-wax, ſlaves, oſtrich feathers, indigo, ambergris, and civet. Pleaſed with the proſpect of an acquiſition ſo valuable to his country, this honeſt quaker was equally minute and indefatigable in his enquiries, with regard to the commerce of the coaſt, as well as the ſtrength and ſituation of the French ſettlements on the river Senegal; and at his return to England actually projected the plan of an expedition for the conqueſt of Fort Louis.

This was preſented to the Board of Trade, by whom it was approved, after a ſevere ſcrutiny: but it required the patriotic zeal, and invincible perſeverance of Mr. Cumming, to ſurmount a variety of obſtacles before it was adopted by the miniſtry; and even then it was not executed in its full extent. He was abridged of one large ſhip; and in lieu of ſix hundred land-forces to be draughted from different regiments, which he in vain demanded, no more than two hundred marines were allotted for this ſervice.

After repeated ſolicitation, he at laſt, in the year 1757, obtained an order that the two annual ſhips bound to the coaſt of Guinea ſhould be joined by a ſloop and two buſſes, and make an attempt upon the French ſettlements in the river Senegal. Theſe ſhips, however, were detained by contrary winds, until the ſeaſon was too far advanced for undertaking the expedition, which was therefore poſtponed. In the beginning of the preſent year Mr. Cumming, being ſupported by the intereſt of a conſiderable merchant in the city, to whom he had imparted the plan, renewed his application to the miniſtry, and they determined to hazard the enterprize.

A ſmall ſquadron was equipped for this expedition, under the command of captain Marſh, having on board a body of marines commanded by major Maſon, with a detachment of artillery, ten pieces of cannon, eight mortars, and a conſiderable quantity of warlike ſtores and ammunition. Captain Walker was appointed engineer; and Mr. Cumming was concerned as a principal director and promoter of the expedition. This little armament ſailed in the beginning of March; and in their paſſage touched at the iſland of Teneriffe, where, while the ſhips ſupplied themſelves with wine and water, Mr. Cumming proceeded in the Swan ſloop to Portenderrick, being charged with a letter of credence to his old friend the king of that country, who had favoured him in his laſt viſit with an excluſive trade on that coaſt, by a formal charter, written in the Arabic language; which charter is ſtill in his poſſeſſion.

This prince was now up the country, engaged in a war with his neighbours, called the Diable Moors †; and the queen-dowager, who remained at Portenderrick, acquainted Mr. Cumming, that ſhe could not at preſent ſpare any troops to join the Engliſh in their expedition againſt Senegal; but ſhe aſſured him that, ſhould the French be

* The name the natives give to that part of South Barbary, known to merchants and navigators by that of The Gum Coaſt, and called in maps, The Sandy Deſart of Sara, and ſometimes Zara.

† This is the name by which the ſubjects of Legibelli diſtinguiſh thoſe of Brackna, who inhabit the country farther up the river Senegal, and were in conſtant alliance with the French.

extirpated, ſhe and her ſubjects would go thither and ſettle. In the mean time, one of the chiefs, called prince Amir, diſpatched a meſſenger to the king with advice of their arrival and deſign. He declared that he would, with all poſſible diligence, aſſemble three hundred warriors to join the Engliſh troops; and that, in his opinion, the king would reinforce them with a detachment from his army.

By this time captain Marſh, with the reſt of the armament, had arrived at Portenderrick, and apprehending that the enemy might receive intimation of his deſign, reſolved to proceed on the expedition without waiting for the promiſed auxiliaries. On the twenty-ſecond of April he weighed anchor, and next day at four o'clock diſcovered the French flag flying upon Fort Louis, ſituated in the midſt of a pretty conſiderable town, which exhibited a very agreeable appearance. The commodore having made prize of a Dutch ſhip richly laden with gum, which lay without the bar, came to anchor in Senegal road, at the mouth of the river; and here he obſerved ſeveral armed ſloops which the enemy had poſted to defend the paſſage of the bar, which is extremely dangerous. All the boats were employed in conveying the ſtores into the ſmall craft, while three of the ſloops continued exchanging ſhot over a narrow tongue of land with the veſſels of the enemy, conſiſting of one brig and ſix armed ſloops, mounted with great guns and ſwivels.

At length the channel being diſcovered, and the wind, which generally blows down the river, veering about, captain Millar, of the London buſs, ſeized that opportunity; and paſſing the bar with a full ſail, caſt anchor on the inſide, where he lay, till night, expoſed to the whole fire of the enemy. Next day he was joined by the other ſmall veſſels, and a regular engagement enſued. This was warmly maintained on both ſides, until the buſſes and one dogger running aground, immediately bulged, and were filled with water. Then the troops they contained took to their boats, and with ſome difficulty reached the ſhore, where they drew up in a body, and were ſoon joined by their companions from the other veſſels; ſo that now the whole amounted to three hundred and ninety marines, excluſive of the detachment of artillery.

As they laid their account with being attacked by the natives, who appeared on the ſhore at ſome diſtance, ſeemingly determined to oppoſe the deſcent, they immediately formed an intrenchment, and began to diſembark the ſtores, great part of which lay under water. While they were employed in raiſing this occaſional defence, the negroes came in great numbers and ſubmitted; and on the ſucceeding day they were joined by three hundred ſeamen, who paſſed the bar in ſloops, with their enſigns and colours flying.

They were proceeding in their operations with great ſpirit and activity, when two French deputies arrived at the intrenchment, with propoſals for a capitulation from the governor of Fort Louis. After ſome heſitation, captain Marſh and major Maſon agreed, that all the white people belonging to the French company at Senegal ſhould be ſafely conducted to France in an Engliſh veſſel, without being deprived of their private effects, provided all the merchandize and uncoined treaſure ſhould be delivered up to the victors; and that all the forts, ſtore-houſes, veſſels, arms, proviſions, and every article belonging to the company in that river, ſhould be put into the hands of the Engliſh immediately after the capitulation ſhould be ſigned: that the free natives living at Fort Louis ſhould remain in quiet poſſeſſion of their effects, and in the free exerciſe of their religion; and that all negroes, mulattoes, and others, who could prove themſelves free, ſhould have it in their option either to remain in the place, or remove to any other part of the country.

The captains Campbell and Walker were immediately ſent up the river with a flag of truce, to ſee the articles ſigned and executed; but the current of the ſtream was ſo ſtrong, that they did not arrive at the fort till three in the morning. As ſoon as the day broke they hoiſted their flag, and rowed up towards a battery on the point of the iſland, where they lay upon their oars very near a full hour, beating the chamade; but no notice was taken of their arrival. Suſpecting the cauſe of this ſtrange conduct, they retired down the river to their intrenchment, where they learned that the negroes on the iſland had riſen in arms, and blocked up the French in Fort Louis, reſolving to defend the place to the laſt extremity, unleſs they ſhould be included in the capitulation. This circumſtance was ſignified in a ſecond letter from the governor, who likewiſe acquainted the Engliſh commander, that unleſs the French director-general ſhould be allowed to remain with the natives, as a ſurety for the performance of that article of the capitulation in which they were comprehended, they would ſuffer themſelves to be cut in pieces rather than ſubmit.

This requeſt being granted, the Engliſh forces began their march to Fort Louis, attended by a number of long-boats, in which the artillery and ſtores had been embarked. The French ſeeing them, immediately ſtruck their colours; and major Maſon took poſſeſſion of the caſtle, where he found ninety-two pieces of cannon, with treaſure and merchandize to a conſiderable value. The corporation and burghers of the town of Senegal ſubmitted, and ſwore allegiance to his Britannic majeſty: the neighbouring princes, accompanied by numerous retinues, viſited the commander, and concluded treaties with the Engliſh nation; and the king of Portenderrick, or Legibelli, ſent an ambaſſador from his camp to major Maſon, with compliments of congratulation, and aſſurances of friendſhip.

The number of free independent negroes and mulattoes ſettled at Senegal amounted to three thouſand, and many of theſe enjoyed ſlaves and poſſeſſions of their own. The two French factories of Podore and Galam, the latter ſituated nine hundred miles farther up the river, were included in the capitulation; ſo that Great Britain, almoſt without ſtriking a blow, found herſelf in poſſeſſion of a ſettlement, from which, with proper care, very conſiderable advantages may be derived.

This ſignal acquiſition was, in a great meaſure, owing to the ſagacity, zeal, and indefatigable efforts of Mr. Cumming, who firſt projected the plan, afterwards ſolicited the armament, and finally ſuperintended the execution of it in perſon; a ſervice which muſt ever recommend him to the love and eſteem of his fellow-ſubjects, and ought certainly

tainly to procure him a handſome gratuity from his country.

Fort Louis being furniſhed with an Engliſh garriſon, and ſome armed veſſels left to guard the paſſage of the bar, at the mouth of the river, the great ſhips ſet ſail on an expedition, to the iſland of Goree, which lies at the diſtance of thirty leagues from Senegal. There the French company had conſiderable magazines and warehouſes, and lodged the negro-ſlaves until they could be ſhipped for the Weſt-Indies. If the additional force which Mr. Cumming propoſed for the conqueſt of this iſland had been added to the armament, in all probability, the iſland would have been reduced; and, in that caſe, the nation would have ſaved a conſiderable expence of a ſubſequent expedition againſt it, under the conduct of commodore Keppel. At preſent the ſhips, by which Goree was attacked, were found unequal to the attempt, and it miſcarried accordingly; though the miſcarriage was attended with little or no damage to the aſſailants.

However important the conqueſt of Senegal, it was of little conſequence in compariſon of the ſcenes which were acted in America, where, excluſive of the fleet and marines, the government had aſſembled about fifty thouſand men, including two and twenty thouſand regular troops. The earl of Loudon having returned to England, the chief command in America devolved to major-general Abercrombie; but as the objects of operation were various, the forces were divided into three ſeparate bodies, under as many different commanders. About twelve thouſand were deſtined to undertake the ſiege of Louiſbourg, on the iſland of Cape Breton. The general himſelf reſerved near ſixteen thouſand for the reduction of Crown Point, a fort ſituated on the lake Champlain; eight thouſand, under the conduct of brigadier-general Forbes, were allotted for the conqueſt of Fort du Queſne, which ſtood a great way to the ſouthward, near the river Ohio; and a conſiderable garriſon was left at Annapolis in Nova Scotia.

The reduction of Louiſbourg and the iſland of Cape Breton, being an object of immediate conſideration, was undertaken with all poſſible diſpatch. Major-general Amherſt being joined by admiral Boſcawen, with the fleet and forces from England, the whole armament, conſiſting of one hundred and fifty-ſeven ſail, took their departure from the harbour of Halifax, in Nova Scotia, on the twenty-eighth of May; and on the ſecond day of June part of the tranſports arrived in the bay of Gabarus, about ſeven miles to the weſtward of Louiſburgh. The garriſon of this place, commanded by the chevalier Drucour, conſiſted of two thouſand five hundred regular troops, three hundred militia, formed of the burghers, and towards the end of the ſiege they were joined by three hundred and fifty Canadians, including threeſcore Indians.

The harbour was defended by ſix ſhips of the line; the Prudent and Entreprenant, of ſeventy-four guns each; the Capricieux, Celebre, and Bienfaiſant, of ſixty-four; and the Apollo, of fifty. Beſides theſe, there were five frigates, the Chevre, Biche, Fidelle, Diana, and Eccho, three of which the enemy had ſunk acroſs the harbour's mouth, in order to render it inacceſſible to the Engliſh ſhipping. The fortifications were in bad repair, many parts of them crumbling down the covered way; ſeveral baſtions expoſed in ſuch a manner as to be enfiladed by the beſiegers, and no part of the town ſecure from the effects of cannonading and bombardment. The governor had taken all the precautions in his power to prevent a debarkation, by eſtabliſhing a chain of poſts, that extended two leagues and a half along the moſt acceſſible parts of the beach: intrenchments were thrown up, and batteries erected; but there were ſome intermediate places which could not be properly ſecured, and in one of theſe the Engliſh effected a landing.

The diſpoſition being made for this purpoſe, a detachment, in ſeveral ſloops, under convoy, paſſed by the mouth of the harbour towards Lorembec, in order to draw the enemy's attention that way, while the landing ſhould be really attempted on the other ſide of the town. On the eighth day of June, the troops being diſtributed in the boats before daybreak, in three diviſions, ſeveral ſloops and frigates, that were ſtationed along ſhore in the bay of Gabarus, began to ſcour the beach with their ſhot; and after the fire had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats, containing the diviſion on the left, were rowed towards the ſhore, under the command of brigadier-general Wolfe, an accompliſhed officer, who afterwards exhibited very extraordinary proofs of military genius.

At the ſame time the other two diviſions, on the right and in the centre, commanded by the brigadiers Whitmore and Laurence, made a ſhew of landing, in order to divide and diſtract the enemy. Notwithſtanding an impetuous ſurf, by which many boats were overſet, and a very ſevere fire of cannon and muſketry from the enemy's batteries, which did conſiderable execution, brigadier Wolfe purſued his point with equal courage and deliberation. The ſoldiers leaped into the water with the moſt eager alacrity, and gaining the ſhore, attacked the enemy in ſuch a furious manner, that in a few minutes they drove them from their works and batteries, and obliged them to fly with the utmoſt precipitation. The other diviſions landed alſo; but not without an obſtinate oppoſition: and the ſtores, with the artillery, being brought on ſhore, the town of Louiſbourg was formally inveſted.

The difficulty of landing ſtores and implements in boiſterous weather, and the nature of the ground, which, being marſhy, was unfit for the conveyance of heavy cannon, interrupted the operations of the ſiege; and Mr. Amherſt made his approaches with great circumſpection, ſecuring his camp with redoubts and epaulements from any attacks of the Canadians, of which he apprehended there was a conſiderable body behind him on the iſland, as well as from the fire of the French ſhipping in the harbour, which would otherwiſe have galled him extremely in his advances.

The governor of Louiſbourg having demoliſhed the grand battery, which was detached from the body of the place, and withdrawn his out-poſts, prepared for making a vigorous defence. A very ſevere fire, well directed, was maintained againſt the beſiegers, and their works, from the town, the iſland battery, and the ſhips in the harbour, and divers ſallies were made, though without much effect. In the mean time brigadier Wolfe, with a ſtrong detachment, had marched round the north-eaſt part of the harbour, and taken poſſeſſion of the

the Lighthouſe-point, where he erected ſeveral batteries againſt the ſhips and the iſland fortification, which laſt was ſoon ſilenced.

On the nineteenth day of June the Eccho, a French frigate, was taken by the Engliſh cruiſers, after having eſcaped from the harbour. From the officers on board this ſhip the admiral learned that the Bizarre, another frigate, had ſailed from thence on the day of the diſembarkation; and the Comete had likewiſe followed her example. Beſides the regular approaches to the town, conducted by the engineers under the immediate command and inſpection of general Amherſt, divers batteries were raiſed by the detached corps under brigadier Wolfe, who exerted himſelf with ſurpriſing activity, and grievouſly annoyed the enemy, both in the town and the ſhipping.

On the twenty-firſt day of July the three great ſhips, the Entreprenant, Capricieux, and Celebre, were ſet on fire by the bomb-ſhells, and reduced to aſhes; ſo that none remained but the Prudent and Bienfaiſant, which the admiral undertook to deſtroy. For this purpoſe, in the night between the twenty-fifth and twenty ſixth days of the month, the boats of the ſquadron were in two diviſions detached into the harbour, under the command of two young captains, Laforey and Balſour. They accordingly penetrated, in the dark, through a terrible fire of cannon and muſquetry, and boarded the enemy ſword in hand. The Prudent, being aground, was ſet on fire, and deſtroyed; but the Bienfaiſant was towed out of the harbour in triumph.

In the proſecution of the ſiege the admiral and general aſſiſted each other with remarkable harmony; the former chearfully furniſhing the latter with cannon, and other implements, with detachments of marines to ſecure the poſts on ſhore, and with parties of ſeamen to act as pioneers, and concur in working the guns and mortars. The fire of the town was managed with equal ſpirit and dexterity, and kept up with great perſeverance; until, at length, their ſhipping being all taken and deſtroyed, the caſerns ruined in the two principal baſtions, forty out of fifty-two pieces of cannon diſmounted, broke, or rendered unſerviceable, and ſeveral practicable breaches effected, the governor, in a letter to Mr. Amherſt, propoſed a capitulation, on the ſame terms that were granted to the Engliſh at Portmahon.

In anſwer to this propoſal he was told, that he and his garriſon muſt ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, otherwiſe he might next morning expect a general aſſault by the ſhipping under admiral Boſcawen. The chevalier Drucour, piqued at the ſeverity of theſe conditions, replied, that, rather than comply with them, he would ſtand an aſſault; but the commiſſary-general, and intendant of the colony, preſented a petition from the traders and inhabitants of the place, in conſequence of which he ſubmitted. On the twenty-ſeventh day of July three companies of grenadiers, commanded by major Farquhar, took poſſeſſion of the weſtern gate; and brigadier Whitmore was ſent into the town, to ſee the garriſon lay down their arms and deliver up their colours on the eſplanade, and to poſt the neceſſary guards on the ſtores, magazines, and ramparts.

Thus, with the inconſiderable loſs of about four hundred men killed or wounded, the Engliſh obtained poſſeſſion of the important iſland of Cape Breton, and the ſtrong town of Louiſbourg, in which the victors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, with eighteen mortars, and a large quantity of ſtores and ammunition. The merchants and inhabitants were conveyed to France in Engliſh bottoms; but the garriſon, together with the ſea-officers, marines, and mariners, amounting in all to five thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſeven priſoners, were tranſported to England.

The loſs of Louiſbourg gave a fatal blow to the French intereſt in America, and facilitated the reduction of their other ſettlements in that part of the world. An account of the affair was immediately brought to England, in a veſſel diſpatched for that purpoſe, with captain Amherſt, brother to the commander; who was alſo intruſted with eleven pair of colours taken at the ſiege. Theſe were, by his majeſty's order, carried in great parade, eſcorted by detachments of horſe and foot guards, with kettle-drums and trumpets, from the palace of Kenſington to St. Paul's cathedral, where they were depoſited as trophies of victory, under a diſcharge of cannon, and other ſuitable expreſſions of triumph and exultation. Nor were the rejoicings for this conqueſt confined to London: addreſſes of congratulation were preſented to his majeſty by almoſt every town and corporation in the kingdom.

After the reduction of Cape Breton, ſome ſhips were detached with a body of troops, under the command of lieutenant-colonel lord Rollo, to take poſſeſſion of the iſland of St. John, which alſo lies in the gulph of St. Laurence, and, by its fertility in corn and cattle, had, ſince the beginning of the war, ſupplied Quebec with conſiderable quantities of proviſion. It was likewiſe the aſylum to which the French neutrals of Annapolis fled for ſhelter, from the Engliſh government; and the retreat from whence they and the Indians uſed to make their ſudden incurſions into Nova Scotia, where they committed the moſt inhuman barbarities on the defenceleſs ſubjects of Great Britain.

The number of inhabitants amounted to four thouſand one hundred, who ſubmitted, and brought in their arms: then lord Rollo took poſſeſſion of the governor's quarters, where he found ſeveral ſcalps of Engliſhmen, whom the ſavages had butchered in conſequence of the encouragement they received from their French patrons and allies, who gratified them with a certain ſum for every ſcalp they produced. The iſland was ſtocked with above ten thouſand head of black cattle, and ſome of the farmers raiſed each twelve hundred buſhels of corn annually for the market of Quebec.

The joy and ſatisfaction ariſing from the conqueſt of Louiſbourg and St. John was not a little damped by the diſaſter which happened to the main body of the Britiſh forces in America, under the immediate direction of general Abercrombie, who, as we have already remarked, had propoſed the reduction of the French forts on the lakes George and Champlain, as the chief objects of his operation, with a view to protect the frontier of the Britiſh colonies, and open a paſſage for the future conqueſt of Canada.

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In the beginning of July his forces, amounting to near ſeven thouſand regular troops, and ten thouſand provincials, embarked on the Lake George, in the neighbourhood of Lake Champlain, on board of nine hundred batteaus, and one hundred and thirty-five whale boats with proviſion, artillery, and ammunition; ſeveral pieces of cannon being mounted on rafts to cover the purpoſed landing, which was next day effected without oppoſition. The general's deſign was to attack Ticonderoga, a fort ſituated on a tongue of land extending between Lake George and a narrow gut that communicates with the Lake Champlain. This fortification was, on three ſides, encompaſſed with water, and in front nature had ſecured it with a moraſs.

The Engliſh troops being landed, were immediately marſhalled in three columns, and began their march to the enemy's advanced guard, conſiſting of one battalion, encamped behind a breaſtwork of logs, which they now abandoned with precipitation, after having ſet it on fire, and burned their tents and implements. The Britiſh forces proſecuted their march in the ſame order; but the route lying through a thick wood that did not admit of any regular progreſſion or paſſage, and the guides proving extremely ignorant, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken by falling in one upon another.

Lord Howe being advanced at the head of the right center column, encountered a French detachment, who had likewiſe loſt their way in their retreat from the advanced guard, and a warm ſkirmiſh enſued. The diſpute was maintained for ſome time with great obſtinacy on both ſides; nor did the enemy give way until they had loſt about three hundred killed, and one hundred and forty-eight taken priſoners, including five officers. This petty advantage, however, was dearly purchaſed with the loſs of lord Howe, who fell in the beginning of the action, univerſally lamented, as a young nobleman of the moſt promiſing talents, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a peculiar manner by his courage, activity, and rigid obſervation of military diſcipline, and had gained the eſteem and affection of the ſoldiery by his generoſity, humanity, and engaging addreſs.

The general finding the troops greatly exhauſted, from want of proper reſt and refreſhment, thought it moſt adviſable to march back to the landing-place, where they accordingly arrived about eight in the morning. Then he detached lieutenant-colonel Bradſtreet with one regular regiment, ſix companies of Royal Americans, the batteau men, and a body of rangers, to take poſſeſſion of a ſaw-mill in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had deſerted.

This poſt being ſecured, the general advanced again towards Ticonderoga, where he learned from the priſoners the enemy had collected eight battalions, with a body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in all to ſix thouſand. Theſe, they ſaid, being encamped before the fort, were employed in forming a ſtrong intrenchment, where they intended to wait for a reinforcement of three thouſand men, which had been detached under the command of M. de Levi, to make a diverſion on the ſide of the Mohawk river; but upon the news of Mr. Abercrombie's approach, were now recalled for the defence of Ticonderoga.

This information determined the Engliſh general to ſtrike, if poſſible, ſome deciſive ſtroke before the junction could be effected. He therefore early next morning detached his engineer acroſs the river on the oppoſite ſide of the fort, to take a view of the enemy's intrenchments; and this officer reported, that the works being ſtill unfiniſhed, might be attempted with a good proſpect of ſucceſs. A diſpoſition was made accordingly for the attack; and after proper guards had been left at the ſaw-mill and the landing-place, the whole army was put in motion.

They advanced with great intrepidity towards the intrenchments, which, however, they found impregnable. The breaſtworſt was no leſs than eight feet high, and the ground before it covered with felled trees, with their boughs pointing outwards, projecting in ſuch a manner as to render the intrenchment almoſt inacceſſible. Notwithſtanding theſe ſeemingly inſuperable difficulties, the Britiſh troops marched up to the aſſault with an undaunted reſolution, and ſuſtained a terrible fire from the enemy's muſquetry and cannon. They endeavoured to cut their way, ſword in hand, through theſe embaraſſments; and ſome of them even mounted the parapet; but the enemy were ſo well covered, that they could deliberately take aim without the leaſt danger to themſelves: the carnage was therefore great, and the troops began to fall into confuſion, after ſeveral repeated attacks, which laſted above four hours, under the moſt diſadvantageous circumſtances.

The general by this time plainly perceived that no hope of ſucceſs remained; and in order to prevent a total defeat, reſolved to retreat with his army, which retired unmoleſted to their former camp, with the loſs of about eighteen hundred men killed or wounded, including a great number of officers. Every corps of regular troops exerted themſelves on this unfortunate occaſion with remarkable bravery; but the greateſt loſs was ſuſtained by lord John Murray's regiment, of which above one half of the private men, and twenty-five officers, were either ſlain upon the ſpot, or deſperately wounded.

Mr. Abercrombie, unwilling to ſtay in the neighbourhood of the enemy, with forces which had received ſuch a ſevere check, retired to the batteaus, and reimbarking his troops, returned to the camp at Lake George, from whence he had taken his departure. The public were very free in their cenſures upon the conduct of this general. He was commended indeed for drawing off his men from a deſperate attack, in which they were expoſed to the fire of an enemy who lay ſecure in impregnable intrenchments: but his ordering his troops to ſtorm ſuch a camp without artillery, when he had a ſufficient train for that ſervice; his never advancing in perſon to the field of battle, when his preſence was ſo indiſpenſibly neceſſary, but remaining at the ſaw-mills, two miles from the ſcene of action; his flying from the neighbourhood of an enemy who never amounted to above three thouſand; and to whom he would have been ſuperior, even though they had been joined by the expected reinforcements: in theſe and many other reſpects he is ſaid to have acted in a manner very unbecoming the character of a good general.

He might, it was affirmed, have remained on the ſpot, in order to execute ſome other enterprize

when he ſhould be reinforced in his turn; for general Amherſt no ſooner heard of his diſaſter than he returned with the troops from Cape Breton to New England, after having left a ſtrong garriſon at Louiſbourg. At the head of ſix regiments he began his march to Albany, about the middle of September, in order to join the forces on the lake, that they might undertake ſome other ſervice before the ſeaſon ſhould be exhauſted.

In the mean time, general Abercrombie had detached lieutenant-colonel Bradſtreet with a body of three thouſand men, chiefly provincials, to execute a plan which this officer had formed againſt Cadaraqui, or Fort Frontenac, ſituated on the north ſide of the river St. Laurence, juſt where it takes its riſe from the Lake Ontario. To the ſide of this lake he advanced with his detachment; and embarking in ſome ſloops and batteaus provided for the purpoſe, landed within a mile of Fort Frontenac, the garriſon of which, conſiſting of one hundred and ten men, with a few Indians, immediately ſurrendered priſoners of war. In this fortreſs, which commanded the mouth of the river St. Laurence, and ſerved as a magazine to the more ſouthern caſtles, Mr. Bradſtreet found ſixty pieces of cannon, ſixteen ſmall mortars, with an immenſe quantity of merchandize and proviſions, depoſited for the uſe of the French forces detached againſt brigadier Forbes, their weſtern garriſons, and Indian allies, as well as for the ſubſiſtence of the corps commanded by M. de Levi, on his enterprize againſt the Mohawk river.

This fort he not only reduced without bloodſhed, but alſo made himſelf maſter of all the enemy's ſhipping on the lake, amounting to nine armed veſſels, ſome of which carried eighteen guns. Two of theſe Mr. Bradſtreet conveyed to Oſwego, whither he returned with his troops, after he had deſtroyed Fort Frontenac, with all the artillery, ſtores, proviſion, and merchandize, which it contained. By this loſs the French troops to the ſouthward were expoſed to the hazard of ſtarving; but it is not eaſy to conceive the general's reaſon for giving orders to abandon and deſtroy a fort which, if properly ſtrengthened and ſuſtained, might have rendered the Engliſh maſters of the Lake Ontario, and grievouſly incommoded the enemy, both in their commerce and expeditions to the weſtward.

Mean while the expedition againſt Fort du Queſne was proſecuted with great activity by brigadier Forbes, who with his little army began his march on the thirtieth day of June, from Philadelphia for the river Ohio, a prodigious track of country very little known, deſtitute of military roads, incumbered with mountains, moraſſes, and woods, that were almoſt impaſſable. It was not without incredible difficulty that he procured proviſions and carriages for this expedition, formed new roads, extended ſcouting parties, ſecured camps, and ſurmounted many other obſtructions in the courſe of his tedious march, during which he was alſo harraſſed by ſmall detachments of the enemy's Indians.

Having advanced with the main body as far as Ray's Town, at the diſtance of ninety miles from Fort du Queſne, and ſent before him colonel Bouquet with two thouſand men, about fifty miles farther, to a place called Lyal-Henning, this officer detached major Grant at the head of eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the fort and its outworks. The enemy obſerving his approach, ſent a body of troops againſt him ſufficient to ſurround his whole detachment: a very warm action began: the Engliſh maintained it with their uſual courage for three hours againſt cruel odds; but at length, being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to give way, and retired in diſorder to Lyal Henning, with the loſs of about three hundred men killed or taken, including major Grant, who was carried priſoner to Fort du Queſne, and nineteen officers.

Notwithſtanding this ſevere check, brigadier Forbes advanced with the army, determined to proſecute his operations with the utmoſt vigour; but the enemy dreading the proſpect of a ſiege, diſmantled and abandoned the fort, and retired down the river Ohio, to their ſettlements on the Miſſiſippi. They deſerted the fort on the twenty-fourth of November, and next day it was occupied by the Britiſh forces. As for the Indians of this country, they ſeemed heartily to renounce their connections with France, and ſubmitted to the dominion of his Britannic majeſty.

Brigadier Forbes having repaired the fort, changed its name from Du Queſne to Pittſburg, furniſhed it with a garriſon of Provincials, and concluded treaties of friendſhip and alliance with the Indian tribes. Then he marched back to Philadelphia, and in his return built a blockhouſe near Lyal Henning, for the protection of Penſylvania; but he himſelf did not long ſurvive theſe tranſactions: his conſtitution having been broken by the incredible fatigues he had undergone, he died ſoon after, univerſally regretted.

Thus have we given a particular account of all the remarkable events that happened during this campaign on the continent of America. The reader will be convinced, that notwithſtanding the defeat at Ticonderoga, and the diſaſter of the advanced party in the neighbourhood of Fort du Queſne, the arms of Great Britain acquired many important advantages, and indeed paved the way for the reduction of Quebec, and conqueſt of all Canada. In the mean time, the admirals Boſcawen and Hardy, having left a conſiderable ſquadron at Halifax in Nova Scotia, returned with four ſhips of the line to England, where they arrived in the beginning of November, after having given chace to ſix large French ſhips which they diſcovered to the weſtward of Scilly, but could not overtake or bring to an engagement.

The Engliſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa being deemed inſecure whilſt France kept poſſeſſion of the iſland of Goree, the miniſtry of Great Britain reſolved to crown the campaign in this part of the world with the reduction of that fortreſs. For this purpoſe commodore Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle, was veſted with the command of a ſquadron, conſiſting of four ſhips of the line, ſeveral frigates, two bomb-ketches, and ſome tranſports, having on board ſeven hundred regular troops, commanded by colonel Worge, and embarked in the harbour of Corke in Ireland, from whence this whole armament took their departure on the eleventh of November.

After a difficult and dangerous paſſage, in which they touched at the iſland of Teneriffe, they arrived

at Goree in the latter end of December, and the commodore made a diſpoſition for attacking this iſland, which was remarkably ſtrong by nature, but very indifferently fortified. Goree is a ſmall barren iſland, extending about three quarters of a mile in length, of a triangular form, and on the ſouth-weſt ſide riſing into a rocky hill, on which the ſmall fort of St. Michael is ſituated. There is another, ſtill more conſiderable, called St. Francis, towards the other extremity of the iſland; and ſeveral batteries were raiſed around its circumference, mounted with about one hundred pieces of cannon and four mortars. The French governor, M de St. Jean, had great plenty of ammunition, and his garriſon amounted to three hundred men, excluſive of as many negro inhabitants.

The flat-bottomed boats for landing the troops being hoiſted out, and ranged along-ſide of the different tranſports, the commodore ſtationed his ſhips on the weſt ſide of the iſland, and the engagement began with a ſhell from one of the ketches. This was a ſignal for the great ſhips, which poured in their broadſides without intermiſſion, and the fire was returned with equal vivacity from all the batteries of the iſland. In the courſe of the action, the cannonading from the ſhips became ſo ſevere and terrible, that the French garriſon fled from their quarters in ſpite of all the efforts of the governor, who endeavoured to keep them to their duty; but was obliged to ſtrike his colours, and ſurrender at diſcretion, after a ſhort but warm diſpute, in which the loſs of the Britiſh forces hardly amounted to one hundred men killed and wounded.

The ſucceſs of the day was the more extraordinary, as the French garriſon had not loſt a man, except one negro killed by the burſting of a bomb-ſhell, and the number of their wounded was very inconſiderable. The enemy's colours being ſtruck, as a ſignal of ſubmiſſion, the commodore ſent a detachment of marines on ſhore, who diſarmed the garriſon, and hoiſted the Britiſh flag upon the caſtle of St. Michael. In the mean time, the governor and the reſt of the priſoners were diſtributed among the ſhipping. Thus the important iſland of Goree fell into the hands of the Engliſh, together with two trading veſſels that happened to be at anchor in the road; and ſtores, money, and merchandize, to the value of twenty thouſand pounds.

Part of the troops being left in garriſon at Goree, under the command of major Newton, together with three ſloops for his ſervice; the ſquadron being watered and refreſhed from the continent, that part of which is governed by one of the Jalof kings; and the priſoners with their baggage being diſpatched in three cartel-ſhips to France, the commodore ſet ſail for Senegal, and reinforced Fort Louis with the reſt of the troops under colonel Worge, who was about this time favoured with a viſit by the king of Legibelli. Great pains were taken by the colonel to ſecure the friendſhip of this potentate, though he could not comply with all his requeſts, inaſmuch as he deſired him to eſpouſe his cauſe againſt ſome of the neighbouring nations; a favour which he could by no means grant, with any regard to the intereſt of his country.

Commodore Keppel having reduced Goree, and reinforced the garriſon at Senegal, returned to England, where all his ſhips arrived, after a very tempeſtuous voyage, in which the ſquadron had been diſperſed.

This expedition, however ſucceſsful in the main, was attended with one misfortune, namely, the loſs of the Litchfield ſhip of war, commanded by captain Barton, which, together with one tranſport and bomb-tender, was wrecked on the coaſt of Barbary, about nine leagues to the northward of Saffy, in the dominions of Morocca. One hundred and thirty men, including ſeveral officers, periſhed on this occaſion; but the captain and the reſt of the company, to the number of two hundred and twenty, made ſhift to gain the ſhore, where they ran the riſque of ſtarving, and were cruelly uſed by the natives, although a treaty of peace at that time ſubſiſted between Great Britain and Morocco: nay, they were even enſlaved by the emperor, who detained them in captivity until they were ranſomed by the Britiſh government.

The incidents of the war that happened in the Weſt Indies, during theſe tranſactions, were neither numerous nor important. Nothing of conſequence was atchieved in the neighbourhood of Jamaica, where admiral Cotes commanded a ſmall ſquadron, from which he detached cruiſers occaſionally for the protection of the Britiſh commerce; and at Antigua the trade was effectually ſecured by the vigilance of captain Tyrrel, an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit.

In the month of March this gentleman, with his own ſhip the Buckingham, and the Cambridge, another of the line, deſtroyed a fort on the iſland of Martinique, and ſunk four privateers riding under its protection: but his valour was much more eminently diſplayed in a ſubſequent engagement, which happened in the month of November. Being detached on a cruiſe in his own ſhip the Buckingham by commodore Moore, who commanded at the Leeward Iſlands, he fell in with the Weſel ſloop, commanded by captain Boles, between the iſlands of Montſerrat and Guadalupe, and immediately diſcovered a fleet of nineteen ſail, under convoy of a French ſhip of war carrying ſeventy-four cannon, and two large frigates.

Captain Tyrrel immediately gave chace with all the ſail he could carry; and the Wezel, running cloſe to the enemy, received a whole broadſide from the large ſhip, which however ſhe ſuſtained without much damage: nevertheleſs, Mr. Tyrrel ordered her commander to keep aloof, as he could not be ſuppoſed able to bear the ſhock of large metal, and he himſelf prepared for the engagement. The enemy's large ſhip, the Floriſſant, though of much greater force than the Buckingham, inſtead of waiting her approach, made a running fight with her ſtern-chace, while the two frigates harraſſed him in his courſe, ſometimes raking him fore and aft, and ſometimes lying on his quarter.

At length he came along-ſide of the Floriſſant, within piſtol-ſhot, and poured in a whole broadſide, which did conſiderable execution. The ſalutation was returned with equal vivacity, and a furious engagement enſued. Captain Tyrrel was wounded in the face, and loſt three fingers of his right hand; ſo that being entirely diſabled, he was obliged to transfer the command of the ſhip to his firſt lieutenant, Mr. Marſhal, who continued the battle

battle with great gallantry until he loſt his life: then the charge devolved to the ſecond lieutenant, who acquitted himſelf with equal bravery, and ſuſtained a deſperate fight againſt the three ſhips of the enemy.

The officers and crew of the Buckingham exerted themſelves with equal vigour and deliberation; and captain Troy, who commanned a detachment of marines on the poop, plied his ſmall arms ſo effectually as to drive the French from their quarters. At length confuſion, terror, and uproar, prevailing on board the Floriſſant, her firing ceaſed, and her colours were hauled down about the twilight: but her commander, obſerving that the Buckingham was too much damaged in her rigging to purſue with any hope of ſucceſs, ordered all his ſails to be ſet, and eſcaped in the dark with his two conſorts. Nothing but this circumſtance could have prevented a Britiſh ſhip of ſixty-five guns, containing but four hundred and ſeventy-two men, from taking a French ſhip of the line, mounted with ſeventy-four pieces of cannon, provided with ſeven hundred men, and aſſiſted by two large frigates, one of thirty-eight, and the other of twenty-eight guns.

The loſs of the Buckingham in this action did not exceed fifty men in killed and wounded; whereas the number of the ſlain on board the Floriſſant did not fall ſhort of one hundred and eighty, and that of her wounded is ſaid to have amounted to above three hundred. She was ſo diſabled in her hull that ſhe could hardly be kept above water, until ſhe reached Martinique, where ſhe was repaired; and the largeſt frigate, together with the loſs of forty men, ſuſtained ſuch damage as to be for ſome time quite unfit for ſervice.

The military tranſactions in the Eaſt Indies were chequered with a variety of fortune; but, on the whole, the deſigns of the enemy were entirely diſappointed. The French king had ſent a conſiderable reinforcement to that part of the world, under the command of general Lally, an officer of Iriſh extraction, together with ſuch a number of ſhips as rendered the ſquadron of M. d'Apché ſuperior to that of admiral Pocock, who had ſucceeded admiral Watſon, lately deceaſed, in the command of the Engliſh fleet ſtationed on the coaſt of Coromandel, which in the beginning of this year was joined by ſeveral ſhips from England, under the direction of commodore Stevens.

Immediately after this junction, which was effected in the road of Madras on the twenty-fifth of March, admiral Pocock, who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage, vigilance, and conduct, proceeded to windward, with a view to intercept the French ſquadron, of which he had received intelligence. In two days he diſcovered in the road of Fort St. David the enemy's fleet, conſiſting of nine ſhips, which immediately ſtood out to ſea, and formed the line of battle a-head. The admiral took the ſame precaution, and bearing down upon M. d'Apché, the engagement began about three in the afternoon.

The French commodore having maintained a warm fight for about two hours, bore away with his whole fleet; and being reinforced by two ſhips, formed a line of battle again to leeward. Admiral Pocock's own ſhip and three others being greatly diſabled in their maſts and rigging, two of his captains having miſbehaved in the action, and night coming on, he did not think proper to purſue them with all the ſail he could carry; nevertheleſs he followed them at a proper diſtance, ſtanding to the ſouth-weſt, in order to preſerve the weather-gage, in caſe he ſhould have an opportunity to renew the action in the morning.

In this expectation, however, he was diſappointed: the enemy ſhewed no lights, nor made any ſignals that could be obſerved; and in the morning they had entirely diſappeared. Mr. Pocock, on the ſuppoſition that they had weathered him in the night, endeavoured to work up after them to windward; but finding he loſt ground conſiderably, he dropped anchor about three leagues to the northward of Sadras, and received intelligence from the chief of that ſettlement, that one of the largeſt French ſhips having been greatly damaged in the engagement, was run aſhore to the ſouthward of Alamparve, where their whole ſquadron lay at anchor.

Such was the iſſue of the firſt action between the Engliſh and French ſquadrons in the Eaſt Indies, which, over and above the loſs of a capital ſhip, is ſaid to have coſt the enemy about five hundred men, whereas the Britiſh admiral did not loſe one fifth part of that number. Being diſſatisfied with the behaviour of three of his captains, he no ſooner returned to Madraſs than he appointed a court-martial to enquire into their conduct; in conſequence of which two of them were diſmiſſed from that ſervice, and the third was ſentenced to loſe one year's rank as a poſt captain.

In the mean time Mr. Lally had landed his troops at Pondicherry, and taking the field, immediately laid ſiege to Fort St. David, while the French blocked it up by ſea. Two Engliſh ſhips being at anchor in the road when the enemy arrived, their captains ſeeing no poſſibility of eſcaping, ran them on ſhore, ſet them on fire, and retired with their men into the fort, which however was in a few days ſurrendered.

Admiral Pocock having, to the beſt of his power, refitted his ſhattered ſhips, ſet ſail again on the tenth of May, in order to attempt the relief of Fort St. David's; but, notwithſtanding his utmoſt endeavours, he could not reach it in time to be of any ſervice. On the thirtieth day of the month he arrived in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, from whence the French ſquadron ſtood away early next morning; nor was it in his power by any means to overtake them, though he made all poſſible efforts for that purpoſe. Then receiving intelligence that Fort St. David's was ſurrendered to the enemy, he ſailed back again to Madraſs, in order to refreſh his ſquadron.

On the twenty-fifth of July he ſet ſail a third time in queſt of M. d'Apché, and in two days diſcovered his ſquadron, conſiſting of eight ſhips of the line and a frigate, at anchor in the road of Pondicherry. They no ſooner perceived him approaching than they ſtood out to ſea as before, and he continued to chace in hope of bringing them to an engagement; but all his endeavours proved ineffectual till the third day of Auguſt, when having gained the weather-gage, he bore down upon them in order of battle.

The engagement began with great fury on both ſides; but in little more than ten minutes M. d'Apché

ſet his foreſail and bore away, his whole ſquadron following his example, and maintaining a running fight in a very irregular line. The Britiſh admiral then made a ſignal for a general chace, which the enemy obſerving, thought proper to cut away their boats, and croud with all the ſail they could carry. They eſcaped by favour of the night into the road of Pondicherry, and Mr. Pocock anchored with his ſquadron off Carical, a French ſettlement, having thus obtained an undiſputed victory, with the loſs of thirty men killed, and one hundred and ſixteen wounded, including commodore Stevens and captain Martin, though their wounds were not dangerous.

The number of killed and wounded on board of the French ſquadron amounted, according to report, to five hundred and forty; and their ſhips were ſo much ſhattered, that in the beginning of September their commodore ſailed for the iſlands of Bourbon, in the ſame latitude with Madagaſcar, in order to refit; thus leaving the dominion and ſovereignty of the Indian ſeas to the Engliſh admiral, whoſe fleet, from the beginning of this campaign, had been much inferior to the French ſquadron in number of ſhips and men, as well as in weight of metal.

Mr. Lally, having made himſelf maſter of Cudalore and Fort St. David's, reſolved to extort a ſum of money from the king of Tanjour, on pretence that, in the laſt war, he had given an obligation to the French governor, for a certain ſum which had never been paid. Accordingly, he advanced with a body of three thouſand men into the dominions of Tanjour, and demanded ſeventy-two lack of rupees. This extravagant demand being rejected, he plundered Nagare, a trading town on the ſea coaſt, and afterwards laid ſiege to the capital; but after he had proſecuted his operations until a breach was made in the walls, his proviſions and ammunition beginning to fail, ſeveral vigorous ſallies being made by the forces of the king of Tanjour, and the place well defended by European gunners, ſent from the Engliſh garriſon at Trichenopoli, he found himſelf obliged to abandon the enterprize and retreat in a hurry, with the loſs of his artillery.

He arrived at Carical about the middle of Auguſt, and from thence returned to Pondicherry towards the latter end of September. He afterwards quartered his troops in the province of Arcot, took poſſeſſion of the city without the leaſt reſiſtance, and began to make preparations for the ſiege of Madraſs, which ſhall be recorded among the tranſactions of the enſuing year. In the mean time, the land forces belonging to the Eaſt India company were ſo much out-numbered by the reinforcements which arrived with Mr. Lally, that they could not pretend to make head againſt the enemy, but were obliged to remain on the defenſive, and provide as well as they could for the ſecurity of Fort St. George, and the other ſettlements in that part of India.

Having thus related, with as much preciſion as is conſiſtent with perſpicuity, the events of the war in Europe, America, Africa, and Aſia, I ſhall cloſe the foreign tranſactions of this year with laying before the reader ſome account of the ſtate, as well as hiſtory, of the different courts of Europe at the end of the campaign. I have formerly obſerved, that the events of the campaign in Germany produced no change in the political ſyſtems adopted by the different princes on the continent.

The king of Spain wiſely continued to adhere to that neutrality which he had hitherto obſerved, notwithſtanding the intrigues of the French partizans at the court of Madrid, who endeavoured to alarm his jealouſy by the conqueſts which the Engliſh had projected in America.

The king of Sardinia ſagaciouſly kept aloof, reſolving, in imitation of his predeceſſors, to preſerve his power on a reſpectable footing, and be ready to take advantage of all opportunities to extend and promote the intereſt of his crown, and the commerce of his ſubjects.

As for the king of Portugal, he had prudently embraced the ſame maxims of forbearance; but in the latter end of the ſeaſon his attention was ingroſſed by a domeſtic incident of a very extraordinary nature. Whether he had, by particular inſtances of ſeverity, provoked the reſentment of certain individuals, or exerciſed his dominion in ſuch acts of arbitrary power as excited a general ſpirit of diſaffection among his nobility; or, laſtly, by the vigorous meaſures purſued againſt the encroaching jeſuits in Paraguay, and their correſpondents in Portugal, had expoſed himſelf to the hatred of that ſociety, I ſhall not pretend to determine: perhaps all theſe motives concurred in giving birth to a conſpiracy againſt his life, which was actually executed at this juncture with the moſt deſperate reſolution.

On the third day of September the king, according to cuſtom, going out in a carriage to take the air, attended by one domeſtic, was, in the night, at a ſolitary place near Belem, attacked by three men on horſeback, armed with blunderbuſſes, one of whom fired his piece at the coachman without effect. The man, however, terrified both on his own account and that of his ſovereign, drove the mules at full ſpeed; a circumſtance which, in ſome meaſure, diſconcerted the other two conſpirators, who purſued him at full gallop; and having no leiſure to take aim, diſcharged their pieces at random through the back of the carriage. The ſlugs with which they were loaded happened to paſs between the king's right arm and his breaſt, dilacerating the parts from the ſhoulder to the elbow, but without damaging the bone, or penetrating into the cavity of the body.

Finding himſelf grievouſly wounded, and the blood flowing apace, he, with ſuch preſence of mind as cannot be ſufficiently admired, inſtead of proceeding to the palace, which was at ſome diſtance, ordered the coachman to return to Junqueira, where his principal ſurgeon reſided, and there his wounds were immediately dreſſed. By this reſolution, he not only prevented the irreparable miſchief that might have ariſen from an exceſſive effuſion of blood, but, without all doubt, ſaved his life from the hands of other aſſaſſins poſted on the road to accompliſh the murder, in caſe he ſhould eſcape alive from the firſt attack. This inſtance of the king's recollection was magnified into a miracle, on the ſuppoſition that it muſt have been the effect of divine inſpiration; and indeed, among a people addicted to ſuperſtition, might well paſs for a favourable interpoſition of Providence.

The king being thus disabled in his right arm, bestowed, by a public decree, the absolute power of government upon the queen his consort. In the mean time, no person had access to his presence but herself, the first minister, the cardinal de Saldanha, the physicians, and surgeons. An embargo was immediately laid on all the shipping in the port of Lisbon. Rewards were publicly offered, together with a promise of pardon to the accomplices, for discovering any of the assassins; and such other measures taken, that in a little time the whole conspiracy was unfolded: a conspiracy the more dangerous, as it appeared to have been formed by persons of the first quality and influence.

The duke de Aveiro, of the family of Mascarenhas; the marquis de Tavora, who had been viceroy of Goa, and now actually enjoyed the commission of general of the horse; the count de Attouguia, the marquis de Alloria, together with their wives, children, and whole families, were arrested immediately after the assassination, as principals in the design; and many other accomplices, including some jesuits, were apprehended in the sequel. The further particulars relating to this affair, with the fate of the conspirators, shall be related among the transactions of the ensuing year. At present it will be sufficient to observe, that the king's wounds were productive of no bad consequences; nor did the imprisonment of the conspirators occasion any disturbance in the kingdom.

The internal tranquility of France continued to be disturbed by the disputes between the parliaments and clergy, concerning the bull Unigenitus. In vain the king had exerted his authority; first proposing an accommodation; then commanding the parliaments to desist from taking cognizance of a religious contest, which did not fall under their jurisdiction; and, thirdly, banishing their persons, and annulling their power. He afterwards found it necessary to recal and reinstate those venerable patriots; and, being convinced of the intolerable insolence and turbulent spirit of the archbishop of Paris, had exiled that prelate in his turn.

He was no sooner restored to his function than he resumed his former conduct, touching the denial of sacraments to those who refused to acknowledge the bull Unigenitus. He even acted with redoubled zeal; intrigued with the other prelates; caballed among the inferior clergy; and not only revived, but augmented the troubles throughout the whole kingdom. Bishops, curates, and monks, presumed to with-hold spiritual consolation from persons in extremity, and were punished by the civil power. Other parliaments of the kingdom followed the example set them by that of Paris, in asserting their authority and privileges. The king commanded them to desist, on pain of incurring his displeasure: they remonstrated and persevered; while the archbishop repeated his injunctions and censures, and continued to inflame the dispute to such a dangerous degree, that he was given to understand he should be again obliged to quit the capital, if he did not proceed with more moderation.

These domestic disputes, however, did not prevent the French ministry from concerting proper measures to prosecute the war in Europe and America. In the course of this year they had not only considerably reinforced their armies in Germany, but made surprising efforts to supply the colony of Canada with troops, artillery, stores, and ammunition, for its defence against the operations of the British forces, which greatly outnumbered the French upon that continent. The court of Versailles employed every stratagem to elude the vigilance of the British cruisers. The ships destined for America they detached, both single and in covoys, sometimes from the Mediterranean, sometimes from their harbours in the Channel. They assembled transports in one port, in order to divert the attention of the English from another where their convoys lay ready for sailing; and in boisterous weather, when the British men of war could no longer block up their harbours, their store ships came forth, and hazarded the voyage for the relief of their American settlements.

Those that had the good fortune to arrive on the coast of that continent were obliged to have recourse to different expedients for escaping the British squadrons stationed at Halifax, or cruising in the bay of St. Laurence. They either ventured to enter the river, before it was clear of the ice, so early in the spring, that the English had not yet left the harbour of Nova Scotia; or they waited on the coast of Newfoundland for such thick fogs as might screen them from the notice of the British commanders in sailing up the gulph; or, lastly, they penetrated through the Streights of Belleisle; a dangerous passage, which however led them directly into the river St. Laurence, at a considerable distance above the station of the English squadron.

Though the French navy was by this time so diminished, that it could neither cope with the English by sea, nor furnish proper convoys for their commerce; this circumstance did not hinder the ministry of that kingdom from alarming Great Britain with the fears of an invasion. Flat-bottomed boats were built, transports collected, large ships of war equipped, and troops ordered to assemble on the coast for embarkation: but this was no more than a feint to excite the apprehensions of the English, embarrass the administration, prejudice the national credit, and deter the government from sending forces to Germany, to prosecute the war in that quarter.

A much more effectual method they took to distress the trade of England, by laying up their useless ships of war, and encouraging of stout privateers, that did considerable damage to the commerce of Great Britain and Ireland, by cruising in the seas of Europe and America. Some of them lay close in the harbours of the Channel, fronting the coast of England, and darted out occasionally on the trading ships of this nation, as they received intelligence from boats employed for that purpose. Some chose their station in the North Sea, where a great number of captures were made upon the coast of Scotland: others cruised in the chops of the Channel, and even to the westward of Ireland; but the far greater number scoured the seas in the neighbourhood of the Leeward Islands in the West Indies, where they took a prodigious number of British ships sailing to and from the sugar colonies, and carried them to their own settlements in Martinique, Guadalupe, or St. Domingo.

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The Dutch ſtill continued to perſevere in the ſame baſe and diſingenuous conduct which they had invariably obſerved ſince the commencement of the war. I have, in the beginning of this year's tranſactions, remarked, that a great number of their ſhips were taken by the Engliſh cruizers, and condemned as legal prizes, for having French property on board: that the Dutch merchants, enraged at their loſſes, exclaimed againſt the Engliſh as pirates and robbers, petitioned the States for redreſs in very high terms, and even loudly clamoured for a war againſt Great Britain.

The charge of violence and injuſtice which they brought againſt the Engliſh, for taking and confiſcating the ſhips that tranſported to Europe the produce of the French in the Weſt Indies, they founded on the tenth article of a treaty of commerce between Great Britain and the States-general of the United Provinces, concluded in the year 1668, ſtipulating, "That whatever ſhall be found on board the ſhips of the ſubjects of the United Provinces, though the lading or part thereof may belong to the enemies of Great Britain, ſhall be free and unmoleſted, except theſe be prohibited goods, which are to be ſerved in the manner preſcribed by the foregoing articles." From this article the Dutch merchants inferred, that if there be no prohibited goods on board, the Engliſh had no right to ſtop or moleſt any of their ſhips, or make the leaſt enquiry to whom the merchandize belonged, whence it was brought, or whither bound.

This plea the Engliſh miniſtry would by no means admit, for the following reaſons; a general and perpetual licence to carry on the whole trade of their enemy, would be ſuch a glaring abſurdity as no convention could authorize: common ſenſe has dictated, and Grotius declared, that no man can be ſuppoſed to have conſented to an abſurdity; therefore the interpretation given by the Dutch to this article, could not be ſuppoſed to be its true and genuine meaning, which indeed relates to nothing more than the common courſe of trade, as it was uſually carried on in time of peace. But, even ſhould their interpretation be accepted, the article and the treaty itſelf would be ſuperſeded and annulled by a ſubſequent treaty, concluded between the two nations in 1675, and often confirmed ſince that period, ſtipulating, in a ſecret article, "That neither of the contracting parties ſhould give, nor conſent that any of their ſubjects and inhabitants ſhould give any aid, favour, or counſel, directly or indirectly, by ſea or land, or on the freſh waters; nor ſhould furniſh or permit the ſubjects or inhabitants of their reſpective territories, to furniſh any ſhips, ſoldiers, ſeamen, victuals, money, inſtruments of war, gunpowder, or any other neceſſaries for making war, to the enemies of either party, of any rank or condition ſoever."

Now the Dutch had violated this article in many inſtances during the preſent war, both in Europe and America; and as they had ſo openly contravened one treaty, the Engliſh were not obliged to obſerve any other. They had, moreover, forfeited all right to the obſervance of the treaty in queſtion, by refuſing the ſuccours with which they were bound, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to furniſh the king of Great Britain, in caſe any of his territories in Europe ſhould be attacked; for nothing could be more weak and frivolous than the allegation upon which this refuſal was founded; namely, that the hoſtilities in Europe were commenced by the Engliſh, when they ſeized and confiſcated the veſſels of France; and they, being the aggreſſors, had no right to inſiſt upon the ſuccours ſtipulated in a treaty which was purely defenſive. If this argument has any weight, the treaty itſelf is totally annulled. The French, as they did in the preſent caſe, will always begin the war in America: and when their ſhips, containing reinforcements and ſtores for the maintenance of that war, ſhall be taken on the European ſeas, perhaps in conſequence of their being expoſed for that purpoſe, they will exclaim that the Engliſh were the aggreſſors in Europe, conſequently intitled to receive no benefit from the defenſive treaty ſubſiſting between them and the States-general of the United Provinces. It being impoſſible for the Engliſh to put an end to the war, while their enemies are enabled to maintain it by their commerce carried on in neutral bottoms, they are obliged to ſuppreſs ſuch iniquitous colluſion by that neceſſity which Grotius himſelf hath admitted to be a ſufficient excuſe for deviating from the letter of any treaty whatever.

In time of peace no Dutch ſhips were allowed to carry the produce of any French ſugar iſland, or even to trade in any of the French ports in America or the Weſt Indies; conſequently the treaty which they quote can never juſtify them in carrying on a commerce which, as it did not exiſt, and was not foreſeen, could not poſſibly be prohibited when that convention was ratified. Grotius, whoſe authority is held as uncontrovertible among the Dutch, has aſſerted, that every nation has a right to ſeize and confiſcate the goods of any neutral power which ſhall attempt to carry them into any place which is blocked up by that nation, either by land or ſea. The French iſlands in the Weſt Indies were ſo blocked up by the Engliſh cruiſers, that they could receive no relief from their own government; conſequently no neutral power could attempt to ſupply them without falling under this predicament.

It was for theſe reaſons that the king of England declared, by the mouth of Mr. Yorke, his miniſter plenipotentiary at the Hague, in a conference held in the month of Auguſt with the deputies of the States general, "That though he was ready to concur in every meaſure that ſhould be propoſed for giving ſatisfaction to their High Mightineſſes, with whom he had always ſtudied to live in the moſt perfect union, he was nevertheleſs determined, not to ſuffer the trade of the French colonies in America to be carried on by the ſubjects of other powers, under the ſpecious pretext of neutrality; nor to permit words to be interpreted as a licence to drive a trade with his enemies, which, though not particularly ſpecified in the articles of contraband, was nevertheleſs rendered ſuch in all reſpects, and in every ſenſe, by the nature of the circumſtances."

Beſides the univerſal clamour excited in Holland, and the famous memorial delivered to the States-general, which we have already mentioned, a deputation of merchants waited four times ſucceſſively on the princeſs regent, to repreſent their

grievances, and ſolicit her concurrence in augmenting the navy for the preſervation of their commerce. She promiſed to employ her beſt offices with the court of Great Britain; and theſe cooperating with the repreſentation made by the States-general, the Engliſh miniſter was empowered to open conferences at the Hague, in order to ſettle the preſent diſpute by an amicable accommodation.

Theſe endeavours, however, were not attended with the deſired effect. The Britiſh cruiſers continued to take, and the Britiſh courts to condemn, all Dutch veſſels carrying the produce of the French ſugar iſlands. The merchants of Holland and Zealand renewed their complaints with redoubled vehemence, and all the trading part of the nation, reinforced by the whole party that oppoſed the houſe of Orange, cried aloud for an immediate augmentation of the marine, and repriſals upon the Engliſh navy. The princeſs-regent, in order to avoid extremities, was obliged not only to exert all her intereſt with the States-general, but alſo to play off one faction againſt another, in the way of remonſtrance and exclamation.

So early as the month of June ſhe preſented a memorial to the States-general, reminding them, that in the beginning of the war between France and England, ſhe had recommended an augmentation of their land forces, to ſtrengthen the garriſons of the frontier towns, and cover the territories of the republic from invaſion. She obſerved, that the provinces of Gueldres and Overyſſel, alarmed by the proximity of two formidable armies, had reſolved to demand, that the augmentation of their land-forces ſhould be taken into conſideration by the other provinces; and requeſted her to enforce their ſolicitations that this meaſure might immediately take place. With this requeſt, ſhe ſaid, ſhe had the more readily complied, as ſhe could not but be ſenſible of the imminent danger to which the republic was expoſed, eſpecially ſince the Hanoverian army had paſſed the Rhine; and as it behoved the ſtate to put itſelf in a condition to hinder either army from retiring into the territories of the republic, if it ſhould be defeated; for, in that caſe, the conqueror being authoriſed to purſue his enemy whereever he can find him, would carry the war into the heart of their country.

This repreſentation had no other effect than that of ſuſpending the execution of the meaſure which each party propoſed. The princeſs, in her anſwer to the fourth deputation of the merchants, declared, that ſhe beheld the preſent ſtate of their trade with the moſt anxious concern: that its want of protection was not her fault, but that of the towns of Dort, Haarlem, Amſterdam, Torgau, Rotterdam, and the Brille; to whoſe conduct it was owing that the forces of the ſtate, by ſea and land, were not now on a better footing. The deputies were afterwards referred to her miniſter, M. de la Larrey, to whom they repreſented, that the augmentation of the land forces, and the equipment of a fleet, were matters as diſtinct from each other as light from darkneſs: that there was no preſſing motive for an augmentation of the army; whereas innumerable reaſons rendered the equipment of a fleet a matter of the moſt urgent neceſſity.

In a few days after this repreſentation was made, the princeſs, in an aſſembly of the States-general, requeſted their High Mightineſſes, that ſeeing their earneſt and repeated efforts to perſuade the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Frieſland, and Weſt-Frieſland, to agree to the propoſed augmentation of forces by ſea and land, had not hitherto met with ſucceſs, they would now contrive and concur in ſome feaſible expedient for terminating this affair, and the ſooner the better; in order, on one hand, to ſatisfy the ſtrong and well-grounded inſtances made by the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overyſſel, and Groningen; and, on the other, to comply with the ardent and juſt deſires expreſſed by the commercial inhabitants of the country.

She told them, that the deputation which waited on her was compoſed of forty merchants, a number that merited attention no leſs than the ſpeech they pronounced, of which a great number of printed copies were diſtributed through all parts of the country. Without making any particular remarks on the harangue, ſhe only obſerved, that the ſpirit of it did not tend to forward the negociation begun with Great-Britain, nor induce the nation to prefer a convention to a rupture with that crown. From this circumſtance ſhe inferred, it was more than time to finiſh the deliberations on the propoſal for augmenting the forces both by ſea and land; a meaſure, ſhe ſaid, without which the ſtate was, and always would be, expoſed to every ſort of danger and misfortune.

In conſequence of this interpoſition, the States-General that ſame day ſent a letter to the ſtates of Holland and Weſt-Frieſland, ſignifying the ſentiments of the Princeſs Regent, and repreſenting the neceſſity of complying with her propoſal of the double augmentation. They obſerved, that an augmentation of the land-forces, for the defence of the frontiers, was no leſs requiſite than an equipment by ſea for the ſecurity of commerce: that the ſtates of the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overyſſel, and Groningen, concurred with them in the ſame opinion; and accordingly had inſiſted, by divers letters and propoſitions, on thoſe two points ſo eſſential to the public intereſt.

After taking notice of the danger of delay, and the fatal effects of diſcord, they propoſed, that, by a reciprocal indulgence, one party ſhould comply with the ſentiments of the other, in order to avoid a ſchiſm and internal diviſion among the confederates, the conſequences of which would be very alarming; while the republic, in the mean time, would remain in a defenceleſs condition both by ſea and land, and depend, for its ſafety, upon the humour and caprice of its powerful neighbours. They conjured them therefore, as they valued the intereſt of their country, and all that was dear to them; as they regarded the protection of the good inhabitants, the concord and harmony which at all times, but eſpecially at the preſent critical juncture, was of the laſt neceſſity, that they would ſeriouſly reflect upon the exhortations of her royal highneſs, as well as on the repeated inſtances of the majority of the confederates; and take a wiſe and ſalutary reſolution, with regard to the propoſed augmentation of the land-forces; ſo that this addition, together with an equivalent at ſea, might, the ſooner the better, be unanimouſly brought to a concluſion.

In the month of April this year died, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, pope Benedict XIV.

(Proſper Lambertini) a pontiff univerſally eſteemed for his good ſenſe, moderation, and humanity; and in July was ſucceeded in the papacy by cardinal Charles Rezzonico, biſhop of Padua, by birth a Venetian. He was formerly auditor of the Rota; afterwards advanced to the purple by pope Clement XII. at the nomination of the republic of Venice; was diſtinguiſhed by the title of St. Maria d'Ara Cæli, the principal convent of the Cordeliers, and nominated protector of the Pandours, or Illyrians. When he aſcended the papal chair, he aſſumed the name of Clement XIII. in gratitude to the laſt of that name, who was his benefactor. Though of a diſagreeable perſon, and even deformed in his body, he enjoys good health and a vigorous conſtitution. As an eccleſiaſtic, his life is exemplary; his morals are pure and unimpeached: in his character, he is ſaid to be learned, diligent, ſteady, devout, and in every reſpect worthy to ſucceed ſuch a predeceſſor as Benedict.

I ſhall next, previous to my opening the hiſtory of the ſucceeding ſeſſion of parliament, preſent the reader with the moſt remarkable domeſtic occurrences of the year.

It is a circumſtance that redounds greatly to the honour of the Engliſh miniſtry, that, while the operations of the war were vigorouſly carried on in the four quarters of the globe, the iſland of Great Britain, which may be conſidered as the center that gave motion to this vaſt machine, enjoyed all the tranquillity of the moſt profound peace, and ſaw nothing of war but the preparations and trophies, which ſerved only to animate the nation to a deſire of further conqueſt: for the dejection occaſioned by the misfortune at St. Cas ſoon vaniſhed before the proſpect of victory and ſucceſs. Conſidering the agitation naturally produced among the common people, by the practice of preſſing men into the ſervice of the navy, the raiſing of ſo many new corps of ſoldiers, and the endeavours uſed in forming the national militia, very few diſturbances happened to interrupt the internal repoſe of the nation.

Againſt private acts of malice, violence, and rapine, however, no community whatſoever is ſecure. In the month of April the temporary wooden bridge over the Thames, built for the conveniency of carriages and paſſengers, while the workmen ſhould be employed in widening and repairing London-bridge, was maliciouſly ſet on fire in the night, and continued burning till noon next day, when the ruins of it fell into the river. The deſtruction of this conveniency proved very detrimental to the commerce of the city, notwithſtanding the care and diſcretion of the magiſtrates in applying remedies to the preſent misfortune. A promiſe of the king's pardon was offered in a public advertiſement, by the ſecretary of ſtate, and a reward of two hundred pounds by the city of London, to any perſon who ſhould diſcover the perpetrator of ſuch a wicked outrage; but nevertheleſs he eſcaped detection. No individual, nor any ſociety of men, could have the leaſt intereſt in the execution of ſuch a ſcheme, except the body of London watermen: but as no diſcovery was made to the prejudice of any perſon belonging to that ſociety, the deed was imputed to the malice of ſome ſecret enemy of the public. Even after a new temporary bridge was erected, another attempt was made (in all probability by the ſame incendiary) to reduce the whole to aſhes, but happily miſcarried; and a guard was appointed to prevent any ſuch atrocious efforts for the future.

Dangerous tumults were excited in and about Mancheſter, by a prodigious number of manufacturers, who had left off working, and formed a combination to raiſe, by force, the price of their labour. They had concerted a regular plan, and collected large ſums for the maintenance of the poorer ſort, while they refuſed to work for their families. They inſulted and abuſed all thoſe who would not join in this confederacy; diſperſed incendiary letters, and denounced terrible threats againſt all ſuch as ſhould preſume to oppoſe their proceedings. But theſe menaces had no effect upon the magiſtrates and juſtices, who exerted themſelves with ſuch ſpirit and activity, that the ringleaders being apprehended and puniſhed by law, the reſt were ſoon reduced to order.

In the month of June Florence Henſey, an obſcure phyſician, and native of Ireland, who had been arreſted for treaſonable practices, was tried at the court of King's Bench, on an indictment for high-treaſon. In the courſe of the trial it appeared, that he had been employed as a ſpy by the French miniſtry; to whom, in conſideration of a paultry penſion, he ſent intelligence of every material incident in Great Britain. The correſpondence was conducted by his brother, a jeſuit, who acted as chaplain and ſecretary to the Spaniſh ambaſſador at the Hague. The Britiſh reſident at that court having learned from the Spaniſh miniſter ſome ſecrets relating to England, even before they were imparted to him by the Engliſh miniſtry, was induced to ſet on foot an enquiry touching the ſource of this intelligence, and ſoon received information, that the ſecretary of the Spaniſh ambaſſador had a brother, a phyſician, at London. The ſuſpicion occaſioned by this circumſtance being communicated to the miniſtry of England, Henſey was narrowly watched, and twenty-nine of his letters were intercepted. From the contents of theſe he was found guilty of having given the French court the firſt notice of the expedition to North America, the capture of the two ſhips the Alcide and Lys, the ſailing and deſtination of every ſquadron and armament, and the difficulties that occurred in raiſing money for the ſervice of the public. He had even acquainted them that the ſecret expedition of the foregoing year was deſigned againſt Rochefort; and adviſed a deſcent upon Great Britain, at a certain time and place, as the moſt effectual method of diſtreſſing the government, and affecting the public credit. After a long trial he was found guilty of treaſon, and received the ſentence of death uſually pronounced againſt ſuch delinquents: but whether he merited forgiveneſs by ſome material diſcovery, or the miniſtry found him ſo inſenſible and inſignificant that they were aſhamed to take his life, he eſcaped execution, and was indulged with a pardon, on condition of going into perpetual exile.

The laſh of the law fell, with no leſs juſtice, upon one Dr. Shebbeare, who, in a ſeries of printed letters to the people of England, had cenſured the conduct of the miniſtry in the moſt acrimonious terms, ſtigmatized ſome great names with all the virulence of ſatire, and even preſumed to

inſult and abuſe the perſon of the ſovereign. The government, enraged at the inſolence, as well as alarmed at the ſucceſs of this author, whoſe writings were bought with avidity by the public, determined to puniſh him ſeverely for his arrogance and preſumption; and he was apprehended by warrant from the Secretary's Office. His Sixth Letter to the People of England was pitched upon as the foundation of a proſecution.

After a ſhort trial, in the court of King's Bench, he was found guilty of having writ the Sixth Letter to the People of England, which was adjudged a libellous pamphlet; ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory, to pay a ſmall fine, to be impriſoned three years, and give ſecurity for his good behaviour for the future: a puniſhment which, however ſeemingly ſevere, was by no means too great for the atrociouſneſs of his crime; as his ſole motive appeared to be to raiſe his own private fortune, which was low, at the expence of diſturbing the peace of his country.

It muſt be obſerved to the honour of the Engliſh, and is univerſally allowed by all foreign nations, that no people in the world are more remarkable for exerting the virtues of charity and benevolence towards the diſtreſſed and forlorn part of their fellow-creatures. In the courſe of this year the public began to reap the benefit of ſeveral admirable inſtitutions of this nature. Mr. Henry Raine, a private gentleman of Middleſex, had, in his life-time, built and endowed an hoſpital for the maintenance of forty poor maidens. By his will he bequeathed a certain ſum of money to accumulate at intereſt, under the management of truſtees, until the yearly produce ſhould amount to two hundred and ten pounds, to be given in marriage portions to two of the maidens educated in his hoſpital, at the age of twenty-two, who ſhould be the beſt recommended for piety and induſtry by the maſters or miſtreſſes whom they had ſerved.

In the month of March the ſum deſtined for this laudable purpoſe was completed, when the truſtees, by public advertiſement, ſummoned the maidens educated in the hoſpital to appear on a certain day, with proper certificates of their behaviour and circumſtances, that ſix of the moſt deſerving might be ſelected to draw lots for the prize of one hundred pounds, to be payed as her marriage portion, provided ſhe married a man of an unblemiſhed character, a member of the church of England, reſiding within certain ſpecified pariſhes, and approved by the truſtees. Accordingly on the firſt day of May the candidates appeared; and the prize being gained by one young woman, in preſence of a numerous aſſembly of all ranks, attracted by curioſity, the other five maidens, with a ſixth, added in lieu of her who had been ſucceſsful, were marked for a ſecond chance on the ſame day of the enſuing November, when a ſecond prize of the ſame value would be preſented. Thus a new candidate will be added every half year, that every maiden, who has been educated in this hoſpital, and been careful of her character, may have a chance for a portion of a hundred pounds, the other five being intended to defray the expence of the wedding entertainment. It is hard to ſay, which ought moſt to be admired, the excellence of the plan, or the generoſity of the founder's intention.

Of no leſs, perhaps of ſtill greater, merit was another charitable eſtabliſhment, which alſo took place about the ſame time. A ſmall number of humane perſons, chiefly citizens of London, deeply affected with the calamitous ſituation of common proſtitutes, who are certainly the moſt wretched of all human creatures, formed a generous reſolution in their favour, ſuch as will reflect eternal honour on the memory of the benefactors. They conſidered that many of thoſe unhappy creatures, ſo miſerable in themſelves, and ſo productive of miſchief to others, had been ſeduced to vice in their tender years by the perfidious artifice of the male ſex, or the violence of unruly paſſion, before they had acquired experience to guard againſt the one, or ſagacity to diſcern the fatal conſequences of the other: that the jewel reputation being thus irretrievably loſt, perhaps in one unguarded moment, they were covered with ſhame and diſgrace, abandoned by their friends, ſhunned by their acquaintance, and thrown on the wide world: that ſtung with ſelf-conviction, inſulted with reproach, denied the privilege of penitence and contrition, cut off from all hope, impelled by indigence, and maddened by deſpair, they had plunged into a life of infamy, in which they were expoſed to deplorable viciſſitudes of miſery, and the moſt excruciating pangs of reflection that any human beings could undergo: that whatever remorſe they might feel, how much ſoever abhor their own vice or long for an opportunity of amendment, they were entirely deſtitute of all means of reformation: they were not only deprived of all poſſibility of profiting by thoſe precious moments of repentance, and becoming again uſeful members of ſociety; but, in order to earn a miſerable ſubſiſtence, were obliged to perſevere in the paths of proſtitution, and act as the inſtruments of heaven's vengeance in propagating diſtemper and profligacy, in ruining the bodies and debauching the minds of their fellow creatures:

Moved to pity by theſe conſiderations, this virtuous band of aſſociates reſolved to provide a comfortable aſylum for female penitents, to which they might fly for ſhelter from the receptacles of vice, the miſeries of life, and the ſcorn of mankind; where they might indulge the ſalutary ſentiments of remorſe, make their peace with heaven, inure themſelves to induſtry and temperance, and be profitably reunited to ſociety, from which they had been ſo unhappily cut off. The plan of this excellent inſtitution being formed, was put in execution by means of voluntary ſubſcription, and the houſe opened in Goodman's fields, under the name of the Magdalen-hoſpital, in the month of Auguſt; when fifty petitions were preſented by penitent proſtitutes, ſoliciting admittance, which was granted to ſeveral. Another aſylum was alſo opened by the hand of private charity, on the Surry-ſide of Weſtminſter bridge, for the reception and education of female orphans, and children deſerted by their parents: and it is to be hoped that the managers of both will be enabled, by the contributions of the humane and compaſſionate, to afford protection to every object labouring under

under thoſe ſpecies of diſtreſs which they propoſe to ſuccour.

Nor did the generoſity of the public appear more conſpicuous in relieving the diſtreſſed, than in rewarding the ingenious in every particular branch of the liberal and uſeful arts and ſciences. Several years had already elapſed ſince a ſociety of private perſons was inſtituted at London, for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce. It conſiſted of a preſident, vice-preſident, ſecretary, regiſter, collector, and other officers, elected from a very conſiderable number of members, who paid a certain yearly contribution for the purpoſes of the inſtitution. In the courſe of every year they held eight general meetings in a large aſſembly-room, built and furniſhed at the common expence; beſides the ordinary meetings of the ſociety held every week, from the ſecond Wedneſday in November to the laſt Wedneſday of May: and, in the intermediate time, on the firſt and third Wedneſday of every month.

At theſe ordinary meetings, provided the number then preſent exceeded ten, the members had a right to proceed upon buſineſs, and power to appoint ſuch committees as they ſhould think neceſſary. The money contributed by this aſſociation, after the neceſſary expence of the ſociety had been deducted, was expended in premiums for planting and huſbandry: for diſcoveries and improvements in chemiſtry, dying, and mineralogy; for promoting the ingenious arts of drawing, engraving, caſting, painting, ſtatuary and ſculpture; for the improvement of manufactures and machines in the various articles of hats, crapes, druggets, mills, marbled paper, ſhip blocks, ſpinning-wheels, toys, yarn, knitting, and weaving.

They likewiſe allotted ſums for the advantage of the Britiſh colonies in America; and beſtowed premiums on thoſe ſettlers who ſhould excel in curing cochineal, planting logwood-trees, cultivating olive-trees, producing myrtle-wax, making pot-aſh, preſerving raiſins, curing ſafflower, making ſilk and wines, importing ſturgeon, preparing iſinglaſs, planting hemp and cinnamon, extracting opium and the gum of the perſimon-tree, collecting ſtones of the mango, which ſhould be found to vegetate in the Weſt-Indies; raiſing ſilk graſs, and laying out provincial gardens. They moreover allowed a gold medal, in honour of him who ſhould compoſe the beſt treatiſe on the arts of peace, containing an hiſtorical account of the progreſſive improvements of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce in the kingdom of England, with the effects of thoſe improvements on the morals and manners of the people, and pointing out the moſt proper means for their future advancement. In a word, the ſociety is ſo numerous, the contributions ſo conſiderable, the plan ſo judiciouſly laid, and executed with ſuch diſcretion and ſpirit, as to promiſe much more effectual and extenſive advantage to the public, than ever accrued from all the boaſted academies of Chriſtendom.

The artiſts of London had long maintained a private academy for improvement in the art of drawing from living figures; but, in order to extend this advantage, which was not attained without difficulty and expence, the duke of Richmond, a young nobleman of the moſt amiable character, provided a large apartment at Whitehall for the uſe of thoſe who ſtudied the arts of painting, ſculpture, and engraving; and furniſhed it with a collection of original plaiſter-caſts from the beſt antique ſtatues and buſts at Rome and Florence. Here any learner had liberty to draw, or make models, under the eye and inſtruction of Meſſ. Wilton and Cipriani, two eminent artiſts; and twice a year the munificent founder beſtowed premiums of ſilver medals on the four pupils who excelled the reſt in drawing from a certain figure, and making the beſt model of it in baſſo-relievo.

Beſides theſe liberal inſtitutions, Mr. Finch and Mr. Townſhend, animated with a laudable zeal for the improvement of learning, beſtowed two prizes of fifteen guineas each upon two ſenior batchelors of arts, and the ſame upon two middle batchelors, in the univerſity of Cambridge, who ſhould compoſe the beſt exerciſes in Latin proſe, to be recited in public.

It is commonly obſerved by foreign nations, and even admitted by the Engliſh themſelves, that no country in the world produces ſuch an infinite variety of original characters, nor gives birth to ſuch a number of ſtrange adventures. Of this nature may be reckoned the following incident relating to his grace the duke of Marlborough, which though it derived its origin from the latter end of the preceding year, and cannot properly be conſidered as belonging to general hiſtory, is yet ſo curious in all its particulars, that the reader, I imagine, will excuſe the digreſſion.

Towards the end of November, in the foregoing year, the abovementioned nobleman received, by the poſt, a letter directed "To his grace the duke of Marlborough, with care and ſpeed," and conceived in theſe terms: "My lord, As ceremony is an idle thing upon moſt occaſions, more eſpecially to perſons in my ſtate of mind, I ſhall proceed immediately to acquaint you with the motive and end of addreſſing this epiſtle to you, which is equally intereſting to us both. You are to know then, that my preſent ſituation in life is ſuch, that I ſhould prefer annihilation to a continuance in it. Deſperate diſeaſes require deſperate remedies; and you are the man I have pitched upon, either to make me or unmake yourſelf. As I never had the honour to live among the great, the tenor of my propoſals will not be very courtly; but let that be an argument to enforce a belief of what I am now going to write. It has employed my invention for ſome time to find out a method of deſtroying another without expoſing my own life: that I have accompliſhed, and defy the law. Now for the application of it. I am deſperate, and muſt be provided for. You have it in your power: it is my buſineſs to make it your inclination to ſerve me; which you muſt determine to comply with, by procuring me a genteel ſupport for my life, or your own will be at a period before this ſeſſion of parliament is over. I have more motives than one for ſingling you out upon this occaſion; and I give you this fair warning, becauſe the means I ſhall make uſe of are too fatal to be eluded by the power of phyſic. If you think this of any conſequence, you will not fail to meet the author on Sunday next, at ten in the morning, or on Monday (if the weather ſhould be

rainy on Sunday) near the firſt tree beyond the ſtile in Hyde-Park, in the foot-walk to Kenſington. Secrecy and compliance may preſerve you from a double danger of this ſort, as there is a certain part of the world where your death has more than been wiſhed for upon other motives. I know the world too well to truſt this ſecret in any breaſt but my own. A few days determine me your friend or enemy. Felton *.— You will apprehend that I mean you ſhould be alone; and depend upon it that a diſcovery of any artifice in this affair will be fatal to you. My ſafety is inſured by my ſilence, for confeſſion only can condemn me."

The duke, in conſequence of this extraordinary ſummons, appeared at the time and place appointed. He was on horſeback and alone, with piſtols before him, and the ſtar of his order diſplayed, that he might be the more eaſily known. He had likewiſe taken the precaution of engaging a friend to attend in the Park, though at ſuch a conſiderable diſtance as ſcarce to be perceived. He remained ſome time on the ſpot without ſeeing any perſon whom he could ſuſpect to be the author of the letter he had received, and then rode away; but happening to turn his head when he reached Hyde-Park corner, he obſerved a man ſtanding at the bridge, and looking at the water, within twenty yards of the tree which had been fixed as the place of meeting. He forthwith rode back at a gentle pace, and paſſing the perſon, expected to be addreſſed; but as no advance of this kind was made, he, in repaſſing, bowed to the ſtranger, and aſked, if he had not ſomething to communicate. The man replying, "No, I don't know you;" the duke told his name, adding, "Now you know me, I imagine you have ſomething to ſay to me." But he ſtill anſwered in the negative, and the duke rode home.

In a day or two after this tranſaction another letter was brought to him, containing the following addreſs; "My lord, you receive this as an acknowlegement of your punctuality, as to the time and place of meeting on Sunday laſt, though it was owing to you it anſwered no purpoſe. The pageantry of being armed, and the enſign of your order, were uſeleſs, and too conſpicuous. You needed no attendant; the place was not calculated for miſchief, nor was any intended. If you walk in the weſt iſle of Weſtminſter-abbey, towards eleven o'clock on Sunday next, your ſagacity will point out the perſon, whom you will addreſs, by aſking his company to take a turn or two with you. You will not fail, on enquiry, to be acquainted with the name and place of abode; according to which direction, you will pleaſe ſend two or three hundred pound bank notes the next day by the penny-poſt. Exert not your curioſity too early; it is in your power to make me grateful on certain terms. I have friends who are faithful; but they do not bark before they bite. I am, &c. F."

The duke, deſirous of unravelling this ſtrange myſtery, repaired to the Abbey at the time preſcribed; and after having walked up and down for five or ſix minutes, ſaw the very ſame perſon to whom he had ſpoke in Hyde-Park, enter the Abbey with another man of a creditable appearance. This laſt, after they had viewed ſome of the monuments, went into the choir; and the other turning back, advanced towards the duke, who accoſting him, aſked if he had any thing to ſay to him, or any commands for him? he replied, "No, my lord, I have not." "Sure you have," ſaid the duke; but he perſiſted in his denial. Then the duke leaving him, took ſeveral turns in the iſle, while the ſtranger walked on the other ſide. But nothing further paſſed between them; and although the duke had provided ſeveral perſons in diſguiſe to apprehend the delinquent, he forbore giving the ſignal, that, notwithſtanding appearances, he might run no riſque of injuring an innocent perſon.

Not long after this ſecond diſappointment, he received a third letter to the following effect: "My lord, I am fully convinced, that you had a companion on Sunday: I interpret it as owing to the weakneſs of human nature; but ſuch proceeding is far from being ingenuous, and may produce bad effects, whilſt it is impoſſible to anſwer the end propoſed. You will ſee me again ſoon, as it were by accident, and may eaſily find where I go to: in conſequence of which, by being ſent to I ſhall wait on your grace: but expect to be quite alone and to converſe in whiſpers: you will likewiſe give your honour, upon meeting, that no part of the converſation ſhall tranſpire. Theſe, and the former terms complied with, enſure your ſafety: my revenge, in caſe of non-compliance, (or any ſcheme to expoſe me) will be ſlower, but not the leſs ſure; and ſtrong ſuſpicion the utmoſt that can poſſibly enſue upon it, while the chances would be ten-fold againſt you. You will poſſibly be in doubt after the meeting, but it is quite neceſſary the outſide ſhould be a maſk to the in. The family of the † Bloods is not extinct, though they are not in my ſcheme."

The expreſſion, "you will ſee me again ſoon, as it were by acident," ſeemed evidently to point at the perſon to whom he had ſpoke in the Park and in the Abbey; nevertheleſs he ſaw him not again, nor did he hear any thing farther of the affair for two months; at the expiration of which the poſt brought him the following letter: "May it pleaſe your grace, I have reaſon to believe that the ſon of one Barnard, a ſurveyor in Abingdon-buildings, Weſtminſter, is acquainted with ſome ſecrets that nearly concern your ſafety; his father is now out of town, which will give you an opportunity of queſtioning him more privately; it would be uſeleſs to your grace, as well as dangerous to me, to appear more publicly in this affair. Your ſincere friend, Anonymous.---He frequently goes to Storey's Gate coffee-houſe."

About ten days after the receipt of this letter, the duke ſent a perſon to that coffee-houſe to enquire for Mr. Barnard, and tell him he would be

* The name of the aſſaſſin who poignarded Villiers duke of Buckingham, in the reign of Charles I.

† Blood was the name of the ruffian who, in the reign of Charles II. endeavoured to aſſaſſinate the duke of Ormond, and to ſteal the crown and ſceptre from the Jewel-office in the Tower.

glad to ſpeak to him. The meſſage was delivered to Mr. Barnard, who replied, he would wait on his grace next Thurſday, half an hour after ten in the morning. He faithfully kept his promiſe, and no ſooner appeared than the duke recognized him to be the perſon to whom he had ſpoke in the Park and the Abbey. Having led him into an apartment, and ſhut the door, he aſked, as before, if he had any thing to impart; and was anſwered, as formerly, in the negative. Then the duke repeated every circumſtance of this ſtrange tranſaction; to which Barnard liſtened with attention and ſurprize, yet without exhibiting any marks of conſcious guilt or confuſion.

The duke obſerving, that it was matter of aſtoniſhment to ſee letters of ſuch import written with the correctneſs of a ſcholar, the other replied, that a man might be very poor and very learned at the ſame time. When he ſaw the fourth letter, in which his name was mentioned, with the circumſtance of his father's abſence, he ſaid, "It is very odd; my father was then out of town." This expreſſion ſeemed the more remarkable, as the letter was without date; and he could not, as an innocent man, be ſuppoſed to know at what time it was written. The duke having informed him of every particular, added, that it behoved him, even more than his grace himſelf, to detect the writer of the letters, eſpecially of the laſt, in which he was expreſsly named. To this admonition he returned no other anſwer but a ſmile, and then withdrew.

How theſe circumſtances came to the knowlege of the public does not appear; but, ſoon after, Mr. Barnard was taken into cuſtody, and tried at the Old Bailey, for ſending a threatening letter, contrary to the ſtatute. No evidence, however, could be produced to prove that the letters were of his hand-writing; nor could any preſumption be ſaid to lie againſt him, except his being in Hyde-Park and in Weſtminſter-Abbey, at the place and time appointed in the two firſt letters.

On the other hand, Mr. Barnard proved, that on the Sunday when he ſaw the duke in Hyde-Park, he was on his way to Kenſington on particular buſineſs, by his father's order, ſignified to him that very morning: that he accordingly went thither, and dined with his uncle, in company with ſeveral other perſons, to whom he related what had paſſed between the duke of Marlborough and him in the Park: that his being afterwards in Weſtminſter-Abbey was the effect of mere accident; that Mr. James Greenwood, his kinſman, a brewer at Deptford, who had lain the preceding night at his father's houſe, deſired him to dreſs himſelf, that they might walk together in the Park; and he did not comply with this requeſt till after much ſolicitation: that he propoſed to enter the Park without paſſing through the Abbey, but was prevailed on by Mr. Greenwood, who expreſſed a deſire of ſeeing the newly-erected monument of general Hargrave: that having formerly communicated to this friend the ſtrange circumſtance of the duke's ſpeaking to him in Hyde-Park, Mr. Greenwood no ſooner ſaw that nobleman in the Abbey than he gave notice to Mr. Barnard, who, as he was very ſhort-ſighted, did not ſee his grace; nor, if he had, could poſſibly have known him: that, from his paſſing them ſeveral times, Mr. Greenwood concluded the duke wanted to ſpeak with Mr. Barnard alone, and he therefore quitted him and retired into the choir, that they might have an opportunity of talking together privately. It likewiſe appeared, from undoubted evidence, that Barnard had often mentioned openly, to his friends and acquaintance, the circumſtances of what paſſed between him and the duke in the Park and in the Abbey: that his father was a man of unblemiſhed reputation, and in affluent circumſtances: that he himſelf was never reduced to any want, or ſuch exigence as might impel him to any deſperate methods of obtaining money: that his fidelity had been often tried, and his life always irreproachable. For theſe reaſons the jury were convinced of the priſoner's innocence, and he was therefore acquitted of the crime laid to his charge.

The fourth letter ſtill remains an inſcrutable myſtery. No one could imagine, from Mr. Barnard's behaviour, "that he was acquainted with ſome ſecrets that nearly concerned the duke's ſafety;" nor could it be conceived why any perſon, who might have heard of his grace's having received threatening letters, ſhould name that gentleman. The moſt natural conjecture, if on ſuch an occaſion a conjecture may be allowed, is, that ſome officious perſon, who might have received ſome ſlight intimation of the duke's buſineſs at the Abbey, and obſerved him ſpeak to Mr. Barnard, might have followed that gentleman home, and taking it for granted that if he ſhould, in conſequence of this information, be detected in any evil deſign, he (the informer) whenever he ſhould think proper to reveal himſelf, would be rewarded, might be induced to make the information at a venture, and in the mean time to remain incognito till the event ſhould be known. With reſpect to the duke, he appears to have acted through the whole of this intricate affair with the utmoſt generoſity and honour; to have undertaken the proſecution merely from public principles; and to have been more deſirous that the priſoner ſhould be found innocent than guilty.

In the month of Auguſt the king, in quality of elector of Hanover, having occaſion for two hundred thouſand pounds, a loan by ſubſcription for that ſum was opened at the Bank, and filled immediately by ſeven or eight money-dealers of London.

On the twenty-third day of November both houſes of parliament met at Weſtminſter, when, his majeſty being indiſpoſed, the ſeſſion was opened by commiſſion, and the lord-keeper addreſſed them to the following effect: He told them, his majeſty had directed the lords of the commiſſion to aſſure his parliament, that he always received the higheſt ſatisfaction in being able to lay before them any events that might promote the honour and intereſt of his kingdoms: that, in conſequence of their advice, and enabled by the aſſiſtance which they unanimouſly gave, his majeſty had exerted his endeavours to carry on the war in the moſt vigorous manner, in order to attain that deſirable end, always to be wiſhed, a ſafe and honourable peace: that it had pleaſed the Divine Providence to bleſs his meaſures and arms with ſucceſs in ſeveral parts; and to make the enemies of the nation feel, that the ſtrength of Great Britain is not to be provoked with impunity: that the con-

queſt of the ſtrong fortreſs of Louiſbourg, with the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John; the demolition of Frontenac, of the higheſt importance to his operations in America, and the reduction of Senegal, could not fail to bring great diſtreſs on the French commerce and colonies, and, in proportion, to procure great advantage to thoſe of Great Britain: that France had alſo been made ſenſible, that whilſt her forces were ſent forth to invade and ravage the dominions of her neighbours, her own coaſts were not inacceſſible to his majeſty's fleets and armies; a truth which ſhe had experienced in the demolition of the works at Cherburg, erected at a great expence, with a particular view to annoy England, as well as in the loſs of a great number of ſhips and veſſels; but that no treatment, however injurious to his majeſty, could tempt him to make retaliation on the innocent ſubjects of that crown: that in Germany his majeſty's good brother the king of Pruſſia, and prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic, had found full employment for the armies of France and her confederates, from which the Engliſh operations, both by ſea and in America, had derived the moſt evident advantage; their ſucceſſes owing, under God, to their able conduct, and the bravery of his majeſty's troops and thoſe of his allies having been ſignal and glorious. The king, moreover, commanded them to declare, that the common cauſe of liberty and independency was ſtill making noble and glorious efforts againſt the unnatural union formed to oppreſs it: that the commerce of his ſubjects, the ſource of national riches, had, by the vigilant protection received from his majeſty's fleet, flouriſhed in a manner not to be paralleled during ſuch troubles. In this ſtate of things, he ſaid, the king in his wiſdom thought it unneceſſary to uſe many words to perſuade them to bear up againſt all difficulties, effectually to ſtand by and defend his majeſty, vigorouſly to ſupport the king of Pruſſia and the reſt of his majeſty's allies, and to exert themſelves to reduce their enemies to equitable terms of accommodation. He obſerved to the houſe of commons, that the uncommon extent of this war, in different parts, occaſioned it to be uncommonly expenſive: that the king had ordered them to declare to the commons, that he ſincerely lamented, and deeply felt for the burdens of his people: that the ſeveral eſtimates were ordered to be laid before them; and that he deſired only ſuch ſupplies as ſhould be requiſite to puſh the war with advantage, and be adequate to the neceſſary ſervices. In the laſt place, he aſſured them the king took ſo much ſatisfaction in that good harmony which ſubſiſted among his faithful ſubjects, that it was more proper for him now to thank them for it than to repeat his exhortations to it: that this union, neceſſary at all times, was more eſpecially ſo in ſuch critical conjunctures; and his majeſty doubted not but the good effects the nation had found from it would be the ſtrongeſt motive to induce them to purſue it.

This ſpeech was anſwered by loyal and affectionate addreſſes from both houſes of parliament, who ſeemed fully ſatisfied with the conduct of the miniſtry. That of the lords was conceived in the following terms:

"We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to approach your throne with hearts full of that duty and affection to your ſacred perſon and government which become the moſt faithful ſubjects to the beſt of kings. That conſtant regard and attention which your majeſty has ſhewn to the honour and intereſt of your kingdoms, have filled our minds with the moſt grateful ſentiments; and we ſee with real ſatisfaction thoſe active and vigilant efforts which your majeſty, in your great wiſdom, has made to carry on the war with vigour, in order to the deſirable end which we all wiſh, a ſafe and honourable peace. Juſtice and good policy required that our enemies ſhould feel how dangerous it is for them to provoke the ſpirit and ſtrength of the Britiſh nation.

"We acknowlege, with becoming thankfulneſs, the goodneſs of the Divine Providence, in having crowned your majeſty's meaſures and arms with ſucceſs in ſeveral parts; and we joyfully congratulate your majeſty on the conqueſt of the ſtrong fortreſs of Louiſbourg, with the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John, the taking of Frontenac, and the reduction of Senegal. The high importance of theſe ſucceſſes is apparent, in the reputation thereby acquired to your majeſty's arms, and in the diſtreſs they cannot fail to bring upon the French commerce and colonies, as well as in the happy effects procured to thoſe of Great Britain. We have ſeen, with the warmeſt emotions of reſentment, the exorbitant devaſtations committed by the armies of France upon the dominions of your majeſty, and thoſe of your allies in Germany. They muſt now have experienced how much, in conſequence of their unbounded ambition to invade their neighbours, their own coaſts are expoſed in the demolition of their expenſive works at Cherbourg, particularly intended for the annoyance of this country; and in the loſs of ſo many ſhips and veſſels, as well privateers as others, in their ports.

"At the ſame time, we cannot ſufficiently admire your majeſty's magnanimity and moderation, in not having hitherto retaliated on the innocent ſubjects of that crown the injurious treatment which you have received. We have a juſt ſenſe of the real advantages derived to the operations of Great Britain in particular, as well as to the common cauſe in general, from the wiſe conduct of the king of Pruſſia and prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic. Their great abilities, and the bravery of your majeſty's troops, and thoſe of your majeſty's allies, have been ſignally conſpicuous in the ſucceſſes with which they have been attended, and muſt be acknowleged by all Europe. Nothing can poſſibly be of greater national importance than the navigation and commerce of your ſubjects; and we return your majeſty our dutiful thanks for that protection and ſecurity which they have received from your royal care in the diſpoſition of your fleet, to which their preſent flouriſhing condition is ſo much owing. The ſtagnation of our enemy's trade, and the taking and deſtroying ſo many of their capital ſhips of war, ought, in this view, to be reckoned amongſt the moſt happy events.

"Permit us to declare our grateful ſenſe of that paternal tenderneſs which your majeſty has expreſſed for the burthens of your people: we receive from thence the ſtrongeſt encouragement to adhere

the more firmly to the cauſe of the proteſtant religion and public liberty, againſt any unnatural union formed to oppreſs it. In this juſt cauſe we will, to our utmoſt, effectually ſtand by and defend your majeſty, ſupport the king of Pruſſia and the reſt of your allies, and vigorouſly exert ourſelves to reduce our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation. Our duty and fidelity to your majeſty, and our zeal for the proteſtant ſucceſſion in your royal family, are uniform and unalterable: our prayers for the prolongation of your precious life and auſpicious reign over us, are ſincere and fervent; and we beg leave to give your majeſty the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that nothing ſhall be wanting on our part to improve union and good harmony amongſt all your ſubjects, for promoting and ſecuring theſe intereſting and eſſential objects."

The addreſs of the commons, which was no leſs loyal, proceeded in the following ſtrain:

"We your moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, return your majeſty our moſt ſincere and hearty thanks for the ſpeech delivered, by your majeſty's command, to both houſes of parliament.

"We beg leave to congratulate your majeſty, with hearts full of the moſt unfeigned joy, upon the many ſignal ſucceſſes with which it has pleaſed Divine Providence to bleſs your majeſty's meaſures and arms in ſeveral parts of the world; particularly, in the important conqueſt of the ſtrong fortreſs of Louiſbourg, with the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John; the taking of Frontenac, ſo eſſential to our operations in North America; the reduction of the valuable ſettlement of Senegal; the total demolition of the harbour and works of Cherbourg, erected at ſo great expence by the enemy, with a particular view to annoy this country; and the deſtruction of the ſhipping and privateers in the ports of France.

"Your majeſty's faithful commons feel, with the higheſt ſatisfaction, how greatly theſe events redound to the honour and intereſts of your majeſty's kingdoms, to the upholding the reputation of the Britiſh arms, and to the maintaining and extending the glories of your majeſty's reign.

"We have the moſt lively ſenſe of theſe happy conſequences (under God) of your majeſty's wiſdom in the powerful exertion of the naval force of theſe kingdoms, to the annoyance and diſtreſs of the fleets, trade, and navigation of France, whilſt the commerce of Great Britain flouriſhes in full protection and ſecurity; and, at the ſame time, of your majeſty's juſtice and magnanimity, in ſteadily ſupporting your allies, and in carrying on with vigour, in all parts, this arduous and neceſſary war.

"It is with joy and admiration we ſee the glorious efforts made in Germany by your majeſty's great ally the king of Pruſſia, and thoſe made by prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic, ſeconded by the valour of your majeſty's troops and thoſe of your allies; and that full employment has thereby been given to all the armies of France and of her confederates; from which our operations, both by ſea and in America, have received the moſt evident and important advantages.

"Permit us to aſſure your majeſty, that your faithful commons, juſtly animated in defence of the rights of your majeſty's crown and of the proteſtant religion, and the common cauſe of liberty and independency, againſt the dangerous union which hath been formed to oppreſs them, will bear up againſt all difficulties, and exert themſelves to the utmoſt, by granting to your majeſty ſuch ſupplies as ſhall be neceſſary, effectually to ſtand by and defend your majeſty, and vigorouſly to ſupport the king of Pruſſia, and the reſt of your majeſty's allies, firmly relying on the wiſdom and goodneſs of your majeſty, that the ſame will be applied, in the propereſt manner, to puſh the war with advantage, and to reduce the enemy to equitable terms of a ſafe, honourable, and laſting peace.

"We beg leave alſo to expreſs our moſt grateful ſenſe of the paternal ſatisfaction your majeſty takes in that good harmony which ſubſiſts amongſt your faithful ſubjects, and of your majeſty's gracious acceptance of the univerſal zeal and affection of your people; which ſalutary union hath enabled us ſo effectually to exert our ſtrength abroad, and hath preſerved at home tranquillity, ſafety, and public credit; and we truſt that the continuance of the ſame truly national ſpirit will, by the bleſſing of God, be attended with the like happy effects for the future."

The miniſtry, encouraged by this approbation of their conduct, reſolved to proſecute the war in every quarter, and particularly to ſupport the king of Pruſſia with ſtill greater vigour than ever. With this view, on the ſeventh day of December a new treaty was concluded at London between that prince and the Britiſh nation, importing, that as the burthens of war in which the king of Pruſſia was engaged, laid him under the neceſſity of making freſh efforts to defend himſelf againſt the multitude of enemies who had attacked his dominions, he was obliged to take new meaſures with the king of England for their reciprocal defence and ſafety; and as his Britannic majeſty had at the ſame time ſignified his earneſt deſire to ſtrengthen the friendſhip ſubſiſting between the two courts, and in conſequence thereof to conclude a formal convention for granting to his Pruſſian majeſty ſpeedy and powerful aſſiſtance, their majeſties had nominated and authoriſed their miniſters to concert and ſettle the following articles:

All former treaties between the two crowns, particularly that ſigned at Weſtminſter on the ſixteenth of January, in the year 1756, and the convention of the eleventh of April, in the year 1758, are confirmed by the preſent convention in their whole tenor, as if they were herein inſerted word for word. The king of Great Britain ſhall cauſe to be paid at London, to ſuch perſon or perſons as ſhall be authoriſed by the king of Pruſſia for that end the ſum of four millions of rixdollars, making ſix hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds ſterling, at one payment, immediately on the exchange of the ratifications, if the king of Pruſſia ſhall ſo require. His Pruſſian majeſty ſhall employ the ſaid ſum in ſupporting and augmenting his forces, which ſhall act in ſuch a manner as ſhall be of the greateſt ſervice to the common cauſe, and contribute moſt to the mutual defence and ſafety of their ſaid majeſties. The king of Great Britain, both as king and elector, and the king of Pruſſia, reciprocally bind themſelves not to conclude, with the powers that have taken part in the preſent war, any

treaty

treaty of peace, truce, or other ſuch like convention, but by common advice and conſent, each expreſly including therein the other. The ratifications of the preſent convention ſhall be exchanged within ſix weeks, or ſooner, if poſſible.

The addreſſes of thanks were no ſooner preſented by both houſes of parliament, than the commons proceeded to ſettle the ſupply. For this purpoſe two committees were forthwith eſtabliſhed, and continued by adjournments to the month of May, by the twenty third day of which all their reſolutions were finiſhed. They voted ſixty thouſand ſeamen, including fourteen thouſand eight hundred and forty-five marines, for the ſervice of the enſuing year; and for the operations by land, a body of troops amounting to fifty-three thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſeven effective men, including four thouſand and eight invalids, beſides the auxiliaries of Hanover, Heſſe, Brunſwic, Sax-Gotha, and Buckebourg, to the number of fifty thouſand, and four battalions on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, in actual ſervice in America and Africa. For the maintenance of the ſixty thouſand men employed in the ſea-ſervice, they granted three millions one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds; for the land forces, one million two hundred fifty-ſix thouſand one hundred and thirty pounds fifteen ſhillings and two pence; for the charge of the additional four battalions, forty thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy nine pounds thirteen ſhillings and nine-pence; for the pay of the general and ſtaff officers, and hoſpitals of the land forces, fifty-two thouſand four hundred and eighty-four pounds one ſhilling and eight pence; for maintaining the garriſons in the plantations, Gibraltar, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Providence, Cape Breton, and Senegal, the ſum of ſeven hundred and forty-two thouſand five hundred and thirty-one pounds five ſhillings and ſeven pence; for the charge of ordnance for the land ſervice, two hundred and twenty thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-nine pounds eleven ſhillings and nine pence; for extraordinary ſervice performed by the ſame office, and not provided for by parliament in the courſe of the preceding year, three hundred twenty-three thouſand nine hundred and eighty-ſeven pounds thirteen ſhillings and three-pence; for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to ſea-officers, two hundred and thirty eight thouſand four hundred and ninety-one pounds nine ſhillings and eight pence; towards the ſupport of Greenwich hoſpital, and for the out-penſioners of Chelſea-college, the ſum of thirty-ſix thouſand pounds.

They allotted for one year's expence, incurred by the foreign troops in the pay of Great-Britain, one million two hundred thirty-eight thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven pounds nineteen ſhillings and ten pence, over and above ſixty thouſand pounds, for enabling his majeſty to fulfil his engagements with the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, purſuant to the ſeparate article of a new treaty concluded between them in the month of January of this current year, ſtipulating that this ſum ſhould be paid to his ſerene highneſs, in order to facilitate the means by which he might again fix his reſidence in his own dominions, and by his preſence give freſh courage to his faithful ſubjects. Eighty thouſand pounds were granted for enabling his majeſty to diſcharge the like ſum, raiſed in purſuance of an act paſſed in the preceding ſeſſion, and charged upon the firſt aids or ſupplies to be granted in this ſeſſion of parliament. The ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds was voted towards the building and repairing ſhips of war for the enſuing year. Fifteen thouſand pounds were allowed for improving London-bridge; and forty thouſand on account for the Foundling hoſpital. For the charge of tranſports to be employed in the courſe of the year, they aſſigned ſix hundred ſixty-ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-one pounds nineteen ſhillings and ſeven pence: for maintaining the colonies of Nova Scotia and Georgia, they beſtowed twenty-five thouſand two hundred and thirty-eight pounds thirteen ſhillings and five pence. To replace ſums taken from the ſinking fund, thirty-three thouſand two hundred and fifty-two pounds eighteen ſhillings and ten pence half-penny; for maintaining the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, ten thouſand pounds; and for paying off the mortgage on an eſtate, deviſed for the endowment of a profeſſorſhip in the univerſity of Cambridge, the ſum of twelve hundred and eighty pounds.

For the expence of the militia they voted ninety thouſand pounds: for extraordinary expences relating to the land forces, incurred in the courſe of laſt year, and unprovided for by parliament, the ſum of four hundred ſixty-ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-five pounds ten ſhillings five pence and three farthings. For the purchaſe of certain lands and hereditaments, in order to ſecure the king's docks at Portſmouth, Chatham, and Plymouth, they granted thirty-ſix thouſand nine hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds two ſhillings and ten pence. They voted two hundred thouſand pounds for enabling his majeſty to give proper compenſations to the reſpective provinces in North America, for the expences they had incurred in levying and maintaining troops for the ſervice of the public. They granted twenty thouſand pounds to the Eaſt India company, towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their ſettlements; and half that ſum was granted for carrying on the fortifications to ſecure the harbour of Milford. To make good ſeveral ſums iſſued by his majeſty, for indemnifying the innholders and victuallers of Hampſhire, for the expences they had incurred by quartering the Heſſian auxiliaries in England; for an addition to the ſalaries of judges, and other leſs conſiderable purpoſes, they allowed the ſum of twenty-ſix thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-eight pounds ſixteen ſhillings and ſix pence. Finally, they voted one million, upon account, for enabling the king to defray any extraordinary expence of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the ſervice of the current year; and to take all ſuch meaſures as might be neceſſary to diſappoint or defeat any enterprizes or deſigns of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs ſhould require.

The ſum of all the grants voted by the committee of ſupply, amounted to twelve millions ſeven hundred ſixty-one thouſand three hundred and ten pounds nineteen ſhillings and five-pence.

The funds allotted for raiſing this ſupply, conſiſted of the land tax at four ſhillings in the pound,

the malt tax continued, and the following expedients. They reſolved, that the annuities at three per centum, amounting to three millions one hundred thouſand pounds, granted in the year 1757, ſhould be, with the conſent of the ſeveral proprietors, added to the joint-ſtock of three per centum transferable annuities at the bank of England, conſolidated by the acts paſſed in the twenty-fifth, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth years of his majeſty's reign, and the charges and expences thereof to be charged upon the ſinking-fund until redemption by parliament; and that all ſuch perſons as ſhould not, before the fifth of April next, ſignify their diſſent, in books to be opened at the Bank for that purpoſe, ſhould be deemed aſſenting to this propoſal. They further reſolved, that all the moneys, which might ariſe, after the fifth day of January, from the produce of the additional ſtamp-duties on pamphlets, printed papers, coals exported, the ſurplus of the new duty on licences for retailing wine and ſpirituous liquors, which were conſtituted a fund for paying three per cent. per annum at the Bank, on three millions borrowed, by virtue of an act paſſed in the thirtieth year of his majeſty's reign, towards the ſupply of the year 1757; as alſo the annuities on ſingle lives, payable at the receipt of the Exchequer, in reſpect of the ſame, ſhould be added to the ſinking-fund.

They reſolved, that ſix millions ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be raiſed by transferable annuities, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per annum; and that an additional capital of fifteen pounds ſhould be added to every hundred pounds advanced; which additional capital ſhould conſiſt of ten pounds, given in a lottery-ticket to each ſubſcriber, and of five pounds in like transferable annuities at three pounds per cent: the blanks and prizes of the lottery to be attended with like annuities, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per annum, to commence from the fifth day of January, in the year 1760: that the ſum of ſix millions ſix hundred thouſand pounds, together with the ſaid additional capital of five pounds per cent, amounting to three hundred and thirty thouſand pounds, making in the whole ſix millions nine hundred and thirty thouſand pounds, ſhould bear intereſt after the rate of three per cent, to commence on the fifth day of July next enſuing: that theſe annuities ſhould be transferable at the bank of England, and charged upon a fund eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe in this ſeſſion of parliament, for which the ſinking-fund ſhould be a collateral ſecurity, redeemable by parliament in the whole, or in part, by ſums not leſs than five hundred thouſand pounds at one time, ſix months notice having been firſt given of ſuch payments reſpectively: that the lottery ſhould conſiſt of tickets valued at ten pounds each, in a proportion not exceeding eight blanks to a prize, each blank to be valued at ſix pounds. They reſolved, that every ſubſcriber ſhould, on or before the thirteenth day of February, make a depoſit of fifteen per centum, on ſuch ſum as he ſhould chuſe to ſubſcribe towards raiſing the ſix millions ſix hundred thouſand pounds, with the caſhiers of the bank of England, as a ſecurity for his making the future payments on or before the times limited by the act: that the ſeveral ſums ſo received ſhould by the caſhiers, be payed into the receipt of his majeſty's Exchequer, to be applied from time to time, to ſuch ſervices as the Commons ſhould then have voted, and not for any other purpoſe: that any ſubſcriber, paying the whole, or any part of his ſubſcription, previous to the days appointed for the reſpective payments, ſhould be allowed a diſcount, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per annum, from the days of ſuch reſpective payments to the times preſcribed.

They reſolved, that a ſubſidy of one ſhilling in the pound ſhould be impoſed on all tobacco, foreign linens, ſugar, and other grocery, Eaſt-India commodities, foreign brandy, ſpirits, and paper imported into Great-Britain, according to the value ſettled on each commodity by the ſeveral books of rates, on any acts of parliament, over and above the preſent duties charged upon theſe articles. They laid an additional inland duty of one ſhilling per pound upon all coffee ſold in Great-Britain, by wholeſale or retail; and another of ninepence per pound upon chocolate, over and above the former inland duty, and all cuſtoms payed on its importation. They reſolved, that ſuch part of the hundred thouſand pounds, granted in the laſt ſeſſion, towards defraying the expence of the militia, as remained in the Exchequer, after ſatisfaction of that expence, ſhould be iſſued and applied towards raiſing the ſupply granted in this ſeſſion: that, after the fifth day of July, in the current year, any perſon might trade in any goods or wares, in which the quantity of gold, in any one ſeparate piece, ſhould not exceed two penny weights, or the quantity of ſilver be under five penny weights, without being liable to take out a licence for that purpoſe; but that, from the ſame date, every perſon ſelling gold or ſilver plate, or goods in which gold or ſilver is manufactured, and the quantity of gold in one diſtinct piece ſhould amount to two ounces or upwards, ſhould pay five pounds for an annual licence, inſtead of the forty ſhillings formerly payable for this purpoſe; and that all pawn-brokers, refiners, and others, trading in gold and ſilver plate, ſhould be obliged to take out this new annual licence; the ſums thus raiſed to be applied to the ſame uſes and purpoſes, to which the ſums charged on licences by an act of laſt ſeſſion were applicable.

They ordained, that the act to ſettle the trade to Africa, paſſed in the reign of William the third, for allowing during a limited time, a drawback of the duties upon the exportation of copper bars imported, with a proviſo continued by ſeveral ſucceſſive acts, and now near expiring, ſhould be further protracted: that ſo much of an act, paſſed in the eighth year of George the firſt, for encouraging the ſilk manufacture of the kingdom, as relates to this encouragement, and to taking off ſeveral duties on merchandize exported, ſhould likewiſe be continued. They moreover voted the continuation of ſo much of an act paſſed in the ſecond year of George the ſecond, for the better preſervation of his majeſty's woods in America, as related to the premium upon maſts, yards, and bowſprits, tar, pitch, and turpentine. They reſolved, that the act for encouraging the growth of coffee in the American plantations, and another for the more effectual ſecuring the duties on foreign made ſail-cloth imported into the kingdom, ſhould be continued. They determined, that the ſums remain-

ing in the receipt of exchequer, diſpoſable by parliament, amounting to the ſum of two hundred fifty-three thouſand three hundred and eighty-four pounds and eleven pence, ſhould be applied towards making good the ſupply granted in this ſeſſion. They reſolved, that the duties payable upon raw ſhort ſilk or capiton, and ſilk nubs or huſks, ſhould, after the fifth day of July, ceaſe and determine; but, in lieu thereof, that the ſame duties ſhould be payed upon the importation of theſe articles, as were payed upon raw long ſilk imported, and applied to the ſame purpoſes.

Towards the preſent ſupply they likewiſe granted the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds, repayed into the receipt of the Exchequer, being the ſum which was voted in the year 1755, for enabling the king to fulfil his engagements with the empreſs of Ruſſia. For defraying the expence incurred by the additional ſalaries granted to the judges, they impoſed an additional ſtamp-duty of ſixpence upon every piece of vellum or parchment, or ſheet or piece of paper, on which ſhould be engroſſed or written any affidavit uſed at any court of law or equity at Weſtminſter, or in the courts of the great ſeſſions in Wales, or county-palatine of Cheſter, except affidavits taken purſuant to ſeveral acts made in the 30th and 32d years of the reign of Charles II. for burying in woollen; and except ſuch affidavits as ſhould be taken before the officers of the cuſtoms, or any juſtice of the peace, or commiſſioners appointed by act of parliament for aſſeſſing or levying aids or duties granted to his majeſty, which affidavits ſhould be taken by the ſaid officers of the cuſtoms, juſtices, or commiſſioners, by virtue of their authority, as juſtices of the peace, or commiſſioners, reſpectively. This additional ſtamp-duty was charged on all affidavits read and filed in the aforeſaid courts of judicature; on all paper and vellum uſed for common bail, rules, or orders, copies of rules or orders, original writs, ſubpœnas, proceſs or mandate that ſhould iſſue from or paſs the ſeals of any of the courts of Weſtminſter, courts of the great ſeſſions in Wales, courts in the counties palatine, or any other court whatever holding plea, where the debt or damage amounts to forty ſhillings or above, or the thing demanded is of that value; excepting, however, writs of covenant for levying fines, writs of entry for ſuffering common recoveries, and writs of habeas corpus.

They moreover eſtabliſhed an additional ſtamp-duty of one penny upon every ſheet of paper or piece of vellum uſed for depoſitions taken in the court of Chancery, or other court of equity at Weſtminſter, (except the paper draughts of depoſitions taken by virtue of any commiſſion before they are engroſſed) for copies of bills, anſwers, pleas, demurrers, replications, rejoinders, interrogatories, depoſitions, or other proceedings whatſoever, in this or any other court of judicature in England or Wales. The augmentation of ſalaries granted to the judges in Scotland was charged upon the duties and revenues collected in that part of Great Britain.

Finally the commons reſolved, that the ſum of two millions two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſhould be iſſued out of the ſinking-fund towards the ſupply of the current year; and one million raiſed by exchequer bills, chargeable on the firſt aids to be granted in the next ſeſſion of parliament. Theſe reſolutions were immediately digeſted into bills, which, ſoon after, received the royal ſanction.

On the twenty-ſecond day of May, Mr. ſecretary Pitt delivered a meſſage from his majeſty, importing, that his majeſty, relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful commons, and conſidering that, in this critical conjuncture, emergences might ariſe, which might be of the utmoſt importance, and be attended with the moſt pernicious conſequences, if proper means ſhould not immediately be applied to prevent or defeat them, was deſirous that this houſe would enable him to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the ſervice of the year 1759, and to take all ſuch meaſures as might be neceſſary to diſappoint or defeat any enterprizes or deſigns of his enemies, and as the exigencies of affairs might require.

This meſſage was no ſooner read, than a motion was made, and unanimouſly approved, that it ſhould be referred to the committee, who forthwith formed upon it the reſolution, whereby one million was granted, to be raiſed by loans, or exchequer bills, chargeable on the firſt aids that ſhould be given in the next ſeſſion. This produced a bill enabling his majeſty to raiſe the ſum of one million, for the uſes and purpoſes therein mentioned, comprehending a clauſe, allowing the bank of England to advance, on the credit of the loan therein mentioned, any ſum not exceeding a million, notwithſtanding the act of the fifth and ſixth years in the reign of William and Mary, by which the bank was eſtabliſhed.

The bills relating ſolely to the ſupply being finally eſtabliſhed, the houſe proceeded, as uſual, to enact other laws for the benefit of the public. Petitions having been preſented by the cities of Briſtol and New Sarum, alledging, that, ſince the laws prohibiting the making of low wines and ſpirits from grain, meal, and flour, had been in force, the commonalty appeared more ſober, healthy, and induſtrious; repreſenting the ill conſequences which they apprehended would attend the repeal of theſe laws, and therefore praying their continuance; a committee of the whole houſe reſolved, that the prohibition to export corn ſhould be continued to the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year 1759; ſubject, nevertheleſs, to ſuch proviſions for ſhortening the ſaid term of its continuance as ſhould hereafter be made by any act of that ſeſſion, or by his majeſty with the advice of his privy council, during the receſs of parliament: that the act for diſcontinuing the duties upon corn and flour imported, or brought in as prize, was not proper to be further continued: and that the prohibition to make low wines or ſpirits from any ſort of grain, meal, or flour, ſhould be continued to the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year 1759.

Before a bill was framed on theſe reſolutions, a remonſtrance was preſented by a great number of the malt-diſtillers of the city and ſuburbs of London, as well as by ſeveral farmers in the county of Norfolk, complaining of the hardſhips and loſſes they muſt ſuſtain, ſhould the bill paſs into a law.

However,

However, notwithſtanding their remonſtrances were carefully examined, the bill paſſed, with the amendments.

Repeated complaints having been made to the government by neutral nations, eſpecially the Dutch, that their ſhips had been plundered, and their crews maltreated, by ſome of the Engliſh privateers, the legiſlature reſolved to provide effectually againſt any ſuch outrageous practices for the future; and with this view the commons ordered a bill to be brought in, for amending and explaining an act of the twenty-ninth year of his preſent majeſty's reign, entitled, An act for the encouragement of ſeamen, and more ſpeedy and effectual manning of his majeſty's navy; which ſoon after received the royal aſſent, and contained the following regulations: That, after the firſt day of January in the preſent year, no commiſſion ſhould be granted to a privateer in Europe under the burden of one hundred tons, the force of ten carriage guns, being three pounders or above, with forty men at the leaſt, unleſs the lords of the admiralty, or perſons authoriſed by them, ſhould think fit to grant the ſame to any ſhip of inferior force or burthen, the owners thereof giving ſuch bail or ſecurity as ſhould be preſcribed: that the lords of the admiralty might at any time revoke, by an order in writing under their hands, any commiſſion granted to a privateer; this revocation being ſubject to an appeal to his majeſty in council, whoſe determination ſhould be final: that, previous to the granting any commiſſion, the perſons propoſing to be bound and give ſecurity ſhould ſeverally make oath of their being reſpectively worth more money than the ſum for which they were then to be bound, over and above the payment of all their juſt debts: that perſons applying for ſuch commiſſions ſhould make application in writing, and therein ſet forth a particular and exact deſcription of the veſſel, ſpecifying the burthen, and the number and nature of the guns on board, to what place belonging, as well as the name or names of the principal owner or owners, and the number of men; theſe particulars to be inſerted in the commiſſion, and every commander to produce ſuch commiſſion to the cuſtom-houſe officer, who ſhould examine the veſſel, and, finding her anſwer the deſcription, give a certificate thereof gratis, to be deemed a neceſſary clearance, without which the commander ſhould not depart: that if, after the firſt day of June, any captain of a privateer ſhould agree for the ranſom of any neutral veſſel, or the cargo, or any part thereof, after it ſhould have been taken as prize, and in purſuance of ſuch agreement ſhould actually diſcharge ſuch prize, he ſhould be deemed guilty of piracy; but that, with reſpect to contraband merchandize, he might take it on board his own ſhip, with the conſent of the commander of the neutral veſſel, and then ſet her at liberty; and that no perſon ſhould purloin or embezzle the ſaid merchandize before condemnation: that no judge or other perſon belonging to any court of admiralty ſhould be concerned in any privateer: that owners of veſſels, not being under fifty, or above one hundred tons, ſhould, after their commiſſions were declared void, be indemnified for their loſs by the public: that a court of oyer and terminer, and gaol delivery, for the trial of offences committed within the juriſdiction of the admiralty, ſhould be held twice a-year in the Old Bailey at London, or in ſuch other place within England as the board of admiralty ſhould appoint: that the judge of any court of admiralty, after an appeal interpoſed, as well as before, ſhould, at the requeſt of the captor or claimant, iſſue an order for appraiſing the capture, when the parties could not agree upon the value, and an inventory to be taken; then exact ſecurity for the full value, and cauſe the capture to be delivered to the perſon giving ſuch ſecurity: but ſhould objection be made to the taking ſuch ſecurity, the judge ſhould, at the requeſt of either party, order ſuch merchandize to be entered, landed, and ſold at public auction, and the produce be depoſited at the Bank, or in ſome public ſecurities; and in caſe of ſecurity being given, the judge ſhould grant a paſs in favour of the capture; and finally, that this act ſhould remain in force only during the continuance of the preſent war with France.

From this regulation it is evident, that whatever outrages might have been offered to the ſhips of neutral nations, they were by no means encouraged by the legiſlature, or the body of the people.

The attention of the commons was next engaged by an object of no leſs importance to the public. This was the regular eſtabliſhment of the militia, which, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the legiſlature, was found ſtill incomplete, and in want of further aſſiſtance from the government. His majeſty having, by the chancellor of the Exchequer, recommended to the houſe the making ſuitable proviſion for defraying the charges of the militia during the current year, the accounts of the expence already incurred by this eſtabliſhment were laid before the committee of ſupply, who, after having duly examined them, reſolved, that ninety thouſand pounds ſhould be granted on account, towards providing pay and cloathing for the militia, from the laſt day of the laſt year to the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year 1760, and for refunding to the king a ſum advanced for this ſervice.

Leave was given to bring in one bill agreeable to this reſolution, and another to enforce the execution of the laws relating to the militia, remove certain difficulties, and prevent the inconveniencies with which it might be attended. So eager were the majority in both houſes for accompliſhing this national meaſure, that they not only carried both bills to the throne, where they received the royal ſanction; but they preſented an addreſs to the king, deſiring his majeſty would give directions to his lieutenants of the ſeveral counties, ridings, and places in England, to uſe their utmoſt diligence and attention for carrying into execution the ſeveral acts of parliament relating to the militia.

The mutiny-bill, and that for the regulation of the marine forces while on ſhore, paſſed through the uſual forms, as annual meaſures, without any diſpute or oppoſition.

A committee having been appointed to enquire what laws were expired, or near expiring, and to report their opinion to the houſe touching the revival or continuation of theſe laws, they agreed to ſeveral reſolutions; in conſequence of which the following bills were brought in, and enacted into

into laws, namely, an act for regulating the laſtage and ballaſtage of the river Thames; an act for continuing the law relating to the puniſhment of perſons going armed or diſguiſed; an act for continuing ſeveral laws near expiring; an act concerning the admeaſurement of coals; and an act for the relief of debtors, with reſpect to the impriſonment of their perſons. This laſt, among other particulars, ordained, that where more creditors than one ſhall charge any priſoner in execution, and deſire to have him detained in priſon, they ſhall only reſpectively pay him each ſuch weekly ſum, not exceeding one ſhilling and ſix-pence a-week, as the court, at the time of his being remanded, ſhall direct: and that if any priſoner, deſcribed by the act, ſhall remain in priſon three months after being committed, any creditor may compel him to give into court, upon oath, an account of his real and perſonal eſtate, to be diſpoſed of for the benefit of his creditors, they conſenting to his being diſcharged.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion a bill was paſſed, permitting the free importation of cattle from Ireland for a limited time; as was alſo an act allowing the free importation of tallow from that kingdom, for the term of five years.

In the month of February the commons preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, requeſting that he would give directions for laying before the houſe an account of what had been done, ſince the beginning of laſt year, towards ſecuring the harbour of Milford, in purſuance of any directions from his majeſty. Theſe accounts being examined, and the king having, by the chancellor of the Exchequer, exhorted them to make proviſion for fortifying the ſaid harbour, a bill was brought in to explain, amend, and render more effectual, the act of the laſt ſeſſion relating to this ſubject; and paſſing through both houſes, received the royal aſſent without oppoſition. By this act ſeveral engineers were added to the commiſſioners formerly appointed; and it was ordained, that fortifications ſhould be erected at Peter-church point, Weſtlanyon-point, and Neyland-point, as being the moſt proper and beſt ſituated places for fortifying the interior parts of the harbour. It was alſo enacted, that the commiſſioners ſhould appoint proper ſecretaries, clerks, aſſiſtants, and other officers, for carrying the two acts into execution; and that an account of the application of the money ſhould be laid before the parliament within twenty days of the opening of every ſeſſion.

The next object that engaged the attention of the commons was an affair of a very delicate nature, of the utmoſt importance to the commerce of the kingdom, and which equally affected the intereſt of the nation and the character of the natives. In the latter end of February complaint was made to the houſe, that, ſince the commencement of the war, an infamous traffic had been ſet on foot by ſome merchants of London, of importing French cloths into ſeveral ports of the Levant, on account of Britiſh ſubjects. Five perſons were ordered to attend the houſe; and the fact was clearly proved, not only by their evidence, but alſo by ſome papers delivered to the houſe by the Turkey company. A bill was immediately framed for putting a ſtop to this ſcandalous practice, declaring in the preamble, that ſuch traffic was not only a manifeſt diſcouragement and prejudice to the woollen manufactures of Great Britain, but alſo an advantage to the enemy; in conſequence of which they were enabled to maintain the war againſt theſe kingdoms. This act, however, was only to continue in force during the preſent war with France.

The commons then proceeded to explain and amend a law made in the laſt ſeſſion, for granting to his majeſty ſeveral rates and duties upon offices and penſions. The directions given in the former act for levying this impoſition having been found inconvenient in many reſpects, new regulations were now eſtabliſhed, importing, that thoſe deductions ſhould be paid into the hands of receivers appointed by the king for that purpoſe: that all ſums deducted under this act ſhould be accounted for to ſuch receivers, and the accounts audited and paſſed by them, and not by the auditors of the impreſts or the Exchequer: that all diſputes relating to the collection of this duty ſhould be finally, and in a ſummary way, determined by the barons of the Exchequer in England and Scotland reſpectively: that the commiſſioners of the land-tax ſhould fix and aſcertain the ſum total or amount of the perquiſites of every office and employment within their reſpective diſtricts, diſtinct from the ſalary thereunto belonging, to be deducted under the ſaid act, independently of any former valuation or aſſeſſment of the ſame to the land-tax; and ſhould rate or aſſeſs all offices and employments whereof the perquiſites ſhould be found to exceed the ſum of one hundred pounds per annum, at one ſhilling for every twenty thence ariſing: that the receivers ſhould tranſmit to the commiſſioners in every diſtrict where any office or employment is to be aſſeſſed, an account of ſuch offices and employments, that, upon being certified of the truth of their amount, they might be rated and aſſeſſed accordingly: that, in all future aſſeſſments of the land-tax, the ſaid offices and employments ſhould not be valued at higher rates than thoſe at which they were aſſeſſed towards the land-tax of the thirty-firſt year of the preſent reign: that the word perquiſite ſhould be underſtood to mean ſuch profits of offices and employments as ariſe from fees eſtabliſhed by cuſtom or authority, and payable either by the crown or the ſubjects, in conſideration of buſineſs done in the courſe of executing ſuch offices and employments: and that a commiſſioner poſſeſſed of any office or employment might not interfere in the execution of the ſaid act, except in what might relate to his own employment. By the four laſt clauſes ſeveral ſalaries are exempted from the payment of this duty.

Nothing ſurely could be more reaſonable than ſuch a law, by which thoſe who receive ſo much from the bounty of the government were obliged to contribute ſomething towards its ſupport and defence. It were to be wiſhed, indeed, that the ſalaries and perquiſites of many of the public offices were infinitely leſs than they are at preſent; as this would probably be the moſt effectual means of preventing thoſe violent conteſts among the courtiers for places, which ſo often diſturb the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, and which owe their riſe not ſo much to any regard which the candidates have for the intereſt of their country, as to the deſire of encreaſing their own private fortunes.

In the beginning of March petitions were delivered to the houſe by the merchants of Birmingham in Warwickſhire, and Sheffield in Yorkſhire, repreſenting, that the toy-trade of theſe and many other towns conſiſted generally of articles in which gold and ſilver might be ſaid to be manufactured, though in ſmall proportion, inaſmuch as the ſale of them depended upon ſlight ornaments of gold and ſilver: that, by a clauſe paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, obliging every perſon who ſhould ſell goods or wares, in which any gold or ſilver was manufactured, to take out an annual licence of forty ſhillings, they the petitioners were laid under great difficulties and diſadvantages: that not only the firſt ſeller, but every perſon thro' whoſe hands the goods or wares paſſed to the conſumer, was required to take out the ſaid licence. They therefore prayed that the houſe would take theſe hardſhips and inequalities into conſideration, and indulge them with ſuch relief as to the houſe ſhould ſeem proper.

The committee, to whom this affair was referred, having reſolved, that this impoſition was found prejudicial to the toy and cutlery trade of the kingdom, the houſe agreed to the reſolution; and a bill being prepared, under the title of "An act to amend the act made in the laſt ſeſſion, for repealing the duty granted by an act of the ſixth year in the reign of his late majeſty on ſilver plate, and for granting a duty on licences to be taken out by all perſons dealing in gold and ſilver plate," was enacted into a law by the royal ſanction. By this new regulation, ſmall quantities of gold and ſilver plate were allowed to be ſold without licence. Inſtead of the duty before payable upon licences, another was granted to be taken out by certain dealers in gold and ſilver plate, pawnbrokers, and refiners.

This affair being finiſhed, the houſe took into conſideration the claims of the proprietors of lands, purchaſed for the better ſecuring of his majeſty's docks, ſhips, and ſtores, at Chatham, Portſmouth, and Plymouth; and for better fortifying the town of Portſmouth and citadel of Plymouth, in purſuance of an act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion. We have already mentioned the ſum granted for this purpoſe, in conſequence of a reſolution of the houſe, upon which a bill being founded, ſoon paſſed into a law without oppoſition.

The next bill which was introduced into the houſe related to the ſummons iſſued by the commiſſioners of the exciſe and juſtices of the peace, for the appearance of perſons offending againſt, or for forfeitures incurred by, the laws of exciſe. As ſome doubts had occurred with reſpect to the method of ſummoning in ſuch caſes, this bill, which afterwards received the royal aſſent, enacted, that ſummons left at the houſe, or uſual place of reſidence, or with the wife, child, or menial ſervants of the perſon ſo ſummoned, ſhould be held as legal notice, as well as the leaving ſuch notice at the houſe, workhouſe, warehouſe, ſhop, cellar, vault, or uſual place of reſidence of ſuch perſon, directed to him by his right or aſſumed name; and all dealers in coffee, tea, or chocolate, were ſubjected to the penalty of twenty pounds as often as they ſhould neglect to attend the commiſſioners of exciſe, when ſummoned in this manner.

In the month of April a bill was prepared for the more effectual preventing the fraudulent importation of cambricks; and while it was under conſideration, ſeveral merchants and wholeſale drapers of the city of London preſented a petition, explaining the grievances to which they and many thouſands of other traders would be ſubjected, ſhould the bill, as it then ſtood, be paſſed into a law. According to their requeſt, they were heard by their council on the juſtice of this remonſtrance; and ſome alterations were made to the bill in their favour. At length it was carried to the throne, and enacted into a law, to the following purport: That no cambricks, French lawns, or linens of this kind, uſually entered under the denomination of cambrics, ſhould be imported after the firſt day of next Auguſt, but in bales, caſes, or boxes, covered with ſackcloth or canvas, containing each one hundred whole pieces, or two hundred half pieces, on penalty of forfeiting the whole: that cambrics and French lawns ſhould be imported for exportation only, lodged in the king's warehouſe, and delivered out under like ſecurity and reſtrictions, as prohibited Eaſt India merchandize; and, on importation, pay only the half duty: that all cambrics and French lawns in the cuſtody of any perſons ſhould be depoſited, by the firſt of Auguſt, in the king's warehouſes, the bonds thereupon be delivered up, and the drawback on exportation paid; yet the goods ſhould not be delivered out again but for exportation: that cambrics and French lawns expoſed to ſale, or found in poſſeſſion of private perſons after the ſaid day, ſhould be forfeited, and liable to be ſearched for and ſeized, in like manner as other prohibited and unaccuſtomed goods are; and the offender ſhould forfeit two hundred pounds, over and above all other penalties and forfeitures inflicted by any former act: that, if any doubt ſhould ariſe concerning the ſpecies or quality of the goods, or the place where they were manufactured, the proof ſhould lie on the owner: finally, that the penalty of five pounds inflicted by a former act, and payable to the informer, on any perſon that ſhould wear any cambric or French lawns, ſhould ſtill remain in force, and be recoverable, on conviction, by oath of one witneſs, before one juſtice of the peace.

The laſt bill paſſed in the courſe of this ſeſſion, was that relating to the augmentation of the ſalaries of the judges in his majeſty's ſuperior courts of juſtice. A motion having been made for an inſtruction to the committee of ſupply to conſider of the ſaid augmentation, the chancellor of the Exchequer acquainted the houſe that this augmentation was recommended to them by his majeſty. Nevertheleſs, the motion was oppoſed, and a warm debate enſued. At length, however, being carried in the affirmative, the committee agreed to certain reſolutions, which were approved by the houſe, and digeſted into a bill. While this remained under deliberation, a motion was made for an inſtruction to the committee, that they ſhould have power to receive a clauſe or clauſes for reſtraining the judges, comprehended within the proviſions of the bill, from receiving any fee, gift, preſent, or entertainment, from any city, town, borough, or corporation, or from any ſheriff, gaoler, or other officer, upon their ſeveral reſpective circuits, and from taking any gratuity from any office or officer of any of the courts of law. Another motion was made for a clauſe reſtraining

ſuch judges, barons, and juſtices, as were comprehended within the proviſions of the bill, from interfering otherwiſe than by giving their own votes, in any election of members to ſerve in parliament; but both theſe propoſals being put to the vote, were carried in the negative. Theſe two motions being over-ruled by the majority, the bill underwent ſome alterations; and having paſſed through both houſes in the ordinary courſe, was enacted into a law by the royal ſanction. With reſpect to the import of this act, it is no other than the eſtabliſhment of the ſeveral ſtamp-duties applied to the augmentation; and the appropriation of their produce in ſuch a manner, that the crown cannot alter the application of the ſums thus granted in parliament.

Beſide the bills I have already mentioned, ſeveral others were introduced into the houſe, all of which, in the end proved abortive; and the commons deliberated on many other important ſubjects, which however were not brought to any kind of maturity. In the beginning of the ſeſſion, a committee being appointed to reſume the enquiry concerning the regulation of weights and meaſures, a ſubject I have mentioned in the hiſtory of the preceding ſeſſion, the box, which contained a Troy pound weight, locked up by order of the houſe, was again produced by the clerk, in whoſe cuſtody it had been depoſited. This affair being carefully examined, the committee agreed to certain reſolutions *, upon which a future law may poſſibly be founded. In the mean time, it was ordered that all the weights referred to in the report ſhould be delivered to the clerk of the houſe, to be locked up and brought forth again occaſionally.

The commons likewiſe, among other articles of domeſtic œconomy, beſtowed ſome attention on the hoſpital for foundlings, which was now, more than ever, become a matter of national conſideration. The accounts relating to this charity having been laid before the members, were, together with the king's recommendation, referred to the committee of ſupply, where they procured the ſum of money which I have already mentioned among the other grants of the year. The commons afterwards reſolved themſelves into a committee, to deliberate on the ſtate of the hoſpital, and examine its accounts. On the third day of

* The reader, perhaps, may not be diſpleaſed with a ſight of theſe reſolutions, which I have therefore inſerted. They implied, that the ell ought to contain one yard and one quarter, according to the yard mentioned in the third reſolution of the former committee upon the ſubject of weights and meaſures: that the pole, or perch, ſhould contain in length five ſuch yards and a half; the furlong two hundred and twenty; and the mile one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty: that the ſuperficial perch ſhould contain thirty ſquare yards and a quarter; the rood one thouſand two hundred and ten; and the acre four thouſand eight hundred and forty: that, according to the fourth, fifth, and ſixth reſolutions of the former committee, upon the ſubject of weights and meaſures, agreed to by the houſe on the ſecond day of June in the preceding year, the quart ought to contain ſeventy cubical inches and one half; the pint thirty-five and one quarter; the peck five hundred and ſixty-four; and the buſhel two thouſand two hundred and fifty-ſix: that the ſeveral parts of the pound, mentioned in the eighth reſolution of the former committee, examined and adjuſted in preſence of this committee, examined and adjuſted in preſence of this committee, viz. the half pound or ſix ounces, quarter of a pound or three ounces, two ounces, one ounce, two half ounces, the five penny weight, three penny weight, two penny weight, and one penny weight; the twelve grains, ſix grains, three grains, two grains, and two of one grain each, ought to be the models of the ſeveral parts of the ſaid pound, and to be uſed for ſizing or adjuſting weights for the future: that all weights exceeding a pound ſhould be of braſs, copper, bell-metal, or caſt iron; and that all thoſe of caſt iron ſhould be made in the form, and with a handle of hammered iron, ſuch as the pattern herewith produced, having the mark of the weight caſt in the iron; and all weights of a pound, or under, ſhould be of gold, ſilver, braſs, copper, or bell-metal: that all weights of caſt iron ſhould have the initial letters of the name of the maker upon the upper bar of the handle; and all other weights ſhould have the ſame, together with the mark of the weight, according to the ſtandard, upon ſome convenient part thereof: that the yard, mentioned in the ſecond reſolution of the former committee, upon the ſubject of weights and meaſures, agreed to by the houſe in the laſt ſeſſion, being the ſtandard of length; and the pound, mentioned in the eigth reſolution, being the ſtandard of weight, ought to be depoſited in the court of the receipt of the Exchequer, and there ſafely kept, under the ſeals of the chancellor of the ſaid Exchequer, and of the chief baron, and the ſeal of office of the chamberlain of the Exchequer, and not to be opened but by the order and in the preſence of the chancellor of the Exchequer and chief baron for the time being: that the moſt effectual means to aſcertain uniformity in meaſures of length and weight, to be uſed throughout the realm, would be to appoint certain perſons, at one particular office, with clerks and workmen under them, for the purpoſe only of ſizing and adjuſting, for the uſe of the ſubjects, all meaſures of length, and all weights, being parts, multiples, or certain proportions of the ſtandards to be uſed for the future: that a model or pattern of the ſaid ſtandard yard, mentioned in the ſecond reſolution of the former committee, and now in cuſtody of the clerk of the houſe, and a model or pattern of the ſtandard pound, mentioned in the eighth reſolution of that committee, together with models or patterns of the parts of the ſaid pound, now preſented to the houſe, and alſo of the multiples of the ſaid pound, mentioned in this report (when the ſame are adjuſted) ſhould be kept in the ſaid office, in cuſtody of the ſaid perſons to be appointed for ſizing weights and meaſures, under the ſeal of the chief baron of the Exchequer for the time being, to be opened only by order of the ſaid chief baron, in his preſence, or the preſence of one of the barons of the Exchequer, on the application of the ſaid perſons for the purpoſe of correcting and adjuſting, as occaſion ſhould require, the patterns or models uſed at the ſaid office, for ſizing meaſures of length and weight, delivered out to the ſubjects: that the models or patterns of the ſaid ſtandard yard, and ſtandard pound aforeſaid, and alſo models or patterns of the parts and multiples aforeſaid of the pound, ſhould be lodged in the ſaid office for the ſizing of ſuch meaſures of lengths or weights, as being parts, multiples, or proportions of the ſaid ſtandards, ſhould hereafter be required by any of his majeſty's ſubjects: that all meaſures of length and weight, ſized at the ſaid office, ſhould be marked, in ſome convenient place thereof, with ſuch marks as ſhould be thought expedient, to ſhew the identity of the meaſures and weights ſized at the ſaid office, and to diſcover any frauds that may be committed therein: that the ſaid office ſhould be kept within a convenient diſtance of the court of Exchequer at Weſtminſter; and that all meaſures of length and weights, within a certain diſtance of London, ſhould be corrected and re-aſſized, as occaſion ſhould require, at the ſaid office: that in order to inforce uniformity in weights and meaſures to be uſed for the future, all perſons appointed by the crown to act as juſtices of the peace, in any county, city, or town corporate, being reſpectively counties within themſelves, throughout the realm, ſhould be impowered to hear and determine, and put the law in execution, in reſpect to weights and meaſures only, without any of them being obliged to ſue out a *dedimus*, or to act in any other matter; and the ſaid commiſſioners ſhould be impowered to ſue, impriſon, inflict, or mitigate, ſuch penalties as ſhould be thought proper; and have ſuch other authorities as ſhould be neceſſary for compelling the uſe of weights and meaſures, agreeable to the foreſaid ſtandards: that models or patterns of the ſaid ſtandard yard and pound, and of the parts and multiples thereof, beforementioned, ſhould be diſtributed in each county, in ſuch a manner as to be readily uſed for evidence, in all caſes where meaſures and weights ſhould be queſtioned before the ſaid commiſſioners, and for adjuſting the ſame in a proper manner.

May

May their reſolutions were reported, to the following effect: That the appointing, by the governors and guardians of the ſaid hoſpital, places in the ſeveral counties, ridings, or diviſions, in this kingdom, for the reception of expoſed and deſerted young children, would be attended with evil conſequences; and that the conveying of children from the country to the ſaid hoſpital was attended with many evil conſequences, and ought to be prevented. A bill was ordered to be prepared agreeable to this laſt reſolution, but never drawn up, and therefore productive of no effect.

To the view I have exhibited of the proceedings in parliament, it may not be amiſs to ſubjoin ſome meſſages which were ſent by the king to the houſe of commons. That relating to the vote of credit I have already mentioned in the account of the ſupply. On the twenty-ſixth day of April the chancellor of the Exchequer preſented to the houſe two meſſages, ſigned by his majeſty; one in favour of his ſubjects in North America, and the other in behalf of the Eaſt India company. In the former, he recommended to their conſideration the zeal and vigour with which his faithful ſubjects in North America had exerted themſelves in defence of his juſt rights and poſſeſſions; deſiring he might be enabled to give them a proper compenſation for the expences incurred by the reſpective provinces in levying, cloathing, and paying the troops raiſed in that country, according as the active vigour and ſtrenuous efforts of the ſeveral colonies ſhould appear to merit. In the latter, he deſired the houſe would impower him to aſſiſt the Eaſt India company in defraying the expence of a military force in the Eaſt Indies, to be maintained by them in lieu of a battalion of regular troops withdrawn from thence, and returned to Ireland. Both theſe meſſages were referred to the committee of ſupply, and produced the reſolutions upon each ſubject, which I have already explained.

The meſſage concerning a projected invaſion by the enemies of Great Britain I ſhall ſpecify in its proper place, when I come to record the circumſtances and miſcarriage of that deſign. In the mean time, it may not be improper to obſerve, that the thanks of the houſe of commons were voted and given to admiral Boſcawen and major-general Amherſt, for the ſervices they had done their king and country in North America; and the ſame compliment was paid to admiral Oſborne, for the ſucceſs of his cruize in the Mediterranean.

On the ſecond day of June, the commiſſioners appointed by his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, addreſſed to both houſes, importing, that the king approved of their conduct, and returned them his thanks for their condeſcenſion: that the hopes he had conceived of their ſurmounting the difficulties which lay in their way, were founded on the wiſdom, zeal, and affection, of ſo good a parliament; and that his expectations were fully anſwered: that they had conſidered the war in all its parts; and, notwithſtanding its long continuance, through the obſtinacy of the enemy, had made ſuch proviſion for the many different operations, as ought to convince the adverſaries of Great Britain, that it would be for their intereſt, as well as for the eaſe and relief of all Europe to embrace equitable and honourable terms of accommodation: that, by their aſſiſtance, the combined army in Germany had been completed; and powerful ſquadrons, as well as numerous bodies of land forces, were employed in America, in order to maintain the Britiſh rights and poſſeſſions, and annoy the enemy in the moſt ſenſible manner in that country: that, as France was making conſiderable preparations in her different ports, his majeſty had taken care to put his fleet at home in the beſt condition, both of ſtrength and ſituation, to guard againſt and repel any attempts that might be meditated againſt his kingdoms: that all his meaſures had been directed to aſſert the honour of his crown; to preſerve the eſſential intereſts of his faithful ſubjects; to ſupport the cauſe of the proteſtant religion, and public liberty; and he therefore truſted, that the uprightneſs of his intentions would draw down the bleſſing of heaven upon his endeavours: that he hoped the precautions they had taken to prevent and correct the exceſſes of the privateers, would produce the deſired effect; a conſideration which he had much at heart; for, though ſenſible of the utility of that ſervice, when under proper regulations, he was determined to do his utmoſt to prevent any injuries or hardſhips which might be ſuſtained by the ſubjects of neutral powers, as far as might be practicable, and conſiſtent with his majeſty's juſt right to hinder the trade of his enemies from being colluſively and fraudulently covered: that he not only thanked the commons, but likewiſe applauded the firmneſs and vigour with which they had acted, as well as their prudence in judging that, notwithſtanding the preſent burdens, the making ample proviſion for carrying on the war was the moſt probable means to bring it to an honourable and happy concluſion: that no attention ſhould be wanting, on his part, for the faithful application of what had been granted; and that he had nothing further to deſire, but that they would carry down the ſame good diſpoſitions, and propagate them in their ſeveral counties, which they had ſhewn in their proceedings during the ſeſſion. This ſpeech being finiſhed, the parliament was prorogued.

The miniſtry and people of England ſeemed equally to concur in their ſentiments, that the war ought to be proſecuted, as well in Europe as in America, with the utmoſt ſpirit and vigour.

For this purpoſe every preparation was made, and every meaſure adopted, that the neceſſity of the ſervice required. The navy was repaired and augmented; and in order to mann the different ſquadrons, the expedient of preſſing, that laſt reſource in caſes of neceſſity, was practiſed both by land and water with extraordinary rigour and ſeverity. A proclamation was iſſued, offering a conſiderable bounty to every ſeaman and even landman that ſhould, by a certain day, enter voluntarily into the ſervice.

As an additional encouragement to this claſs of people, the king promiſed his pardon to all ſeamen, who had deſerted from the reſpective ſhips to which they belonged, provided they ſhould return to their duty by the third day of July; but at the ſame time he declared, that thoſe who ſhould neglect this opportunity at a time when their country ſo much required their ſervice, would, upon being apprehended, incur the penalty of a court-martial, and if convicted, be deemed unfit

objects of the royal mercy. All juſtices of the peace, mayors, and magiſtrates of corporations throughout Great Britain, were commanded to make particular ſearch for ſtraggling ſeamen fit for the ſervice, and to ſend all that ſhould be found to the neareſt ſea-port, that they might be ſent on board by the ſea-officer there commanding. Other methods, more gentle and effectual, were taken to levy and recruit the land-forces. New regiments were raiſed on his majeſty's promiſe, that every man ſhould be intitled to his diſcharge at the end of three years, and the premiums for liſting were increaſed.

Beſides theſe liberal indulgences from the government, conſiderable bounties were offered and given by cities, towns, corporations, and even by individuals, ſo univerſally were the people actuated by a real principle of love to their country. The example was ſet by the metropolis, where the common-council reſolved, that ſubſcriptions ſhould be received in the chamber of London, to be appropriated as bounty-money to ſuch perſons as ſhould enter voluntarily into his majeſty's ſervice. The city ſubſcribed a conſiderable ſum for this purpoſe; and a committee of aldermen and commons were appointed to attend at Guildhall, to receive and apply the ſubſcriptions. As a further encouragement to volunteers, they moreover reſolved, that every perſon ſo entering ſhould be intitled to the freedom of the city, at the expiration of three years, or ſooner, if the war ſhould be brought to a concluſion.

Theſe reſolutions being ſignified to the king, he was pleaſed to expreſs his approbation, and return his thanks to the city, in a letter from the ſecretary of ſtate to the lord-mayor. Large ſums were immediately ſubſcribed by different companies, and ſome private perſons; and in imitation of the capital, bounties were offered by almoſt every corporation, in every quarter of the united kingdom. At the ſame time, ſuch care was in taken in diſciplining the militia, that, before the cloſe of the year, the greater part of thoſe truly conſtitutional troops equalled the regular forces in the perfection of their exerciſe, and ſeemed to be in every reſpect as fit for actual ſervice.

But it is now time to convert the reader's attention to the Theatre of war on the continent of Europe, where we ſhall ſee the Engliſh and their allies, acquitting themſelves with remarkable ſpirit, reputation, and ſucceſs.

The Hanoverian army, commanded by prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, was ſtrengthened by freſh reinforcements from England, augmented with German recruits, regularly paid, and well ſupplied with every comfort and convenience which foreſight could ſuggeſt, or money procure; yet, in ſpight of all the precautions that could be taken, by the ſevere proceedings of the enemy they were cut off from ſome reſources, which even the extreme neceſſities of a campaign can hardly excuſe. On the ſecond day of January, the French regiment of Naſſau preſenting itſelf before the gate of Frankfort on the Mayne, a neutral imperial city, and demanding a paſſage, it was introduced, and conducted by a detachment of the garriſon, thro' the city as far as the gate of Saxen-hauſen, where it unexpectedly halted, and immediately diſarmed the guards. Before the inhabitants could recover from the conſternation into which they were thrown by this outrageous inſult, five other French regiments entered the place, and here their general the prince de Soubiſe eſtabliſhed his head-quarters. How deeply ſoever this violation of the laws of the empire might be reſented by all honeſt Germans, who retained affection for the conſtitutions of their country; it was a ſtep from which the French army derived a very manifeſt and important advantage; for it made them maſters of the whole courſe of the Mayne and the Upper Rhine; by which they received, without difficulty or danger, every ſpecies of ſupply from Mentz, Spire, Worms, and even the county of Alſace; while it maintained their communication with the chain formed by the Auſtrian forces and the army of the empire.

The plan of operations for the enſuing campaign was already concerted between the king of Pruſſia and prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick; and before the armies took the field, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes were fought, and quarters ſurpriſed. In the latter end of February, the prince of Yſembourg detached major-general Urſt with four battalions and a body of horſe, who advancing to Rhotenburg, fell upon the enemy's quarters in the night between the firſt and ſecond day of March, and drove them from Hirchfeld, Vacha, and all the Heſſian bailiwicks, of which they had taken poſſeſſion; but the Auſtrians ſoon returning in great numbers, and being ſuſtained by a detachment of French troops from Frankfort, the allies were obliged to retreat in their turn. In a few days, however, they themſelves were compelled to retire with great precipitation, though they did not all eſcape. The hereditary prince of Brunſwick, with a body of Pruſſian huſſars, fell upon them ſuddenly at Molrichſtadt, where he routed and diſperſed a regiment of Hohenzollern cuiraſſiers, and a battalion of the troops of Wurtzburg. He next day, which was the firſt of April, proceeded with a body of horſe and foot to Meinungen, where he found a conſiderable magazine, took two battalions priſoners, and ſurpriſed a third poſted at Waſungen, after having defeated ſome Auſtrian troops that were on the march to its relief. While the hereditary prince was thus employed, the duke of Holſtein, with another body of the confederates, conſtrained the French to abandon the poſt of Freyinſtenau.

But the great object was to diſlodge the enemy from Frankfort before they ſhould receive the expected reinforcements. Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic, being determined upon this enterprize, collected all his forces near Fulda, to the amount of forty thouſand choice troops, and began his march on the tenth day of April. On the thirteenth he came in ſight of the enemy, whom he found ſtrongly intrenched about the village of Bergen, between Frankfort and Hanau. Their general, the duke de Broglio, reckoned one of the beſt officers in France, in point of conduct and intrepidity, having received information of the prince's deſign, ſeized this poſt on the twelfth, the right of his army being at Bergen, and his center and flanks ſecured in ſuch a manner, that the allies could not make their attack any way but by the village.

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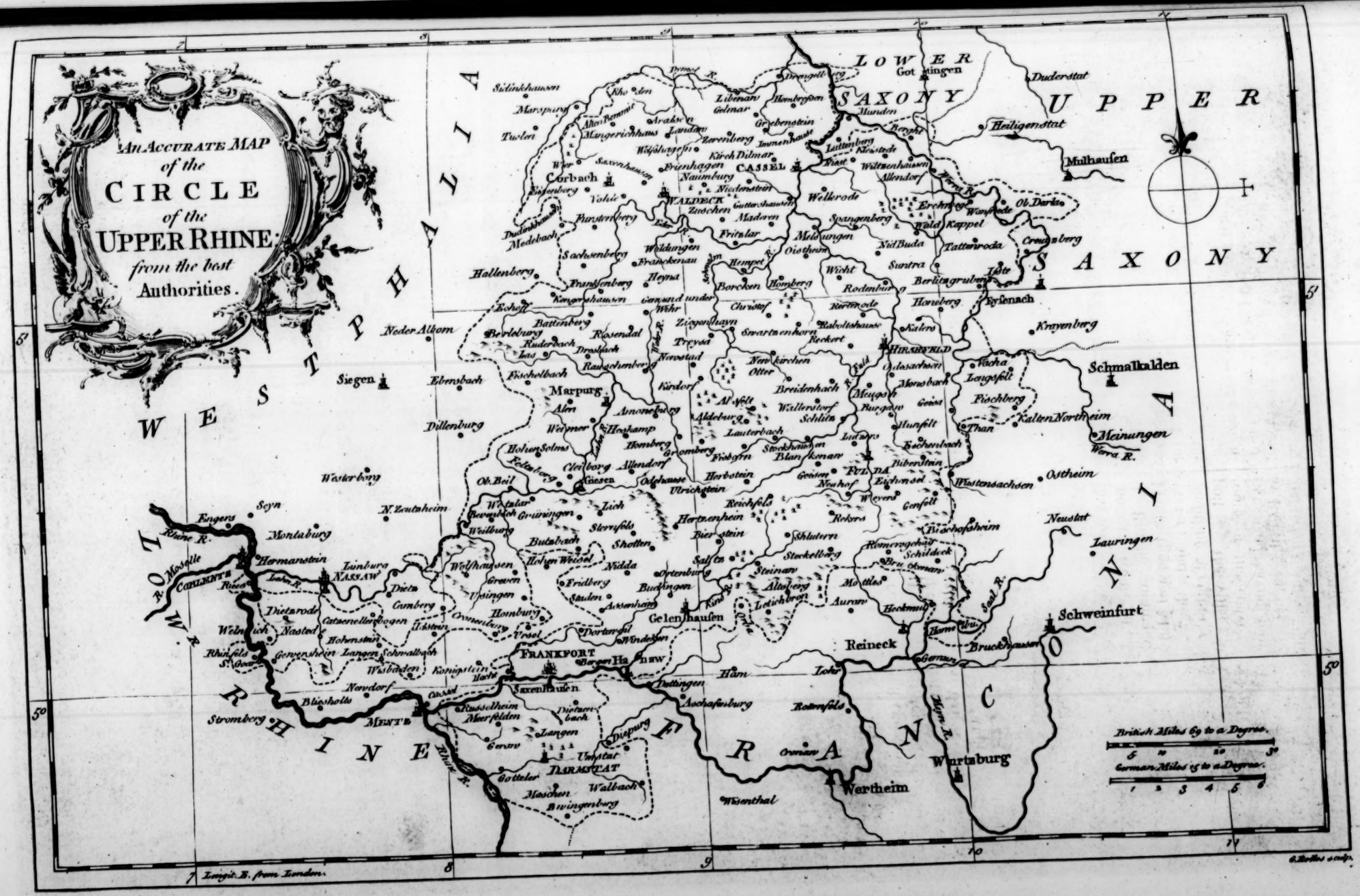
An Accurate Map
of the
CIRCLE
of the
UPPER RHINE:
from the best
Authorities.
WESTPHALIA
LOWER SAXONY
UPPER SAXONY
LOWER RHINE
FRANCONIA
CASSEL
FRANKFORT
MENTZ
DARMSTAT
WALDECK
HINFELD
Gelenhausen
Reineck
Schweinfurt
Wertheim
Wurtzburg
Schmalkalden
Meinungen
Siegen
Marpurg
Dillenburg
Montabaur
Hermanstein
Wetzlar
Gieſſen
Corbach
Hallenberg
Meldungen
Fritzlar
Spangenberg
Mulhausen
Heiligenstat
Duderstat
Eysenach
Krayenberg
Ostheim
Neustat
Lauringen
Bruckhausen
Hanau
Aschaffenburg
Rotenfels
Langen
Offenbach
Hochheim
Königstein
Wisbaden
Nassau
Coblentz
Ems
Lahn R.
Rhine R.
Moſelle R.
Main R.
Saal R.
Werra R.
Ilm R.
Ohm R.
Eder R.
Diemel R.
Fulda
Hombourg
Ysenburg
Isenburg
Solms
Stolberg
Leiningen
Rheinfels
Bacharach
Oppenheim
Worms
Darmstat
Heidelberg
Manheim
Spire
Landau
Zweybrucken
Kayserslautern
Alzey
Creutznach
Kreuznach
Frankenthal
Weinheim
Wimpfen
Heilbron
Mergentheim
Rothenburg
Hall
Gemund
Ellwangen
Aalen
Gmund
Hohenstaufen
Hohenrechberg
Hohenasperg
Stuttgard
Ludwigsburg
Tübingen
Rottenburg
Hechingen
Sigmaringen
Ulm
Memmingen
Kempten
Lindau
Bregentz
Constance
Schaffhausen
Basle
Brisach
Friburg
Offenburg
Rastadt
Philipsburg
Carlsruhe
Durlach
Pforzheim
Calw
Tubingen
Rottweil
Villingen
Donaueschingen
Stockach
Radolfzell
Ueberlingen
Buchhorn
Wangen
Isny
Leutkirch
Biberach
Ochsenhausen
Ehingen
Blaubeuren
Geislingen
Goppingen
Esslingen
Canstadt
Heidenheim
Nordlingen
Dunkelspuhl
Hall
Crailsheim
Onolzbach
Schwabach
Nuremberg
Forchheim
Bamberg
Coburg
Saalfeld
Rudolstadt
Arnstadt
Ilmenau
Gotha
Erfurt
Weimar
Jena
Naumburg
Weissenfels
Merseburg
Halle
Leipzig
Wittenberg
Dessau
Zerbst
Cothen
Bernburg
Aschersleben
Quedlinburg
Halberstadt
Wolfenbuttel
Brunswick
Hanover
Hamelen
Minden
Osnabrug
Munster
Paderborn
Corvey
Warburg
Hoxter
Cassel
Gottingen
Northeim
Einbeck
Hildesheim
Goslar
Clausthal
Zellerfeld
Embden
Leer
Oldenburg
Delmenhorst
Bremen
Verden
Stade
Hamburg
Lubeck
Wismar
Rostock
Stralsund
Greifswald
Anclam
Stettin
Pasewalk
Prenzlow
Templin
Oderberg
Berlin
Potsdam
Brandenburg
Havelberg
Perleberg
Ludwigslust
Schwerin
Gustrow
Neubrandenburg
Neustrelitz
Ruppin
Rheinsberg
Fehrbellin
Wittstock
Perleberg
Kyritz
Wilsnack
Havelberg
Tangermunde
Stendal
Gardelegen
Salzwedel
Osterburg
Seehausen
Werben
Arneburg
Genthin
Burg
Magdeburg
Calbe
Barby
Egeln
Oschersleben
Hadmersleben
Helmstadt
Schoningen
Brunswick
Wolfenbuttel
Gandersheim
Seesen
Osterode
Herzberg
Duderstat
Heiligenstat
Mulhausen
Langensalza
Tennstedt
Sommerda
Weissensee
Sondershausen
Frankenhausen
Kelbra
Sangerhausen
Eisleben
Mansfeld
Querfurt
Freyburg
Naumburg
Weissenfels
Zeitz
Altenburg
Borna
Leipzig
Grimma
Oschatz
Torgau
Wittenberg
Belzig
Brandenburg
Potsdam
Berlin
Frankfort on the Oder
Custrin
Landsberg
Soldin
Arnswalde
Schivelbein
Dramburg
Neustettin
Deutsch Crone
Flatow
Schneidemuhl
Bromberg
Inowraclaw
Gnesen
Posen
Meseritz
Crossen
Sorau
Guben
Cottbus
Lubben
Luckau
Herzberg
Torgau
Eilenburg
Delitzsch
Bitterfeld
Dessau
Zerbst
Cothen
Bernburg
Aschersleben
Quedlinburg
Halberstadt
Wernigerode
Blankenburg
Ilsenburg
Harzburg
Goslar
Clausthal
Zellerfeld
Osterode
Northeim
Einbeck
Hildesheim
Alfeld
Gronau
Hanover
Hamelen
Minden
Osnabrug
Munster
Paderborn
Corvey
Warburg
Hoxter
Cassel
Gottingen

Notwithſtanding the advantage of their ſituation, prince Ferdinand reſolved to give them battle, and made his diſpoſitions accordingly. About ten in the morning the grenadiers of the advanced guard began the attack on the village of Bergen with great fury, and ſuſtained a moſt terrible fire from eight German battalions, reinforced by ſeveral brigades of French infantry. The grenadiers of the allied army, though ſupported by ſeveral battalions under the command of the prince of Yſembourg, far from being able to diſlodge the enemy from the village, were, after a very obſtinate diſpute, obliged to retreat in ſome diſorder; but rallied again behind a body of Heſſian cavalry.

The allies being repulſed in three different attacks, prince Ferdinand began to think of a retreat, whilſt his loſs was yet inconſiderable, and the diſorder of his men eaſily to be repaired. But a retreat, in the face of a victorious enemy, was hazardous; and the day was not yet above half ſpent. In this exigence he made ſuch movements, as ſtrongly indicated a deſign of falling once more upon the village, in the enemy's right, and of making, at the ſame time, a new attack upon their left. Theſe appearances were farther countenanced by a cannonade, on both theſe poſts, ſupported with uncommon fury. The French, deceived by thoſe manœuvres, kept cloſe in their poſts: they expected a new and vigorous attack every moment, they returned the cannonade as briſkly as they could: and in this poſture things continued till night came on, when the prince made an eaſy retreat without diſorder, or moleſtation, and halted at Windeken.

The loſs of the allies in this action amounted to about two thouſand men in killed and wounded, including the prince of Yſembourg: nor was that of the French much leſs conſiderable. The confederates, indeed, ſuffered nothing in point of reputation; their courage and conduct, through the whole of the engagement, having been equally conſpicuous. Prince Ferdinand gained as much honour, and diſplayed as much ſkill, as could have been gained or diſplayed upon a more fortunate occaſion. The event, however, was, in its conſequences, far from indifferent: for the allies having miſſed their blow, the French ſtill kept poſſeſſion of Franckfort, and of all the advantages which they drew from that ſituation: they had time and means to receive their reinforcements: and they acquired, in a ſhort ſpace, ſuch a ſuperiority, as obliged prince Ferdinand, for a long time after, to content himſelf with acting on the defenſive.

In a few days after the battle, the prince thought proper to continue his retreat towards Fulda, in which his rear ſuffered conſiderably from a body of the enemy's light troops, under the command of M. de Blaiſel, who ſurpriſed two ſquadrons of dragoons, and a battalion of grenadiers. The firſt were taken or diſperſed; the laſt eſcaped with the loſs of their baggage. The allied army returned to their cantonments about Munſter, and the prince began to make preparations for taking the field in earneſt.

While the French enjoyed plenty in the neighbourhood of Duſſeldorp and Crevelt, by means of the Rhine, the allies laboured under dearth and ſcarcity of every ſpecies of proviſion, becauſe the country which they occupied was already exhauſted, and all the ſupplies were brought from an immenſe diſtance. The ſingle article of forage occaſioned ſuch enormous expence, as alarmed the adminiſtration of Great Britain, who, in order to prevent miſmanagement and fraud for the future, nominated a member of parliament inſpector-general of the forage, and ſent him over to Germany in the beginning of the year, with the rank and appointments of a general officer, that the importance of his character, and the nature of his office, might be a check upon thoſe who were ſuſpected of iniquitous appropriations.

Mean while, the French armies on the Upper and Lower Rhine, being put in motion, joined on the third day of June near Marpurg, under the command of the mareſchal de Contades, who proceeded to the northwards, and eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Corbach; from whence he detached a body of light troops to take poſſeſſion of Caſſel, which, at his approach, was abandoned by general Imhoff. The French army being encamped at Stadtberg, the duke de Broglio, who commanded the right wing, advanced from Caſſel into the territories of Hanover, where he ſeized Gottingen without oppoſition; while the allied army aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Lipſtadt, and encamped about Soeſt and Werle. Prince Ferdinand, finding himſelf inferior to the united forces of the enemy, was obliged to retire as they advanced, after having left ſtrong garriſons in Lipſtadt, Retberg, Munſter, and Minden.

Theſe precautions, however, did not ſeem to anſwer the intended purpoſe. Retberg was ſurprized by the duke de Broglio, who likewiſe took Minden by ſtorm, and made general Zaſtrow, with his garriſon of fifteen hundred men, priſoners of war; a misfortune ſo much the greater, as it was attended with the loſs of an immenſe magazine of hay and corn, which fell into the hands of the enemy. They likewiſe made themſelves maſters of Munſter, inveſted Lipſtadt, and all their operations were hitherto ſucceſsful. The regency of Hanover, alarmed at their progreſs, determined to provide for the worſt, by ſending their chancery and moſt valuable effects to Stade; from whence, in caſe of neceſſity, they might be tranſported by ſea to England. At the ſame time, they employed their utmoſt endeavours in preſſing men for recruiting and reinforcing the army under prince Ferdinand, who ſtill continued to retreat; and on the eleventh day of July transferred his head quarters from Oſnabrug to Bomte, near the Weſer. Here, having received intelligence that Minden was taken by the French, he ſent forward a detachment to ſecure the poſt of Stoltznau on that river, where on the fifteenth he arrived.

Mean while, the French general advancing to Minden, encamped in a ſtrong ſituation, having that town on his right, a ſteep hill on his left, a moraſs in front, and a rivulet in rear. The duke de Broglio commanded a ſeparate body between Hanſbergen and Minden, on the other ſide of the Weſer; and a third, under the duke de Briſſac, conſiſting of eight thouſand men, occupied a ſtrong poſt by the village of Coveldt, to facilitate the route of the convoys from Paderborn. Prince Ferdinand, having moved his camp from Stoltznau to Peterſhagen, detached the hereditary prince on the twenty-eighth day of July to Lubeke, from whence he diſloged the enemy; and, continuing

his route to Rimſel, was joined by major-general Dreves, who had retaken Oſnabrug, and cleared all that neighbourhood of the enemy's parties; then he advanced towards Hervorden, and fixed his quarters at Kirchlinneger, to intercept the enemy's convoys from Paderborn. During theſe tranſactions, prince Ferdinand marched with the allied army in three columns from Peterſhagen to Hille, where it encamped, having a moraſs on the right, the village of Friedewalde on the left, and in front thoſe of Northemmern and Holtzenhauſen. Fifteen battalions and nineteen ſquadrons, with a brigade of heavy artillery, were left under the command of general Wangenheim on the left, behind the village of Dodenhauſen, which was fortified with ſome redoubts, defended by two battalions. Colonel Luckner, with the Hanoverian huſſars and a brigade of hunters, ſuſtained by two battalions of grenadiers, was poſted between Buckebourg and the Weſer, to watch the body of troops commanded by the duke of Broglio on the other ſide of the river.

On the laſt day of July the mareſchal de Contades, reſolving to attack the allied army, ordered the corps of Broglio to repaſs the river; and advancing in eight columns, about midnight, croſſed the rivulet of Barta, that runs along the moraſs, and falls into the Weſer at Minden. At day-break he drew up his army in order of battle, part of it fronting the corps of general Wangenheim at Dodenhauſen, and part of it facing Hille; the two wings conſiſting of infantry, and the cavalry being ſtationed in the centre. At three in the morning the enemy began to cannonade the prince's quarters at Hille from a battery of ſix cannon, which they had erected in the preceding evening on the dyke of Eickhorſt. This was probably the firſt intimation he received of their deſign. He forthwith cauſed two pieces of artillery to be conveyed to Hille, and ordered the officer of the picquet-guard there poſted, to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity: at the ſame time he ſent orders to general Gieſen, who occupied Lubeke, to attack the enemy's poſt at Eickhorſt; and this ſervice was ſucceſsfully performed. The prince of Anhalt, lieutenant-general for the day, took poſſeſſion with the reſt of the piquets of the village of Halen, where prince Ferdinand determined to ſuſtain his right. It was already in the hands of the enemy; but they ſoon abandoned it with precipitation.

The allied army, being put in motion, advanced in eight columns, and occupied the ground between Halen and Hemmern, while General Wangenheim's corps filled up the ſpace between this laſt village and Dodenhauſen. The enemy made their chief attack on the left, intending to force the infantry of Wangenheim's corps, and penetrate between it and the body of the allied army. For this purpoſe the duke de Broglio charged them with great impetuoſity; but was ſeverely checked by a battery of thirty cannon, prepared for his reception by the duke de Buckeburg, grand maſter of the artillery, and ſerved with admirable effect, under his own eye and direction. About five in the morning, both armies cannonaded each other: at ſix the fire of the muſquetry began with great fury, and the action became very hot towards the right, where ſix regiments of Engliſh infantry, and two battalions of Hanoverian guards, not only bore the whole brunt of the French carabineers and gendarmerie, but abſolutely broke every body of horſe and foot that advanced to attack them on the left and in the centre. The Heſſian cavalry, with ſome regiments of Holſtein, Pruſſian and Hanoverian horſe, commanded by lord George Sackville, whoſe ſecond was the marquis of Granby, were poſted at a conſiderable diſtance from the firſt line of infantry, and divided from it by a wood that bordered on a heath. Orders were ſent, during the action, to bring them up; but whether theſe orders were contradictory or unintelligible, imperfectly underſtood or careleſly executed, they did not arrive in time to have any ſhare in the action. Nevertheleſs, the enemy were repulſed in all their attacks with conſiderable loſs: at length they gave way in every part; and about noon, abandoning the field of battle, were purſued to the ramparts of Minden. In this action they loſt about ſeven thouſand men, with forty-three large cannon, and many colours and ſtandards; whereas the loſs of the allies did not amount to above two thouſand men, as it chiefly fell upon a few regiments of Britiſh infantry, commanded by the majors-general Waldegrave and Kingſley. To the extraordinary valour of theſe gallant brigades, and the fire of the Britiſh artillery, which was admirably ſerved by the captains Philips, Macbean, Drummond, and Foy, the victory was in a great meaſure attributed. That ſame night the enemy croſſed the Weſer, and burned the bridges over that river. Next day the garriſon of Minden ſurrendered at diſcretion, and here the victors found a great number of French officers wounded.

This victory, however important, would, in all probability, have been ſtill more deciſive, had not the Britiſh cavalry neglected to join in this action; but whether this neglect was owing to any confuſion in giving or delivering the orders, or to any miſapprehenſion in him who received them, will appear more clearly from the trial of the commander of the Engliſh forces, which I ſhall record amongſt the tranſactions of the enſuing year. Mean while it may not be improper to obſerve, that prince Ferdinand ſeemed to be of the laſt opinion, and this ſentiment he even inſinuated in the orders which he iſſued for returning his thanks to ſuch regiments and officers as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the action. Theſe orders were as follow:

"His ſerene highneſs orders his greateſt thanks to be given the whole army, for their bravery and good behaviour yeſterday, particularly to the Engliſh infantry, and the two battalions of Hanoverian guards; to all the cavalry of the left wing, and to general Wangenheim's corps, particularly the regiment of Holſtein, the Heſſian cavalry, the Hanoverian regiment du Corps and Hamerſtin's; the ſame to all the brigades of heavy artillery. His ſerene highneſs declares publickly, that next to God he attributes the glory of the day to the intrepidity and extraordinary good behaviour of theſe troops, which he aſſures them he ſhall retain the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of as long as he lives; and if ever, upon any occaſion, he ſhall be able to ſerve theſe brave troops, or any of them in particular, it will give him the utmoſt pleaſure. His ſerene highneſs orders his particular thanks to be likewiſe given to general Sporcken, the duke of Holſtein, lieutenant generals Imhoff and Urf. His ſerene highneſs is extremely obliged to the count de

de Buckeburg, for his extraordinary care and trouble in the management of the artillery, which was ſerved with great effect; likewiſe to the commanding officers of the ſeveral brigades of artillery, viz. colonel Browne, lieutenant colonel Hutte, major Haſſe, and the three Engliſh captains, Philips, Drummond, and Foy. His ſerene highneſs thinks himſelf infinitely obliged to major generals Waldegrave and Kingſley, for their great courage, and the good order in which they conducted their brigades. His ſerene highneſs further orders it to be declared to lieutenant-general the marquis of Granby, that he is perſuaded, that if he had had the good fortune to have had him at the head of the cavalry of the right wing, his preſence would have greatly contributed to make the deciſion of that day more complete and more brilliant. In ſhort, his ſerene highneſs orders, that thoſe of his ſuite whoſe behaviour he moſt admired, be named, as the duke of Richmond, colonel Fitzroy, captain Ligonier, colonel Watſon, captain Wilſon, aid-de-camp to major-general Waldegrave, adjutant generals Erſtoff, Bulow, Durendolle, the count Tobe and Malerti; his ſerene highneſs having much reaſon to be ſatisfied with their conduct. And his ſerene highneſs deſires and orders the generals of the army, that upon all occaſions when orders are brought to them by his aids-de-camp, that they may be obeyed punctually, and without delay." The ſevere inſinuation concerning the diſobedience of orders, and the invidious compliment to a ſubordinate officer, were clear indications of the prince's ſentiments.

Mareſchal de Contades, in his firſt movements after the battle of Minden, ſeemed inclined to retreat through the defiles of Wittekendſtein to Paderborn; but he was fain to change his reſolution, in conſequence of his having received advice, that, on the very day of his own defeat, the duke de Briſſac was vanquiſhed by the hereditary prince in the neighbourhood of Coveldt, ſo that the paſſage of the mountains was rendered impracticable. The duke de Briſſac had been advantageouſly encamped with his left to the village of Coveldt, having the Werra in his front, and his right extending to the ſalt-pits. In this advantageous ſituation he was attacked by the hereditary prince and general de Kilmanſeg, with ſuch vivacity and addreſs, that his troops were totally routed, with the loſs of ſix cannon, and a conſiderable number of men killed, wounded, or taken priſoners. After the battle of Minden, colonel Freytag, at the head of the light troops, took, in the neighbourhood of Detmold, all the equipage of the mareſchal de Contades, the prince of Condé, and the duke de Briſſac, with part of their military cheſt and chancery, containing papers of the utmoſt conſequence.

Prince Ferdinand, having ſupplied Minden with a ſufficient garriſon, proceeded to Hervorden; and the hereditary prince croſſed the Weſer at Hamelen, in order to purſue the enemy, who retreated to Caſſel, and from thence, by the way of Marpurg, as far as Gieſſen. In a word, they were continually harraſſed by that enterpriſing prince, who ſeized every opportunity of attacking them in rear; took the greateſt part of their baggage; and compelled them to abandon every place they occupied in Weſtphalia. The number of his priſoners amounted to fifteen hundred men, beſides the garriſon left at Caſſel, which ſurrendered at diſcretion. He likewiſe ſurpriſed a whole battalion, and defeated a conſiderable detachment under the command of M. d'Armentieres.

In the mean time, the allied army advanced in regular marches; and prince Ferdinand, having ſecured Caſſel, detached general Imhoff, with a body of troops, to reduce the city of Munſter, which he accordingly began to batter with great fury; but M. d'Armentieres, being joined by a freſh body of troops from the Lower Rhine, advanced to its relief, and obliged Imhoff to abandon the ſiege. It was not long, however, before this general was alſo reinforced; then he meaſured back his march to Munſter, and the French commander retired in his turn. The place was immediately ſhut up by a cloſe blockade; which, however, did not prevent the introduction of ſupplies. The city of Munſter being an object of importance, was diſputed with great obſtinacy. Armentieres received reinforcements, and the body commanded by Imhoff was occaſionally augmented; but the ſiege was not formally undertaken till November, when ſome heavy artillery having arrived from England, the place was regularly inveſted, and the operations carried on with ſuch vigour, that, in a few days, the city ſurrendered on capitulation.

Prince Ferdinand having taken poſſeſſion of the town and caſtle of Marpurg, proceeded with the army to Neidar-Weimar, and there fixed his camp, while Contades remained at Gieſſen, on the ſouth ſide the river Lahne, where he was joined by a colleague in the perſon of the mareſchal d'Eſtrées. By this time he was become extremely unpopular among the troops, on account of the defeat at Minden, which he is ſaid to have attributed to the miſconduct of Broglio, who recriminated on him in his turn, and ſeemed to gain credit at the court of Verſailles.

While the two armies lay encamped in the neighbourhood of each other, nothing paſſed but ſkirmiſhes between the light troops, and little excurſive expeditions. The French army was employed in carrying off their magazines and fortifying Gieſſen, as if their intention was to retire to Frankfort on the Mayne; after having deſtroyed all the forage, and converted the country into a military deſart. In the beginning of November, the mareſchal duke de Broglio returned from Paris, whither he had lately gone, and aſſumed the command of their army, from whence Contades and d'Eſtrées immediately retired, with ſeveral other general officers that were ſenior to the new commander.

The duke of Wirtemberg having occupied the town of Fulda, the hereditary prince of Brunſwick reſolved to beat up his quarters. For this purpoſe, on the twenty-eighth day of November, he began his march from Marpurg, at the head of a ſelect body of forces. Next night they arrived at Augerbach, from whence they diſlodged the volunteers of Naſſau; and at one o'clock in the morning, of the thirtieth, they advanced directly to Fulda, where the duke of Wirtemberg, far from expecting ſuch a viſit, had invited all the faſhionable people in Fulda to a ſumptuous entertainment. The hereditary prince, having ſurveyed the avenues in perſon, took ſuch meaſures, that the troops of Wirtemberg, who were ſcattered in ſmall bodies, would have been cut off, if they had not haſtily retired into the town, where, however, they

they found no ſhelter. The prince ruſhed into the place; and they retreated to the other ſide of the town, where four battalions of them were routed and taken; while the duke himſelf, with the reſt of his forces, filed off on the other ſide of the Fulda. Two pieces of cannon, two pair of colours, and all their baggage, fell into the hands of the victors; and the hereditary prince advanced as far as Rupertenrade, a place ſituated on the right of the French army. Perhaps this motion haſtened the reſolution of the duke de Broglio to relinquiſh Gieſſen, and fall back to Friedberg, where he fixed his head-quarters. The allied army immediately occupied his camp at Kleinlinnes and Heuchelem, and ſeemed determined to undertake the ſiege of Gieſſen.

While both armies remained in this poſition, the duke de Broglio was honoured with the ſtaff as mareſchal of France, and formed a reſolution to diſlodge the allies. Having recalled all his detachments, he advanced towards them on the twenty-fifth day of December; but found them ſo well diſpoſed to receive him, that he thought proper to abandon his deſign, and nothing but a mutual cannonade enſued; after which he returned to his former quarters. From Kleinlinnes the allied army proceeded to Corſdorf, where they were cantoned till the beginning of January, when they fell back as far as Marpurg, where prince Ferdinand eſtabliſhed his head-quarters. The enemy had by this time, recovered their ſuperiority, in conſequence of the hereditary prince's being detached with fifteen thouſand men to join the king of Pruſſia at Freyberg in Saxony. Nevertheleſs by the victory at Minden, the dominions of Hanover and Brunſwick were preſerved, and the enemy compelled to evacuate great part of Weſtphalia. Perhaps they might have been driven to the other ſide of the Rhine, had not the general of the allies been obliged to weaken his army for the ſupport of the Pruſſian monarch, who had ſuffered ſeveral loſſes in the courſe of this campaign.

It was not to any failure either in point of courage or conduct, that this warlike prince owed the ſeveral checks he ſuſtained. Even in the middle of winter, his troops, under general Manteufel, acted with great ſpirit againſt the Swedes in Pomerania. They reduced Damgarten, and ſeveral other places which the Swedes had garriſoned; and the froſt ſetting in, thoſe who were quartered in the iſle of Uſedom paſſed over the ice to Wolgaſt, which they took without much difficulty. They then laid ſiege to Demmen and Anclam at the ſame time, and the garriſons of both ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, to the number of two thouſand ſeven hundred men, including officers. In Demmen they found four and twenty pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of ammunition. In Anclam there was a conſiderable magazine, with ſix and thirty pieces of cannon, mortars, and howitzers. A large detachment under general Knobloch ſurpriſed Erfurth, and raiſed conſiderable contributions at Gotha, Eiſenach, and Fulda; from whence alſo they removed all the forage and proviſions to Saxe-Naumberg.

In the latter end of February, the Pruſſian major-general Woberſnow proceeded with a ſtrong body of troops from Glogau in Sileſia to Poland; and advancing by the way of Liſſa, inveſted the caſtle of the prince Sulkowſki, a Poliſh grandee, who had been very active againſt the intereſt of the Pruſſian monarch.

After ſome reſiſtance, he was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, and was ſent priſoner with his whole garriſon to Sileſia. From hence Woberſnow wheeled off to Poſna, where he made himſelf maſter of a conſiderable magazine, guarded by two thouſand Coſſacks, who fled at his approach; and, having deſtroyed ſeveral others, returned to Sileſia. In April, the fort of Penamunde in Pomerania was ſurrendered to Manteufel; and about the ſame time a detachment of Pruſſian troops bombarded Schwerin, the capital of Mecklenburg. Mean while, reinforcements were ſent to the Ruſſian army in Poland, which in April began to aſſemble on the Viſtula. The court of Peterſburgh had likewiſe begun to prepare a large fleet, by means of which the army might be ſupplied with military ſtores and proviſions: but this armament was retarded by an accidental fire at Revel, which deſtroyed all the magazines and materials for ſhipbuilding, to an immenſe value.

About the latter end of March the king of Pruſſia aſſembled his army at Rhonſtock, near Strigau; and marching to the neighbourhood of Landſhut, took poſt at Bolchenhayn. On the other hand, the Auſtrian army, under the command of mareſchal Daun, was aſſembled at Munchengratz in Bohemia; and the campaign was opened by an exploit of general Beck, who ſurpriſed and made priſoners a battalion of Pruſſian grenadiers, quartered at Greifenberg on the frontiers of Sileſia. This advantage, however, was more than counterbalanced by the activity and ſucceſs of prince Henry, brother to the Pruſſian king, who commanded the army which wintered in Saxony. About the middle of April he advanced in two columns towards Bohemia, forced the paſs of Peterſwalde, deſtroyed the Auſtrian magazines at Auſſig, burned their boats upon the Elbe, ſeized the forage and proviſion which the enemy had left at Lowcſitz and Leutmeritz, and demoliſhed a new bridge which they had built for their convenience. At the ſame time, general Hulſen attacked the paſs of Paſsberg, guarded by general Renard, who was taken with two thouſand men, including fifty officers: then he proceeded to Satz, in hope of ſecuring the Auſtrian magazines: but theſe the enemy conſumed, that they might not fall into his hands, and retired towards Prague with the utmoſt precipitation.

Prince Henry, having happily performed theſe exploits, and filled all Bohemia with alarm and conſternation, returned to Saxony, and diſtributed his troops in quarters of refreſhment in the neighbourhood of Dreſden. In a few days, however, they were again put in motion, and advanced to Obelgeburgen; from whence he proſecuted his route through Voigtland, in order to attack the army of the empire in Franconia. He accordingly entered this country, by the way of Hoff, on the ſeventh of May, and the next day ſent a detachment to attack general Macguire, who commanded a body of Imperialiſts at Aſch, and ſuſtained the charge with great gallantry; but finding himſelf in danger of being overpowered by numbers, he retreated in the night towards Egra. The army

of the Empire, commanded by the prince de Deux-ponts, being unable to check the progreſs of the Pruſſian general, retired from Cullembach to Bamberg, and from thence to Nuremberg, where, in all probability, they would not have been ſuffered to remain unmoleſted, had not prince Henry been recalled to Saxony. He had already taken Cronach and the caſtle of Rotenberg, and even advanced as far as Bamberg, when he received intelligence, that a body of Auſtrians, under general Gemmingen, had forced their way into Saxony.

This diverſion effectually ſaved the army of the empire, as prince Henry immediately returned to the electorate, after having laid the biſhoprick of Bamberg, and the marquiſate of Cullembach, under contribution, deſtroyed all the magazines provided for the Imperial army, and ſent fifteen hundred priſoners to Leipſic. A party of Imperialiſts, under count Palfy, attempted to harraſs him in his retreat; but they were defeated near Hoff, with conſiderable ſlaughter: nevertheleſs, the Imperial army, though now reduced to ten thouſand men, returned to Bamberg: and as the Pruſſians approached the frontiers of Saxony, the Auſtrian general Gemmingen retired into Bohemia. During all theſe tranſactions, the mareſchal count Daun remained with the grand Auſtrian army at Schurtz in the circle of Koningſgratz; while the Pruſſians, commanded by the king in perſon, continued quietly encamped between Landſhut and Schweidnitz. General Fouquet headed a large body of troops in the ſouthern part of Sileſia; but theſe being moſtly withdrawn, in order to oppoſe the Ruſſians, the Auſtrian general de Ville, who hovered on the frontiers of Moravia, with a conſiderable detachment, took advantage of this circumſtance, and, advancing into Sileſia, encamped within ſight of Neiſs.

In the beginning of June, the king of Pruſſia, being informed that the Ruſſian army had begun their march from the Viſtula, ordered the ſeveral bodies of his troops, under Hulſen and Woberſnow, reinforced by detachments from his other armies, to join the forces under count Dohna, as general in chief, and march into Poland. Accordingly they advanced to Meritz, where, on the fifteenth day of June, the count publiſhed the following declaration:

"His Pruſſian majeſty, finding himſelf under a neceſſity to cauſe part of his armies to enter the territories of the republic of Poland, in order to protect them againſt the threatened invaſion of the enemy, declares, that,

"It muſt not be underſtood that his majeſty by this ſtep taken, intends to make any breach in the regard he has always had for the illuſtrious republic of Poland, or to leſſen the good underſtanding which has hitherto ſubſiſted between them, but, on the contrary, to ſtrengthen the ſame, in expectation that the illuſtrious republic will, on its part, act with the like neighbourly and friendly good will as is granted to the enemy, than which nothing more is deſired.

"The nobility, gentry, and magiſtracy, in their reſpective diſtricts, between the frontiers of Pruſſia, ſo far as beyond Poſen, are required to furniſh all kind of proviſions, corn, and forage, neceſſary to ſupport an army of 40,000 men, with the utmoſt diſpatch, with an aſſurance of being paid ready money for the ſame. But if, contrary to expectation, any deficiency ſhould happen in ſupplying this demand, his majeſty's troops will be obliged to forage, and uſe the ſame means as thoſe taken by the enemy for their ſubſiſtence.

"In confidence, therefore, that the ſeveral juriſdictions, upon the Pruſſian frontiers, within the territories of Poland, will exert themſelves to comply with this demand as ſoon as poſſible, for the ſubſiſtence of the royal army of Pruſſia, they are aſſured that thereby all diſorders will be prevented, and whatever is delivered will be paid for in ready money."

Two days after he iſſued another manifeſto, to this effect. "It was with the greateſt aſtoniſhment that the king, my moſt gracious lord and maſter, heard that ſeveral of his own ſubjects had ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced from their allegiance ſo far, as to enter into the ſervice of a potentate, with whom he is at war; his majeſty, therefore, makes known by theſe preſents, that all of his ſubjects ſerving in the enemy's armies, who ſhall be taken with arms in their hands, ſhall, agreeably to all laws, be ſentenced to be hanged without mercy, as traitors to their king and country. Of which all whom it may concern are deſired to take notice, &c."

On the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month another declaration was iſſued to this purpoſe. "We invite and deſire, that the nobility, archbiſhops, biſhops, abbeys, convents, ſeignories, magiſtrates, and inhabitants of the republic of Poland, on the road to Poſnania, and beyond it, would repair in perſon, or by deputies, in the courſe of this week, or as ſoon after as poſſible, to the Pruſſian head quarters, there to treat with the commander in chief, or the commiſſary at war, for the delivery of forage and proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of the army, to be paid for with ready money.

"We promiſe and aſſure ourſelves, that no perſon in Poland will attempt to ſeduce the Pruſſian troops to deſert; that no aſſiſtance will be given them in ſuch perfidious practices; that they will neither be ſheltered, concealed, or lodged; which would be followed by very diſagreeable conſequences: we expect, on the contrary, that perſons of all ranks and conditions will ſtop any run away or deſerter, and deliver him up at the firſt advanced poſt, or at the head-quarters; and all expences attending the ſame ſhall be paid, and a reaſonable gratification ſuperadded.

"If any one hath any inclination to enter into the king of Pruſſia's ſervice, with an intention to behave well and faithfully, he may apply to the head-quarters, and be aſſured of a capitulation for three or four years.

"If any prince or member of the republic of Poland be diſpoſed to aſſemble a body of men, and to join in a troop, or in a company, the Pruſſian army, to make a common cauſe with it, he may depend on a gracious reception, and that due regard will be ſhewn to his merit, &c."

From Meritz the Pruſſians marched towards Poſna, where they found the Ruſſian army under count Soltikoff ſtrongly encamped, having in their rear that city and the river Warta, and in their front a formidable intrenchment mounted with a great number of cannon. Count Dohna finding it impoſſible to attack them in this ſituation with any proſpect of ſucceſs, endeavoured to cut off their ſupplies from the eaſtward; but for want of

proviſion, was, in a little time, obliged to return towards the Oder: then the Ruſſians advanced to Zullichau in Sileſia. The king of Pruſſia thinking count Dohna had been rather too cautious, conſidering the emergency of affairs, gave him leave to retire for the benefit of his health, and conferred his command upon general Wedel, who reſolved immediately to give the Ruſſians battle. Thus determined, he marched againſt them in two columns; and, on the twenty-third day of July, attacked them at Kay, near Zullichau, where, after a very obſtinate engagement, he was repulſed with great loſs, Woberſnow being killed, and Manteufel wounded in the action; and in a few days, the Ruſſians took poſſeſſion of Franckfort upon the Oder.

By this time, the armies of count Daun and the king of Pruſſia had made ſeveral motions. The Auſtrians having quitted their camp at Schurtz, advanced towards Zittau in Luſatia, where having halted a few days, they reſumed their march, and encamped at Gorlitzhayn, between Sudenberg and Mark-Liſſau His Pruſſian majeſty, in order the more narrowly to watch their motions, marched by the way of Herchberg to Lahn; and his vanguard ſkirmiſhed with that of the Auſtrians commanded by Laudohn, who entered Sileſia by the way of Grieffenberg. The Auſtrian general was obliged to retire with loſs; while the king penetrated into Sileſia, that he might be at hand to act againſt the Ruſſians, whoſe progreſs was now become truly alarming. He no ſooner received intimation that Wedel had been worſted, than he marched with a ſelect body of ten thouſand men from his camp in Sileſia, in order to take upon him the command of Wedel's army, leaving the reſt of his forces ſtrongly encamped, under the direction of his brother prince Henry, who had joined him before this event. Count Daun being informed of the king's intention, and knowing the Ruſſians were very defective in cavalry, immediately detached a body of twelve thouſand horſe, to join them, under the command of Laudohn; and theſe, penetrating in two columns through Sileſia and Luſatia, with ſome loſs, arrived in the Ruſſian camp at a very critical juncture.

Mean while the king of Pruſſia joined general Wedel on the fourth day of Auguſt at Muhlroſe, where he aſſumed the command of the army: but finding it greatly inferior to the enemy, he recalled general Finck, whom he had detached ſome time before, with a body of nine thouſand men, to oppoſe the progreſs of the Imperialiſts in Saxony: for when prince Henry joined his brother in Sileſia, the army of the Empire had entered that electorate. Thus reinforced, the number of the king's army at Muhlroſe did not amount to above fifty thouſand, whereas the Ruſſians were more numerous by about forty thouſand. They had choſen a ſtrong camp at the village of Cunerſdorf, almoſt oppoſite to Franckfort upon the Oder, and encreaſed the natural ſtrength of their ſituation by intrenchments mounted with a formidable artillery. In other circumſtances, it might have been deemed a fooliſh and ridiculous enterprize, to attack ſuch an army under ſuch complicated diſadvantages: but here was no room for heſitation. The king's affairs ſeemed to require a deſperate effort; and perhaps, in his ſituation, raſhneſs could hardly dictate any thing which would not have been recommended by prudence.

Having determined to hazard an attack, he made his diſpoſitions, and on the twelfth day of Auguſt, at two in the morning, his troops were in motion. The army being drawn up in a wood, advanced towards the enemy; and about eleven, the action was begun with a ſevere cannonade. This having produced the deſired effect, he charged the left wing of the Ruſſian army with his beſt troops formed in columns. After a very obſtinate diſpute, the enemy's entrenchments were forced with great ſlaughter, and ſeventy pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the Pruſſians. A narrow defile was afterwards paſſed, and ſeveral redoubts that covered the village of Cunerſdorf were taken by aſſault, one after another. One half of the taſk was not yet performed: The Ruſſians made a firm ſtand at the village: but they were overborne by the impetuoſity of the Pruſſians, who drove them from poſt to poſt up to the laſt redoubts they had to defend. As the Ruſſians kept their ground until they were hewn down in their ranks, this ſucceſs was not acquired without infinite labour, and a conſiderable expence of blood. After a furious conteſt of ſix hours, fortune ſeemed to declare ſo much in favour of the Pruſſians, that the king diſpatched the following billet to the queen at Berlin: "Madam, we have driven the Ruſſians from their intrenchments. In two hours expect to hear of a glorious victory."

This news arrived at Berlin juſt as the poſt was ſetting out, and the friends of the king of Pruſſia throughout Europe exulted in the proſpect of a ſure and deciſive victory. Mean while fortune was preparing for him a terrible reverſe. The Ruſſians were ſtaggered, not routed. General Soltikoff rallied his troops, and reinforced his left wing under cover of a redoubt, which was erected on an eminence called the Jews Burying-ground, and here they ſtood in order of battle, with the moſt reſolute countenance; favoured by the ſituation, which was naturally difficult of acceſs, and now rendered almoſt impregnable by the fortification, and a numerous artillery, ſtill greatly ſuperior to that of the Pruſſians. Had the king contented himſelf with the advantage already gained, all the world would have acknowledged he had fought againſt terrible odds with aſtoniſhing proweſs; and that he judiciouſly deſiſted, when he could no longer perſevere without incurring the imputation of folly and imprudence. His troops had not only ſuffered ſeverely from the enemy's fire, which was cloſe, deliberate, and well directed, but they were fatigued by the hard ſervice, and fainting with the heat of the day, which was exceſſive. His general officers are ſaid to have reminded him of all theſe circumſtances; and to have diſſuaded him from hazarding an attempt attended with ſuch danger and difficulty, as even an army of freſh troops could hardly hope to ſurmount. He rejected this ſalutary advice, and ordered his infantry to begin a new attack, which being an enterpriſe beyond their ſtrength, they were repulſed with great ſlaughter. Being afterwards rallied, they returned to the charge: they miſcarried again, and their loſs was redoubled. Being thus rendered unfit for further ſervice, the cavalry ſucceeded to the attack, and repeated their unſucceſsful efforts, until they were almoſt broke and entirely exhauſted.

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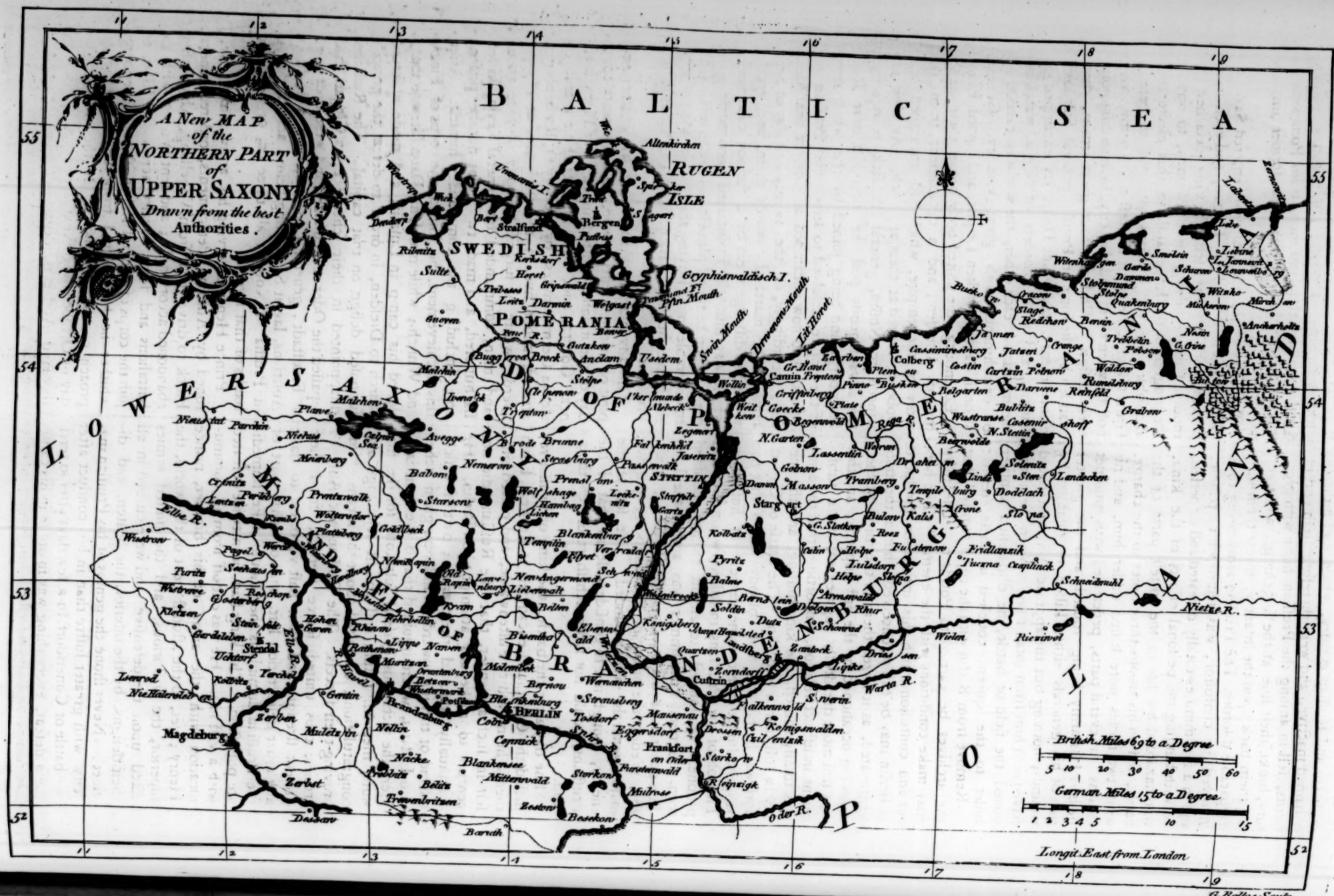
A New MAP of the NORTHERN PART of UPPER SAXONY Drawn from the best Authorities.
BALTIC SEA
RUGEN
ISLE
SWEDISH
POMERANIA
LOWER SAXONY
DUCHY OF BREMEN
ELECTORATE OF BRANDENBURG
NEW MARCH
NEUMARK
LITTLE POLAND
Altenkirchen
Stralsund
Bergen
Greifswald
Gripswald
Darmin
Wolgast
Usedom
Anclam
Brock
Buggenhagen
Gutzkow
Stolpe
Wollin
Griffenberg
Goecke
Plate
Colberg
Cassimiresburg
Jatzen
Crange
Gartzin
Petznow
Waldow
Rumelsburg
Rahnfeld
Gratzow
Bublitz
Wustrause
Casemir
Schoff
Belgarten
Darvene
Bogenwold
N. Stettin
Beerwolde
Solcwitz
Stan
Landecken
Dodelach
Massow
Framberg
Templeburg
Linde
Drahetzen
Lassentin
Gobnow
Stargart
Pyritz
Kolbatz
Ruhnow
Kalis
Reez
Fridlanzik
Vierna
Crapplinck
Schneidemuhl
Nietze R.
Wirsitz
Rietzinvel
Driesen
Warta R.
Zantock
Tzicke
Quartzen
Landsberg
Zorndorff
Cuftrin
Mallenwald
Soverin
Komigswalden
Frankfort on Oder
Storkow
Reipzigk
Mausenau
Tasdorf
Fitzgersdorf
Drossen
Cailsentzik
Oder R.
Wernauchen
Strausberg
Berlin
Cobnick
Stolpe R.
Potsdam
Brandenburg
Blankensburg
Bernow
Midembek
Bisenthal
Ebersmald
Konigsberg
Soldin
Driesen
Schonrad
Dutz
Hoppe
Tuchdorf
Armswalde
Bernstein
Dolgard
Rhur
Pyritz
Talmo
Blankenburg
Templin
Elpret
Vierraden
Schwedt
Angermund
Lieberwalt
Lewenburg
Old Rapin
Rapin
Pasewalk
Strasburg
Prenzlow
Lockenitz
Stuppelt
Garitz
Jasenitz
Nemerow
Babow
Brunne
Broda
Avegge
Calpin
Saz
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Ivenack
Tetzpton
Malchen
Plawe
Nienstat
Parchin
Nienus
Meirenberg
Crivitz
Perleberg
Lentzen
Pombs
Prentzwalk
Wolterader
Plattenberg
Gotzlpack
Elbe R.
Wistrow
Pagel
Werle
Tarits
Seehausen
Wetzwitz
Bischop
Closterberg
Kletzen
Stein fält
Gardelaben
Stendal
Uchtorf
Iserwod
Nie Haldersleb en
Tarchel
Elde R.
Rhinow
Fehrbellin
Lippe
Nauen
Rathenow
Moritzen
Brandenburg
Potsdam
Gentin
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Magdeburg
Mulelzin
Nellin
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Belitz
Zerbst
Dessau
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Mittenwald
Blankensee
Storkow
Zesten
Besekow
Mulrose
Trevenbritzen
Lubin
Holpe
Fulstenow
Lubsdorf
Holpe
Stetza
Wirsitz
Wielen
Rietzinvel
Lake
Smelzin
Witnikow
Garde
Schwerin
Stolzenwald
Dammen
Stolpe
Quakenburg
Witnikow
Mirchau
Ancherholtz
Bucko
Crayon
Stage
Redichow
Benin
Nasin
G. Crine
Trebbitin
Pobogen
Jamen
Jatzen
Crange
Colberg
Castin
Gartzin
Petznow
Waldow
Rumelsburg
Rahnfeld
Gratzow
Bublitz
Wustrause
Casemir
Schoff
Belgarten
Darvene
Bogenwold
N. Stettin
Beerwolde
Solcwitz
Stan
Landecken
Dodelach
Massow
Framberg
Templeburg
Linde
Drahetzen
Lassentin
Gobnow
Stargart
Pyritz
Kolbatz
Ruhnow
Kalis
Reez
Fridlanzik
Vierna
Crapplinck
Schneidemuhl
Nietze R.
Wirsitz
Rietzinvel
Driesen
Warta R.
Zantock
Tzicke
Quartzen
Landsberg
Zorndorff
Cuftrin
Mallenwald
Soverin
Komigswalden
Frankfort on Oder
Storkow
Reipzigk
Mausenau
Tasdorf
Fitzgersdorf
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Witnikow
Mirchau
Ancherholtz
Bucko
Crayon
Stage
Redichow
Benin
Nasin
G. Crine
Trebbitin
Pobogen
British Miles 69 to a Degree
5 10 20 30 40 50 60
German Miles 15 to a Degree
1 2 3 4 5 10 15
Longit. East from London
G. Roller Sculp.

At this critical juncture, the whole body of the Auſtrian and Ruſſian cavalry, which had hitherto remained inactive, and were therefore freſh and in ſpirits, fell in among the Pruſſian horſe with great fury, broke their line at the firſt charge, and forcing them back upon the infantry, threw them into irreparable diſorder. The Pruſſian army being thus involved in confuſion, was ſeized with a pannic, and in a few minutes totally defeated and diſperſed, notwithſtanding the perſonal efforts of the king, who hazarded his life in the hotteſt parts of the battle, led on his troops three times to the charge, while two horſes were killed under him, and his cloaths, in ſeveral parts, penetrated with muſquet balls. His army being routed, and the greater part of his generals either killed or diſabled by wounds, nothing but the approach of night could have ſaved him from total ruin. When he abandoned the field of battle, he diſpatched another billet to the queen, couched in theſe terms: "Remove from Berlin with the royal family. Let the archives be carried to Potſdam. The town may make conditions with the enemy." The horror and confuſion which this intimation produced at Berlin may be eaſily conceived: horror the more aggravated, as it ſeized them in the midſt of their rejoicing occaſioned by the firſt diſpatch; and this was ſtill more dreadfully augmented, by a ſubſequent indiſtinct relation, importing, that the army was totally routed, the king miſſing, and the enemy in full march to Berlin. The battle of Cunerſdorf was by far the moſt bloody action that had happened ſince the commencement of hoſtilities. The loſs of the Pruſſians in killed, wounded, and priſoners, amounted to almoſt twenty thouſand men. General Putkammer was among the ſlain. The generals Seydelitz, Itzenplitz, Hulſen, Fink, and Wedel, the prince of Wurtemberg, and five major generals, were wounded. The loſs of the enemy, though not ſo conſiderable as that of the Pruſſians, could not fall much ſhort of ten thouſand.

The day after the battle, the king of Pruſſia repaſſed the Oder, and encamped at Retwein. From thence he moved to Fuſtenwalde, and placed himſelf in ſuch a manner, that the Ruſſians did not venture to make any attempt upon Berlin. He continually watched their army; part of which, inſtead of turning towards Brandenburgh, marched into Luſatia, where it joined that of the Auſtrians. Here the victorious general Soltikoff, for the firſt time, met M. Daun, and amidſt rejoicings and congratulations, conſulted about the means of improving their ſucceſs. The Ruſſian and Auſtrian armies, thus united, ſcarce ſeemed, from their preſent ſtrength and their paſt victories, to have any other deliberation left, than of what part of the Pruſſian dominions they ſhould take immediate poſſeſſion. The king had been twice defeated with a vaſt loſs. He was cut off from all communication with the army of his brother, prince Henry; yet, to the aſtoniſhment of the world, the ſuperior, the victorious, and the united armies acted upon the defenſive, and were curbed in all their deſigns, by the inferior, the beaten, and divided. Never ſhone the genius of his Pruſſian majeſty with greater luſtre than in his conduct after the battle of Cunerſdorf. In a few days after ſo terrible a defeat, every thing was in order in his camp. He reaſſembled and refreſhed his broken troops; he furniſhed himſelf with cannon from the arſenal at Berlin, which likewiſe ſupplied him with a conſiderable number of recruits; he recalled general Kleiſt, with five thouſand men, from Pomerania; and, in a little time, retrieved his former importance.

The army of the empire having entered Saxony, where it reduced Leipſic, Torgau, and even took poſſeſſion of Dreſden itſelf, the king detached ſix thouſand men under general Wunch, to oppoſe the progreſs of the Imperialiſts in that electorate; and obſerving the Ruſſians intended to beſiege Great Glogau, he, with the reſt of his army, took poſt between them and that city, ſo as to diſappoint their deſign. While the four great armies, commanded by the king of Pruſſia, general Soltikoff, prince Henry, and count Daun, lay encamped in Luſatia, and on the borders of Sileſia, watching the motions of each other, the war was carried on by detachments with great vivacity. General Wunch having retaken Leipſic, and joined Finck at Eulenburg, the united body began their march towards Dreſden; and a detachment from the army of the empire, which had encamped near Dobelin, retired at their approach. As they advanced to Noſſin, general Haddick relinquiſhed the advantageous poſt he occupied near Roth Scemberg, and being joined by the whole army of the empire, reſolved to attack the Pruſſian generals, who now encamped at Corbitz near Meiſſen; accordingly, on the twenty-firſt day of September, he marched towards them, and endeavoured to diſlodge them by a furious cannonade, which was mutually maintained from morning to night, when he found himſelf obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs; leaving the field of battle, with about five hundred priſoners, in the hands of the Pruſſians.

This advantage was ſucceeded by another exploit of prince Henry; who, on the twenty-third day of the month, quitted his camp at Hornſdorf, near Gorlitz, and, after an incredible march of eleven German miles, by the way of Rothenburg, arrived, about five in the afternoon, at Hoyerſwerda, where he ſurpriſed a body of four thouſand men, commanded by general Veyla, killed ſix hundred, and made twice that number priſoners; including the commander himſelf. After this atchievement, he joined the corps of Finck and Wunch; while mareſchal Daun likewiſe abandoned his camp in Luſatia, and made a forced march to Dreſden, in order to defeat the prince's ſuppoſed deſign on that capital. The Ruſſians, diſappointed in their ſcheme upon Glogau, had repaſſed the Oder at Neuſalze, and were encamped at Frauſtadt; general Laudohn, with a body of Auſtrians, lay at Schlichtingſkeim; and the king of Pruſſia at Koben: all three on, or near the banks of that river.

Prince Henry obſerving his army almoſt environed by Auſtrian detachments, ordered general Finck to drive them from Vogelſang, which they abandoned accordingly; and ſent Wunch with ſix battalions and ſome cavalry acroſs the Elbe, to join the corps of general Rebentiſh at Wittenberg, whither he had retired from Duben, at the approach of the Auſtrians. On the twenty-ninth day of October the duke d'Aremberg, with ſixteen thouſand Auſtrians, decamped from Dammitch, in order to ſeize the heights near Pretſch, and was

attacked by general Wunch, who, being poſted on two eminences, cannonaded the Auſtrians in their march with conſiderable effect; and the prince took twelve hundred priſoners, including lieutenant-general Gemmingen, and twenty inferior officers, with ſome cannon, great part of their tents, and a large quantity of baggage. The duke was conſtrained to change his route, while Wunch marched from Duben to Eulenburg: and general Waſſerſleben entered Strehla, where next day the whole army encamped. In this ſituation the prince continued, till the ſixteenth day of November; when, being in danger of having his communication with Torgau cut off by the enemy, he removed to a ſtrong camp, where his left flank was covered by that city and the river Elbe; his right being ſecured by a wood, and great part of his front by an impaſſable moraſs.

Here he was reinforced with above twenty thouſand men from Sileſia, and joined by the king himſelf; who forthwith detached general Finck with nineteen battalions, and thirty-five ſquadrons, to take poſſeſſion of the defiles of Maxen and Ortendorf, with a view to prevent the retreat of the Auſtrians to Bohemia. This motion obliged Daun to retire to Plauen; and the king advanced to Wilſdurff, imagining that he had effectually ſucceeded in his deſign. Letters were ſent to Berlin and Magdeburg, intimating that Count Daun would be forced to hazard a battle, as he had now no reſource but in victory. Finck had no ſooner taken poſt on the hill near the village of Maxen, than the Auſtrian general ſent officers to examine his ſituation, and immediately determined to attack him with the corps de reſerve under the Baron de Sincere, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of Dippodeſwalda. It was forthwith divided into four columns, which filed off through the neighbouring woods; and the Pruſſians never dreamed of their approach, until they ſaw themſelves intirely ſurrounded.

In this emergency they defended themſelves with their cannon and muſquetry, until they were overpowered by numbers, and their battery was taken: then they retired to another riſing-ground, where they rallied; but were driven from eminence to eminence, until, by favour of the night, they made their laſt retreat to Falkenhayn. In the mean time count Daun had made ſuch diſpoſitions, that at day-break general Finck had found himſelf intirely incloſed, without the leaſt poſſibility of eſcaping, and ſent a trumpet to count Daun to demand a capitulation. This was granted in one ſingle article, importing, that he and eight other Pruſſian generals, with the whole body of troops they commanded, ſhould be received as priſoners of war. He was obliged to ſubmit; and his whole corps, amounting to nineteen battalions and thirty-five ſquadrons, with ſixty-four pieces of cannon, fifty pair of colours, and twenty-five ſtandards, fell into the hands of the Auſtrian general.

This misfortune was the more mortifying to the king of Pruſſia, as it implied a cenſure on his conduct, for having detached ſuch a numerous body of troops to a ſituation where they could not be ſupported by the reſt of his army. On the other hand, the court of Vienna exulted in this victory as an infallible proof of Daun's ſuperior talents; and, in point of glory and advantage, much more than an equivalent for the loſs of the Saxon army, which had ſurrendered in much the ſame manner, and very near the ſame place, in the year 1756.

The king of Pruſſia had not time to recover from this ſtroke, under which he was yet ſtaggering, when he received another, and a ſevere blow. General Diercke, who was poſted with ſeven battalions of infantry, and a thouſand horſe, on the right bank of the Elbe, oppoſite to Meiſſen, finding it impracticable to lay a bridge of pontoons acroſs the river, on account of the floating ice, was obliged to tranſport his troops in boats; and when all were paſſed, except himſelf, with the rear guard, conſiſting of three battalions, he was on the third day of December, in the morning, attacked by a ſtrong body of Auſtrians, and taken, with all his men, after an obſtinate diſpute. The king of Pruſſia, weakened by theſe two ſucceſſive defeats, that happened in the rear of an unfortunate campaign, would hardly have been able to maintain his ground at Freyberg, had he not been at this juncture reinforced by the body of troops under the command of the hereditary prince of Brunſwic. As for Daun, the advantages he had gained did not elevate his mind above the uſual maxims of his cautious diſcretion. Inſtead of attacking the king of Pruſſia, reſpectable and formidable even in adverſity, he quietly occupied the ſtrong camp at Pirna, where he might be at hand to ſuccour Dreſden, in caſe it ſhould be attacked, and preſerve his communication with Bohemia.

By this time the Ruſſians had retired to winter quarters in Poland; and the Swedes, after a fruitleſs excurſion in the abſence of Manteufel, retreated to Stralſund in the iſle of Rugen. This campaign, therefore, did not prove more deciſive than the laſt. Abundance of lives were loſt; and a great part of Germany was expoſed to rapine, murder, famine, deſolation, and every ſpecies of miſery that accompanies war. In vain did the confederated powers of Auſtria, Ruſſia, and Sweden, exert their united efforts to cruſh the Pruſſian monarch. Though his army had been defeated, and he himſelf totally overthrown, with great ſlaughter, in the heart of his own dominions; though he appeared in a deſperate ſituation, encompaſſed by hoſtile armies, and two conſiderable detached bodies of his troops were taken or deſtroyed; yet he kept all his adverſaries at bay till the approach of winter, which proved his beſt auxiliary; and even maintained his footing in the electorate of Saxony, which ſeemed to be the prize conteſted between him and the Auſtrian general. Yet, long before the approach of winter, one would have imagined that he muſt have been cruſhed between the ſhock of ſo many adverſe hoſts, had they been intent upon cloſing him in, and heartily concurred for his deſtruction: but, inſtead of urging the war with accumulated force, they acted in ſeparate bodies, and with jealous eye ſeemed to regard the progreſs of each other. It was not therefore to any compunction, or kind of forbearance in the court of Vienna, that the inactivity of Daun was owing. The reſentment of the houſe of Auſtria ſeemed, on the contrary, to glow with redoubled fury, and the majority of the Germanic body appeared to engage heartily in her quarrel.

When the Proteſtant ſtates in arms againſt the court of Vienna were ſubjected to the ban of the

empire, the evangelical body, though without the concurrence of the Swediſh and Daniſh miniſters iſſued an arret at Ratisbon in the month of November in the laſt year, and to this annexed the twentieth article of the capitulation ſigned by the emperor at his election, in order to demonſtrate that the Proteſtant ſtates claimed nothing but what was agreeable to the conſtitution. They declared that their aſſociation was no more than a mutual engagement, by which they obliged themſelves to adhere to the laws, without ſuffering under any pretext, that the power of putting under the ban of the empire, ſhould reſide wholly in the emperor. They affirmed, that this power was renounced, in expreſs terms, by the capitulation: they therefore refuſed to admit, as legal, any ſentence of the ban, deficient in the requiſite conditions; and inferred, that, according to law, neither the elector of Brandenburg, nor the elector of Hanover, nor the duke of Wolfenbuttle, nor the landgrave of Heſſe, nor the count of Lippe Buckeburg, ought to be proſcribed.

The Imperial Proteſtant cities having acceded to this arret or declaration, the emperor, in a reſcript, required them to retract their acceſſion to the reſolution of the evangelic body: and this reſcript having produced no effect, the arret was anſwered in February by an Imperial decree of commiſſion, carried to the dictature, importing, that the imperial court could not longer heſitate about the execution of the ban, without infringing that very article of the capitulation which they had ſpecified: that the invalidity of the arret was manifeſt, inaſmuch as the electors of Brandenburg and Brunſwick, the dukes of Saxe Gotha and Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle, and the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, were the very perſons who diſturbed the empire: this, therefore, being an affair in which they themſelves were parties, they could not poſſibly be qualified to concur in a reſolution of this nature: beſides, the number of the other ſtates which had acceded was very conſiderable: for theſe reaſons, the emperor could not but conſider the reſolution in queſtion as an act whereby the general peace of the empire was diſturbed, both by the parties that had incurred the ban, and by the ſtates which had joined them, in order to ſupport and favour their frivolous pretentions. His Imperial majeſty expreſſed his hope and confidence, that the other electors, princes, and ſtates of the empire, would vote the ſaid reſolution to be null, and of no force; and never ſuffer ſo ſmall a number of ſtates, who were adherents of and abetters to the diſturbers of the empire, to prejudice the rights and prerogatives of the whole Germanic body; to abuſe the name of the aſſociated eſtates of the Augſbourg confeſſion, in order forcibly to impoſe a factum, intirely repugnant to the conſtitution of the empire; to deprive their co-eſtates of the right of voting freely, and thereby endeavouring totally to ſubvert the ſyſtem of the Germanic body.

The implacability of the court of Vienna was exceeded only by the perſeverance of the French miniſtry. Though their numerous army had not gained one inch of ground in Weſtphalia, the campaign on that ſide having ended exactly where it had begun; though their chief ſettlements in the Weſt Indies had fallen into the hands of Great Britain, and they had already laid their account with the loſs of Quebec; though their coffers were entirely drained, and their confederates clamoured for the payment of their ſubſidies; they ſtill determined to maintain the war in Germany: and this, it muſt be owned, was the moſt politic reſolution which they could poſſibly adopt; as there their whole force could be eaſily employed to much more advantage than any other part of the world, and that too without any great augmentation of the ordinary expence. Some of the ſprings of their national wealth were indeed exhauſted, or diverted into other channels: but the ſubjects declared for a continuation of the war, and the neceſſities of the ſtate were ſupplied by the loyalty and attachment of the people. They not only acquieſced in the bankruptcy of public credit, when the court ſtopt payment of the intereſt on twelve different branches of the national debt; but they likewiſe ſent in large quantities of plate to be melted down, and coined into ſpecie, for the maintenance of the war. All the bills drawn on the government by the colonies were proteſted, to an immenſe amount; and a ſtop was put to all the annuities granted at Marſeilles, on ſums borrowed for the uſe of the marine. Beſides the conſiderable ſavings ariſing by theſe acts of ſtate-bankruptcy, they had reſources of credit among the merchants of Holland, who beheld the ſucceſs of Great Britain with a jealous eye; and were moreover inflamed againſt her, with the moſt rancorous reſentment, on account of the captures which had been made of their Weſt India ſhips by the Engliſh cruiſers.

In the month of February, the merchants of Amſterdam having received advice that the cargoes of their Weſt India ſhips, detained by the Engliſh, would, by the Britiſh courts of judicature, be declared lawful prizes, as being French property, ſent a deputation with a petition to the States-general, intreating them to uſe their interceſſion with the court of London, repreſenting the impoſſibility of furniſhing the proofs required, in ſo ſhort a time as that preſcribed by the Britiſh admiralty; and that, as the iſland of St. Euſtatia had but one road, and there was no other way of taking in cargoes, but that of overſchippen *, to which the Engliſh had objected, a condemnation of theſe ſhips, as legal prizes, would give the finiſhing ſtroke to the trade of the colony. Whatever remonſtrances the States-general might have made on this ſubject, to the miniſtry of Great Britain, they had no influence upon the proceedings of the court of admiralty, which continued to condemn the cargoes of the Dutch ſhips, as often as they were proved to be French property; and this reſolute uniformity, in a little time, intimidated the ſubjects of Holland from perſevering in this illicit branch of commerce. The enemies of England in that republic, however, had ſo far prevailed, that, in the beginning of the year, the ſtates of Holland had paſſed a formal reſolution to equip five and twenty ſhips of war; and orders were immediately diſpatched to the officers of the admiralty, to complete the armament with all poſſible expedition.

In the month of April, the States-general ſent

* The method called overſchippen, is that of uſing French boats to load Dutch veſſels with the produce of France.

over to London three miniſters extraordinary, to make repreſentations, and remove, if poſſible, the cauſes of miſunderſtanding that had ariſen between Great Britain and the United Provinces. They delivered their credentials to the king, with a formal harangue, importing, that his majeſty would ſee, by the contents of the letter they had the honour to preſent, how ardently their High Mightineſſes deſired to cultivate the ſincere friendſhip which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the two nations, ſo neceſſary for their common welfare and preſervation: that they earneſtly wiſhed they might be happy enough to remove thoſe difficulties which had for ſome time ſtruck at this friendſhip, and cauſed ſo much prejudice to the principal ſubjects of the republic; who, by the commerce they carried on, conſtituted its greateſt ſtrength, and chief ſupport; that their whole confidence was placed in his majeſty's equity, for which the republic had the higheſt regard; and in the good will he had always expreſſed toward a ſtate, which, on all occaſions, had intereſted itſelf in promoting his glory; a ſtate which was the guardian of the precious truſt bequeathed by a princeſs ſo dear to his affection: that they humbly preſumed to flatter themſelves, that his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to liſten to their juſt demands: and that they, for their part, ſhould endeavour, during the courſe of their miniſtry, to merit his approbation, in ſtrengthening the bonds by which the two nations ought to be for ever united.

In anſwer to this oration, the king aſſured them, that he had always regarded their High Mightineſſes as his beſt friends: that, if difficulties had ariſen concerning trade, they ought to be conſidered as the conſequences of a burthenſome war, which he was obliged to wage with France: and he deſired they would aſſure their High Mightineſſes, that he ſhould ſtudiouſly endeavour to remove the obſtacles in queſtion; and expreſſed his ſatisfaction, that they (the deputies) were come over with the ſame diſpoſition.

What effect theſe repreſentations had upon the miniſtry of Great Britain does not appear: but, in all probability, the ſubjects of Holland were by no means pleaſed with the ſucceſs of their negociation; for they murmured againſt the Engliſh nation without ceaſing. They threatened and complained by turns, and eagerly laid hold of every opportunity to diſplay their partiality in favour of the enemies of Great Britain.

In the month of September, major general York, the Britiſh miniſter at the Hague, delivered a memorial to the States-general repreſenting, that the merchants of Holland carried on a contraband trade in favour of France, by tranſporting cannon and warlike ſtores, from the Baltic to Holland, in Dutch bottoms, under the borrowed names of private perſons; and then conveyed them by the inland rivers and canals, or through the Dutch fortreſſes to Dunkirk and other places of France; that he hoped the king his maſter would be made eaſy on that head, by their putting an immediate ſtop to ſuch practices, ſo repugnant to the connections ſubſiſting by treaty, between Great Britain and the United Provinces, as well as to every idea of neutrality: that the attention, which his majeſty had lately given to their repreſentations, againſt the exceſſes of the Engliſh privateers, by procuring an act of parliament, which laid them under proper reſtrictions, gave him a good title to the ſame regard on the part of thir High Mightineſſes: that their trading towns felt the good effects of theſe reſtrictions; and that the freedom of navigation, which their ſubjects enjoyed amidſt the troubles and diſtractions of Europe, had conſiderably augmented ther commerce: that ſome return ought to be made to ſuch ſolid proofs of the king's friendſhip and moderation; at leaſt, the merchants, who were ſo ready to complain of England, ought not to be countenanced in exceſſes which would have juſtified the moſt rigorous examination of their conduct: that, during the courſe of the preſent war, the king had ſeveral times applied to their High Mightineſſes, and to their miniſters, on the liberty they had given to carry ſtores through the fortreſſes of the republic for the uſe of France, to invade the Britiſh dominions; and though his majeſty had paſſed over in ſilence many of theſe inſtances of complaiſance to his enemy, he was no leſs ſenſible of the injury; but he choſe rather to be a ſufferer himſelf, than to encreaſe the embarraſſment of his neighbours, or extend the flames of war: that even the court of Vienna had, upon more than one occaſion, employed its intereſt with their High Mightineſſes, and lent its name to obtain paſſes for warlike ſtores and proviſions for the French troops, under colour of the Barrier-Treaty, which it no longer obſerved; nay, after having put France in poſſeſſion of Oſtend and Nieuport, in manifeſt violation of that treaty, and without any regard to the right which they and the king his maſter had acquired in that treaty, at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure.

This memorial ſeems to have made ſome impreſſion on the States-general, as they ſcrupled to allow the artillery and ſtores belonging to the French king to be removed from Amſterdam: but theſe ſcruples vaniſhed entirely on the receipt of a counter-memorial preſented by the count d'Affry, the French ambaſſador, who mingled ſome effectual threats with his expoſtulation. He ſaid, that during the whole courſe of the war, the French king had required nothing from their friendſhip that was inconſiſtent with the ſtricteſt impartiality; and if he had deviated from the engagements ſubſiſting between him and the republic, it was only by granting the moſt eſſential and lucrative favours to the ſubjects of their High Mightineſſes: that the Engliſh, notwithſtanding the inſolence of their behaviour to the republic, had derived, on many occaſions, aſſiſtance from the protection their effects had found in the territories of the United Provinces: that the artillery, ſtores, and ammunition belonging to Weſſel were depoſited in their territories, which the Hanoverian army in paſſing the Rhine had very little reſpected: that when they repaſſed that river, they had no other way of ſaving their ſick and wounded from the hands of the French, than by embarking them in boats, and conveying them to places where the French left them unmoleſted, actuated by their reſpect for the neutrality of the republic: that part of their magazines was ſtill depoſited in the towns of the United Provinces; where alſo the enemies of France had purchaſed and contracted for very conſiderable quantities of gun-powder: that tho' theſe and ſeveral other circumſtances might have been made the ſubject of the juſteſt complaints,

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the king of France did not think it proper to require, that the freedom and independency of the ſubjects of the republic ſhould be reſtrained in branches of commerce that were not inconſiſtent with its neutrality, perſuaded that the faith of an engagement ought to be inviolably preſerved, though attended with ſome accidental and tranſient diſadvantages: that the king, his maſter, had ordered the generals of his army carefully to avoid encroaching on the territory of the public, and transferring thither the theatre of the war, when his enemies retreated that way before they were forced to repaſs the Rhine: that after ſuch unqueſtionable marks of regard, the king would have the juſteſt ground of complaint, if, contrary to expectation, he ſhould hear that the artillery and ſtores belonging to him were detained at Amſterdam: that ſuch detention would be conſtrued as a violation of the neutrality; and he, therefore, demanded, in the name of the king his maſter, that the artillery and ſtores ſhould be, without delay, forwarded to Flanders by the canals of Amſterdam and the inland navigation. This laſt argument was ſo concluſive, that they immediately granted the neceſſary paſſports, in conſequence of which the cannon were conveyed to the Auſtrian Netherlands.

The powers in the ſouthern parts of Europe were ſo much engroſſed with their own concerns, that they had neither leiſure nor inclination to intereſt themſelves in the quarrels of the more northern princes. The king of Spain, naturally of a melancholy complexion, and delicate conſtitution, was ſo deeply affected for the loſs of his queen, who died in the courſe of the preceding year, that he renounced all company, neglected all buſineſs, and immured himſelf in a chamber at Villa Vicioſa, where he gave a looſe to the moſt extravagant ſorrow. He abſtained from food and reſt until his ſtrength was quite exhauſted. He would neither ſhift himſelf, nor allow his beard to be ſhaved: he rejected all attempts of conſolation, and remained deaf to the moſt earneſt and reſpectful remonſtrances of thoſe who had a right to tender their advice.

In this caſe, the affliction of the mind muſt have been augmented by ſome peculiarity in the conſtitution. He inherited a melancholy taint from his father, and this ſeems to have been dreaded as a family diſeaſe; for the infant Don Lewis, who likewiſe reſided at the palace of Villa Vicioſa, was obliged to amuſe himſelf with hunting, and other diverſions, to prevent his being infected with the king's diſorder, which continued to gain ground, notwithſtanding all the efforts of medicine. The Spaniſh nation, naturally ſuperſtitious, had recourſe to ſaints and relicts; but theſe ſeemed to pay no regard to their prayers. The king, however, in the midſt of all his diſtreſs, was perſuaded to make his will, which was written by the count de Valparaiſo, and ſigned by the duke of Bejar, high chancellor of the kingdom. The violence of his grief, and the mortifications he underwent, ſoon produced an incurable malady, under which he languiſhed from the month of September in the preceding year, till the tenth of Auguſt in the preſent, when he expired. In his will he had appointed his brother Don Carlos, king of Naples, ſucceſſor to the crown of Spain; and nominated the queen-dowager as regent of the kingdom, until that prince ſhould arrive. Acordingly ſhe aſſumed the reins of government, and gave directions for the funeral of the deceaſed king, who was interred with great pomp in the church belonging to the convent of the viſitation at Madrid.

As the death of this prince had been long expected, the politicians of Europe had univerſally prognoſticated that his demiſe would be attended with great commotions in Italy. It had been agreed among the ſubſcribing powers to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, that in caſe Don Carlos ſhould be advanced in the courſe of ſucceſſion to the throne of Spain, his brother Don Philip ſhould ſucceed him on the throne of Naples; and the dutchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla, which now conſtituted his eſtabliſhment, ſhould revert to the houſe of Auſtria. The king of Naples had never acceded to this article, therefore he payed no regard to it on the death of his elder brother; but retained both kingdoms without minding the claims of the empreſs-queen, who, he knew, was at that time in no condition to make good her pretenſions. Thus the German war proved a circumſtance very favourable to his intereſt and ambition.

Before he ſet out for Spain, however, he took ſome extraordinary ſteps, which evinced him a ſound politician and ſagacious legiſlator. His eldeſt ſon Don Philip, who had now attained the thirteenth year of his age, being found in a ſtate of incurable idiotiſm*, he wiſely and reſolutely removed

* *Abſtract of the report made to his Catholic majeſty by the phyſicians appointed to examine the prince royal, his eldeſt ſon, in conſequence of which his royal highneſs has been declared incapable of ſucceeding to the throne of Spain. Tranſlated from the original, publiſhed at Naples, September 27.*

1. Though his royal highneſs Don Philip is 13 years old, he is low of ſtature; and yet the king his father, and the queen his mother, are both of a very proper height.

2. His royal highneſs has ſome contraction in his joints, though he can readily move, and make uſe of them on all occaſions.

3. His royal highneſs is apt to ſtoop and to hold down his head, as people of weak eyes often do.

4. The prince moſt evidently ſquints, and his eyes frequently water, and are gummy, particularly his left eye; though we cannot ſay he is blind, but are rather certain of the contrary, as his royal highneſs can without doubt diſtinguiſh objects, both as to their colour and ſituation.

5. In his natural functions, and the moſt common ſenſations, he is ſometimes indifferent to things that are convenient for him, and at other times is too warm and impetuous. In general, his paſſions are not reſtrained by reaſon.

6. The prince has an obſtinate averſion to ſome kind of common food, ſuch as fruits, ſweet-meats, &c.

7. All ſorts of noiſe or ſound diſturbs or diſconcerts him; and it has the ſame effect whether it be ſoft and harmonious, or harſh and diſagreeable.

8. The impreſſion that he receives from pain or pleaſure, are neither ſtrong nor laſting, and he is utterly unacquainted with all the punctilios of politeneſs and good breeding.

9. As to facts and places, he ſometimes remembers them, and ſometimes not; but he ſeems not to have the leaſt ideas of the myſteries of our holy religion.

10. He delights in childiſh amuſements; and thoſe which are moſt boiſterous pleaſe him beſt. He is continually changing them, and ſhifting from one thing to another.

Signed by Don Francis Beniore, chief phyſician to the king and kingdom: Don Emanuel de la Roſa, phyſician to the queen; and the phyſician Cæſar Ciribue, Don Thomas Pinto, Don Francis Sarrao, and Don Dominique San Severino.

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him from the ſucceſſion, without any regard to the pretended right of primogeniture, by a ſolemn act of abdication, and ſettlement of the crown of the Two Sicilies in favour of his third ſon, Don Ferdinand. In this extraordinary act he obſerves, that, according to the ſpirit of the treaties of this age, Europe required that the ſovereignty of Spain ſhould be ſeparated from that of Italy, when ſuch a ſeparation could be effected without tranſgreſſing the rules of juſtice: that the unfortunate prince-royal having been deſtitute of reaſon and reflection ever ſince his infancy, and no hope remaining that he could ever acquire the uſe of theſe faculties, he could not think of appointing him to the ſucceſſion, how agreeable ſoever ſuch a diſpoſition might be to nature and his paternal affection: he was therefore conſtrained, by the Divine Will, to ſet him aſide, in favour of his third ſon Ferdinand, whoſe minority obliged him to veſt the management of theſe realms in a regency, which he accordingly appointed, after having previouſly declared his ſon Ferdinand from that time emancipated, and freed not only from obedience to his paternal power, but even from all ſubmiſſion to his ſupreme and ſovereign authority. He then ordained, that the minority of the princes ſucceeding to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, ſhould expire with the fifteenth year of their age, when they ſhould act as ſovereigns, and have the intire power of the adminiſtration. He next eſtabliſhed and explained the order of ſucceſſion in the male and female line; on condition that the monarchy of Spain ſhould never be united with the kingdoms of the Two Sicilies. Finally, he transferred and made over to the ſaid Don Ferdinand theſe kingdoms, with all that he poſſeſſed in Italy; and this ordinance, ſigned and ſealed by himſelf and the infant Don Ferdinand, and counterſigned by the counſellors and ſecretary of ſtate, in quality of members of the regency, received all the forms of authenticity that could render it valid.

Don Carlos having taken theſe precautions for his third ſon, whom he left king of Naples, embarked with the reſt of his family on board a ſquadron of Spaniſh ſhips, which conveyed him to Barcelona. There he landed in the month of October, and proceeded to Madrid, where, as king of Spain, he was received amidſt the acclamations of his people. He began his reign like a wiſe wiſe prince, by regulating the interior œconomy of his kingdom; by retaining the miniſtry under whoſe auſpice the happineſs and commerce of his people had been extended; and with reſpect to the belligerant powers, by ſcrupulouſly adhering to that neutrality from whence theſe advantages were in a great meaſure derived.

The attention of his Portugueſe majeſty was engroſſed by a ſpecies of employment of a far leſs pleaſing and agreeable nature; namely, by the trial and puniſhment of thoſe conſpirators, who had made ſuch a deſperate attempt to deprive him of his life. Among theſe were numbered ſome of the firſt noblemen of the kingdom, irritated by diſappointed ambition, inflamed by bigotry, and exaſperated by revenge. The principal conſpirator, Don Joſeph Maſcarenhas and Lencaſtre, duke of Aveiro, marquis of Torres Novas, and conde of Santa Cruz, was hereditary lord-ſteward of the king's houſhold, and preſident of the palace court, or laſt tribunal of appeal in the kingdom: ſo that he poſſeſſed the firſt office in the palace, and the ſecond of the realm. Franciſco de Aſſiz, marquis of Tavora, conde of St. John and Alvor, was general of the horſe, and head of the third noble houſe of the Tavoras, the moſt illuſtrious family in the kingdom, deriving their origin from the ancient kings of Leon: he married his own kinſwoman, who was marchioneſs of Tavora in her own right, and by this marriage acquired the marquiſate. Louis Bernardo de Tavora was their eldeſt ſon, who, by virtue of a diſpenſation from the pope, had eſpouſed his own aunt, Donna Thereſa de Tavora. Joſeph Maria de Tavora was alſo involved in the guilt of his parents. The third principal concerned was Don Jeronymo de Attaide, conde of Attouguia, himſelf a relation and married to the eldeſt daughter of the marquis of Tavora. The characters of all thoſe perſonages were unblemiſhed and reſpectable, until this machination was detected.

In the courſe of inveſtigating this dark affair, it appeared that the Duke de Aveiro had conceived a perſonal hatred to the king, who had diſappointed him in a projected match between his ſon and a ſiſter of the duke of Cadaval, a minor, and prevented his obtaining ſome commanderies which the late duke of Aveiro had poſſeſſed; that this nobleman, being determined to gratify his revenge againſt the perſon of his ſovereign, had exerted all his influence and addreſs in procuring the aſſiſtance of the malecontents: that, with this view, he had reconciled himſelf to the Jeſuits, with whom he had been formerly at variance, knowing they were at this time implacably incenſed againſt the king, who had diſmiſſed them from their office of penitentiaries at court, and branded them with other marks of diſgrace, on account of their illegal and rebellious practices in South America: that the duke had, moreover, inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of the marchioneſs of Tavora, notwithſtanding an inveterate rivalſhip of pride and ambition, which had long ſubſiſted between the two families: that her reſentment againſt the king was inflamed by the mortification of her pride in repeated repulſes, when ſhe ſolicited the title of duke for her huſband: that her paſſions were artfully fomented and managed by the Jeſuits, to whom ſhe had reſigned the government of her conſcience; and they had perſuaded her, that it would be a meritorious action to take away the life of a prince who was an enemy to the church, and a tyrant to his people: that ſhe, being reconciled to the ſcheme of aſſaſſination, had exerted her influence in ſuch a manner, as to inveigle her huſband, her ſons, and ſon-in-law, into the ſame infamous deſign; and yet this lady had been always remarkable for her piety, affability, and ſweetneſs of diſpoſition: that many conſultations were held by the conſpirators at the college of the Jeſuits, St. Antao and St. Roque, as well as at the houſe of the duke and marquis: at laſt they reſolved, that the king ſhould be aſſaſſinated; and employed two ruffians, called Antonio Alvarez and Joſeph Policarpio, for the execution of this deſign, the miſcarriage of which we have related among the tranſactions of the preceding year.

In the beginning of January, before the circumſtances of the conſpiracy were known, the counts de Oberos and de Rebeira Grande were impriſoned in the caſtle of St. Julian, on a ſuſpicion ariſing

from their freedom of ſpeech. The dutcheſs of Aveiro, the counteſs of Attouguia, and the marchioneſs of Alorna, with their children, were ſent to different nunneries; and eight Jeſuits were taken into cuſtody. A council being appointed for the trial of the priſoners, the particulars we have related were brought to light by the torture; and ſentence of death was pronounced and executed upon the convicted criminals. Eight wheels were fixed upon a ſcaffold, raiſed in the ſquare oppoſite to the houſe where the priſoners had been confined, and the thirteenth day of January was fixed for the day of execution. Antonio Alvarez Ferreira, one of the aſſaſſins who fired into the king's equipage, was fixed to a ſtake at one corner of the ſcaffold; and at the other was placed the effigies of his accomplice, Joſeph Policarpio de Azevedos, who had made his eſcape. The marchioneſs of Tavora, being brought upon the ſcaffold between eight and nine in the morning, was, in compliment to her ſex, beheaded at one ſtroke, and then covered with a linen cloth. Her two ſons, and her ſon-in law the count of Attouguia, with three ſervants of the duke de Aveiro, were firſt ſtrangled at one ſtake, and afterwards broke upon wheels, where their bodies remained covered; but the duke and the marquis, as chiefs of the conſpiracy, were broke alive, and underwent the moſt excruciating torments.

The laſt that ſuffered was the aſſaſſin Alvarez, who being condemned to be burnt alive, the combuſtibles, which had been placed under the ſcaffold, were ſet on fire, the whole machine with their bodies conſumed to aſhes, and theſe aſhes thrown into the ſea. The eſtates of the three unfortunate noblemen were confiſcated, and their dwelling-houſes razed to the ground. The name of Tavora was ſuppreſſed for ever by a public decree; but that of Maſcarenha ſpared, becauſe the duke de Aveiro was but a younger branch of the family. A reward of ten thouſand crowns was offered to any perſon who ſhould apprehend the aſſaſſin who had eſcaped; then the embargo was taken off the ſhipping. The king and royal family aſſiſted at a public Te Deum, ſung in the chapel of Noſſa Senhora de Livramento; on which occaſion the king, for the ſatisfaction of his people, waved his handkerchief with both hands, to ſhew he was not maimed by the wounds he had received.

Nor were the Portugueſe miniſtry ſatisfied with theſe examples of juſtice. Without waiting for a bull from the pope, they ſequeſtered all the eſtates and effects of the jeſuits in that kingdom, which amounted to conſiderable ſums, and reduced the individuals of the ſociety to a very ſcanty allowance. Complaints of their conduct having been made to the pope, he appointed a congregation to examine into the affairs of the jeſuits in Portugal. In the mean time, the court of Liſbon ordered a conſiderable number of them to be embarked for Italy, and reſolved that no jeſuit ſhould hereafter reſide within its realms. When theſe tranſports arrived at Civita Vecchia, they were, by the pope's order, lodged in the Dominican and Capuchin convents of that city, until proper houſes could be prepared for their reception at Tivoli and Freſcati. The moſt guilty of them, however, were detained cloſe priſoners in Portugal.

From this retroſpective view of the ſituation and complexion of the different courts of Europe, let us now turn our eyes to thoſe operations of the war in which Great Britain and France were more peculiarly intereſted as principals. And here I ſhall deviate a little from my uſual method of arrangement, by particularizing the moſt remarkable captures that were made upon the enemy by ſingle ſhips during the courſe of this year, previous to my reſuming the hiſtory of the more capital military tranſactions between the two nations; a deviation I thought neceſſary to adopt in this place, to prevent any interruption in the principal narrative.

In the month of February a French privateer belonging to Granville, called the Marquis de Marigny, having on board near two hundred men, and mounted with twenty cannon, was taken by captain Parker, commander of his majeſty's ſhip the Montague, who likewiſe made prize of a ſmaller armed veſſel, from Dunkirk, of eight cannon and ſixty men. About the ſame period captain Graves, of the Unicorn, brought in the Moras privateer of St. Malo, carrying two hundred men and twenty-two cannon. Two large merchant ſhips, loaded on the French king's account, for Martinique, with proviſion, cloathing and arms, for the troops on that iſland, were taken by captain Lendrick, commander of the Brilliant; and an Engliſh tranſport from St. John's, having four hundred French priſoners on board, periſhed near the Weſtern Iſlands. Within the circle of the ſame month a large French ſhip from St Domingo, richly laden, fell in with the Favourite ſhip of war, and was carried into Gibraltar.

In the month of February captain Hood, of his majeſty's frigate the Veſtal, belonging to a ſmall ſquadron commanded by admiral Holmes, who had ſailed for the Weſt Indies in January, being advanced a conſiderable way a-head of the fleet, deſcried and gave chace to a ſail, which proved to be a French frigate called the Bellona, of two hundred and twenty men, and thirty two great guns, commanded by the count de Beauhonoire. Captain Hood having made a ſignal to the admiral, continued the chace until he advanced within half muſket-ſhot of the enemy, and then poured in a broadſide, which was immediately returned. The engagement, thus begun, was maintained with great vigour on both ſides for the ſpace of four hours: at the expiration of which the Bellona ſtruck, after having loſt all her maſts and rigging, together with about forty men killed in the action: nor was the victor in a much better condition; thirty men were killed and wounded on board of the Veſtal. Immediately after the enemy ſubmitted, all her rigging being deſtroyed by the ſhot, the top-maſt fell overboard; and ſhe was otherwiſe ſo damaged that ſhe could not proceed on her voyage. Captain Hood therefore conducted his prize to Spithead, and afterwards met with a gracious reception from his majeſty, on account of the valour and conduct he had manifeſted on this occaſion. The Bellona had ſailed in January from the iſland of Martinique, along with the Floriſſant, and another French frigate, from which ſhe had been ſeparated in the paſſage.

Immediately after this exploit, captain Elliot, of the Æolus frigate, accompanied by the Iſis, made

made prize of a French ſhip, the Mignonne, of twenty guns, and one hundred and forty men. She was one of four frigates employed as convoy to a large fleet of merchant ſhips, near the iſland of Rhée.

In the month of March the Engliſh frigates the Southampton and Melampe, commanded by the captains Gilchriſt and Hotham, being at ſea to the northward on a cruize, fell in with the Danae, a French ſhip of forty cannon, and three hundred and thirty men, which was attacked by captain Hotham in a ſhip of half the force, who maintained the battle a conſiderable time with admirable gallantry before his conſort could come to his aſſiſtance. As they fought in the dark, captain Gilchriſt was obliged to lie by for ſome time, becauſe he could not diſtinguiſh the one from the other; but no ſooner did the day appear than he bore down upon the Danae with his uſual impetuoſity, and ſoon compelled her to ſurrender. She did not ſtrike, however, until thirty or forty of her men were ſlain; and the gallant captain Gilchriſt had received a grape-ſhot in his ſhoulder, which though it did not deprive him of life, yet rendered him incapable of future ſervice: a misfortune the more to be lamented, as it happened to a brave officer, in the vigour of his age, and in the midſt of a ſanguinary war, which might have afforded him many other opportunities of ſignalizing his courage for the honour and advantage of his country.

Another remarkable exploit was about the ſame time performed by captain Barrington, commander of the ſhip Achilles, mounted with ſixty cannon, who, to the weſtward of Cape Finiſterre, encountered a French ſhip of equal force, called the Count de St. Florentin, bound from Cape François, on the iſland of Hiſpaniola, to Rochefort, under the command of the ſieur de Montay, who was obliged to ſtrike, after a cloſe and obſtinate engagement, in which he himſelf was mortally wounded, a great number of his men ſlain, and his ſhip ſo much ſhattered, that ſhe was with difficulty brought into Falmouth. Captain Barrington obtained the victory at the expence of about twenty-five men, killed and wounded, and all his rigging, which the enemy's ſhot had rendered uſeleſs.

Two ſmall privateers from Dunkirk were alſo taken, one called the Marquis de Bareil, by the Brilliant, which carried her into Kinſale in Ireland; the other called the Carilloneur, which ſtruck to the Grace cutter, aſſiſted by the boats of the ſhip Rocheſter, commanded by captain Duff, who ſent her into the Downs.

About the latter end of March captain Falkner, in the ſhip Windſor, of ſixty guns, cruiſing to the weſtward, diſcovered four large ſhips to leeward, which, when he drew near them, formed the line of battle a-head, in order to give him a warm reception. He accordingly cloſed with the ſternmoſt ſhip, which ſuſtained his fire about an hour; then the other three bearing away with all the ſail they could carry, ſhe ſtruck her colours, and was conducted to Liſbon. She proved to be the Duc de Chartres, pierced for ſixty cannon, though at that time carrying no more than four and twenty, with a complement of three hundred men, about thirty of whom were killed in the action. She belonged, with the other three that eſcaped, to the French Eaſt India company, was loaded with gun-powder and naval ſtores, and bound for Pondicherry.

Two privateers, called Chaſſeur and Le Conquerant, the one from Dunkirk, the other from Cherburg, were taken and carried into Plymouth by captain Hughs, of his majeſty's frigate the Tamer. A third, called the Diſpatch, from Morlaix, was brought into Penzance by the Diligence ſloop, under the command of captain Eaſtwood. A fourth, called the Baſque, from Bayonne, furniſhed with twenty-two guns and above two hundred men, fell into the hands of captain Parker, of the Brilliant, who conveyed her into Plymouth. Captain Antrobus, of the Surprize, took the Vieux, a privateer of Bourdeaux; and a fifth, from Dunkirk, ſtruck to captain Knight, of the Liverpool, off Yarmouth.

In the month of May a French frigate, called the Arethuſa, mounted with thirty-two cannon, manned with a large complement of hands, under the command of the marquis de Vaudreuil, ſubmitted to two Britiſh frigates, the Venus and the Thames, commanded by the captains Harriſon and Colby, after a warm engagement, in which ſixty men were killed and wounded on the ſide of the enemy. In the beginning of June an armed ſhip, belonging to Dunkirk, was brought into the Downs by captain Angel, of the Stag; and a privateer of force, called the Counteſs de la Serre, was attacked and taken, after an obſtinate action, by captain Moore, of his majeſty's ſhip the Adventure.

Several armed ſhips of the enemy and valuable prizes were taken in the Weſt Indies; particularly two French frigates, and two Dutch ſhips with French commodities, all richly laden, by ſome of the ſhips of the ſquadron which vice-admiral Cotes commanded in the Jamaica ſtation. A fifth, called the Velour, from St. Domingo, with a valuable cargo on board, being provided with twenty cannon, and above one hundred men, fell in with the Favourite ſloop of war, under the command of captain Edwards, who, after an obſtinate diſpute, carried her in triumph to Gibraltar.

At St. Chriſtopher's in the Weſt Indies, captain Collingwood, commander of the king's ſhip the Creſcent, attacked two French frigates, the Amethyſte and Berkeley; the former of which eſcaped, after a warm engagement, in which the Creſcent's rigging was ſo much ſhattered that ſhe could not purſue; but the other was taken, and conducted into the harbour of Baſſeterre.

Notwithſtanding the vigilance and courage of the Engliſh cruizers in thoſe ſeas, the French privateers ſwarmed to ſuch a degree, that in the courſe of this year they took above two hundred ſail of Britiſh ſhips, valued at ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

On the tenth of October the Hercules ſhip of war, mounted with ſeventy-four guns, under the command of captain Porter, cruiſing in the Chops of the Channel, diſcovered to windward a large ſhip, which proved to be the Floriſſant, of the ſame force with the Hercules. Her commander, obſerving the Engliſh ſhip giving chace, did not ſeem to decline the action, but bore down in an oblique direction, and the engagement began with great fury. In a little time the Hercules, having loſt her topmaſt, and all her rigging being ſhot away,

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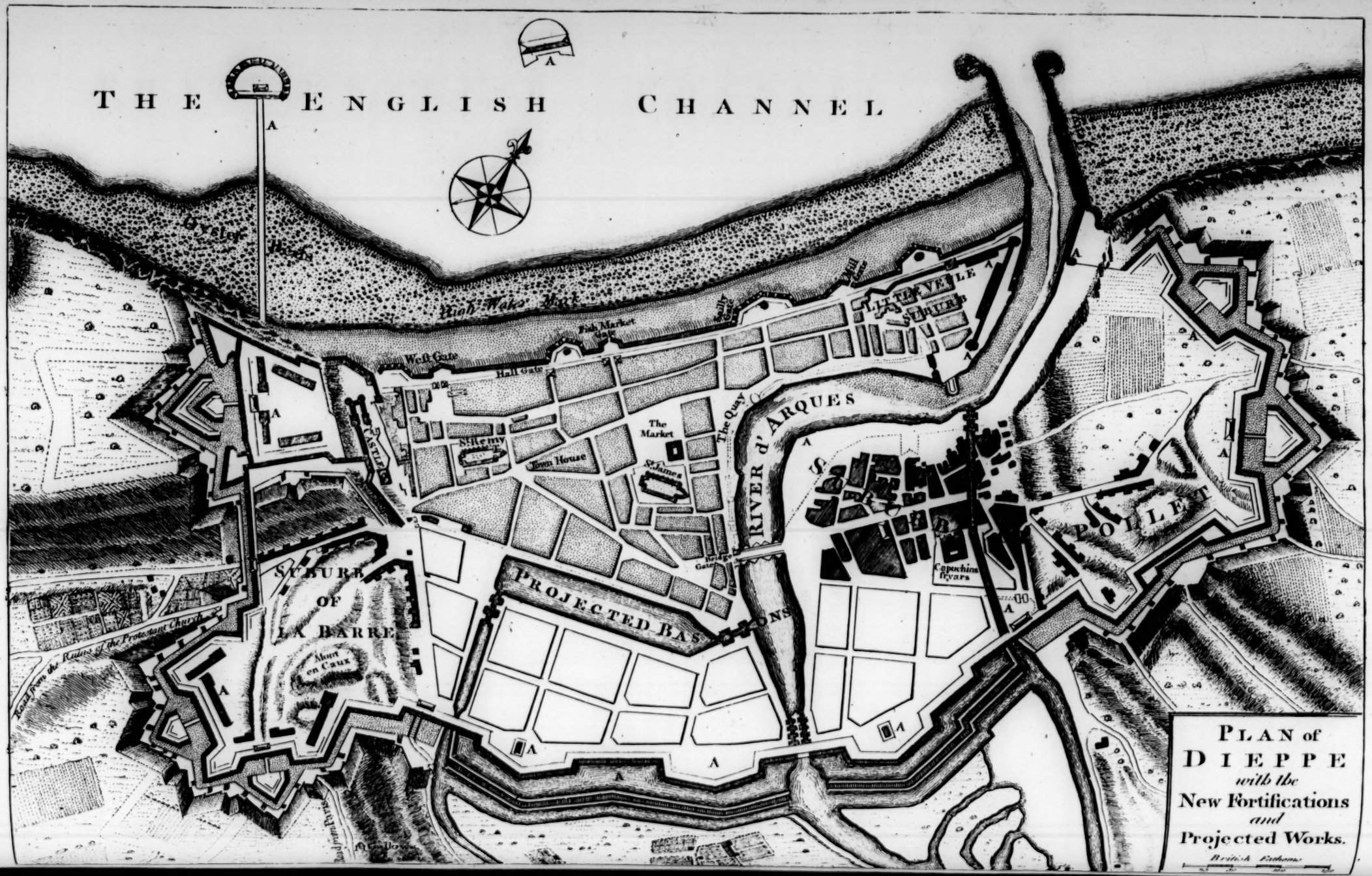
THE ENGLISH CHANNEL
High Water Mark
West Gate
Hall Gate
Fish Market Gate
Jetty
The Quay
RIVER d' ARQUES
The Market
St Remy
Town House
St James
CASTLE
ST BURB OF LA BARRE
Mont en Caux
PROJECTED BASTIONS
Capuchins Ivars
POLLET
Road from the Ruins of the Protestant Church
PLAN of DIEPPE with the New Fortifications and Projected Works.
British Fathoms

away, the enemy took advantage of this diſaſter, made the beſt of his way, and was purſued till eight o'clock next morning, when he eſcaped behind the iſle of Oleron. Captain Porter had one man killed, was himſelf wounded in the head with a grapeſhot, and loſt the uſe of one leg in the engagement.

Having thus given an account of all the remarkable captures and exploits that were made and performed ſince the commencement of the preſent year, I ſhall now proceed to deſcribe the actions that were at the ſame period atchieved by the different ſquadrons that conſtituted the naval power of Great Britain. Intelligence having been received that the enemy had projected an invaſion upon ſome of the Britiſh territories, and that a number of flat-bottomed boats were aſſembled at Havre de Grace for the purpoſe of tranſporting troops, rear-admiral Rodney was, in the beginning of July, detached with a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips and bombs to annoy and overawe that part of the coaſt of France. He accordingly arrived in the road of Havre, and made diſpoſitions to execute his orders. The bomb-veſſels being moored in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur, began to throw their ſhells, and continued the bombardment for fifty-two hours without intermiſſion, during which a numerous body of French forces was employed in forming intrenchments, erecting new batteries, and firing both with ſhot and ſhells upon the aſſailants. The town was ſet on fire in ſeveral places, and burned with great violence; ſome of the boats were overturned, and a few of them reduced to aſhes, while the inhabitants abandoned the place in the utmoſt conſternation.

The honour of the Britiſh flag was ſtill more effectually aſſerted by the gallant admiral Boſcawen, who, as I have already remarked, was entruſted with the conduct of a ſquadron in the Mediterranean. It muſt be owned, however, that his firſt attempt was far from being ſucceſsful. Having in vain diſplayed the Britiſh flag in ſight of Toulon, by way of defiance to the French fleet that there rode at anchor, he ordered three ſhips of the line, commanded by the captains Smith, Harland, and Barker, to advance and burn two ſhips that lay cloſe to the mouth of the harbour. They accordingly approached with great intrepidity, and were warmly received by a good number of batteries, which had before eſcaped their notice. Two ſmall forts they attempted to deſtroy, and cannonaded for ſome time with great fury; but being overpowered by a ſuperior fire, and the wind ſuddenly falling, they ſuſtained conſiderable damage, and were towed off with great difficulty, in a very ſhattered condition. The admiral ſeeing three of his beſt ſhips ſo roughly handled in this enterprize, returned to Gibraltar in order to refit; and M. de la Clue, commander of the French ſquadron at Toulon, ſeized this opportunity of ſailing, in hope of paſſing the Streights mouth unobſerved, his fleet conſiſting of twelve large ſhips and three frigates.

Admiral Boſcawen, who commanded fourteen ſail of the line, with two frigates, and as many fire-ſhips, having repaired his ſquadron, detached one frigate to cruize off Malaga, and another to hover between Eſtepona and Ceuta point; with a view to keep a good look-out, and give timely notice in caſe the enemy ſhould approach. On the ſeventeenth day of Auguſt, at eight in the evening, the Gibraltar frigate made a ſignal that fourteen ſail appeared on the Barbary ſhore to the eaſtward of Ceuta; upon which the Engliſh admiral immediately weighed anchor and put to ſea: at day-light he perceived ſeven large ſhips lying to; but when the Engliſh ſquadron forbore to anſwer their ſignal, they diſcovered their miſtake, ſet all their ſail and made the beſt of their way. This was the greater part of the French ſquadron commanded by M. de la Clue, from whom five of his large ſhips and three frigates had ſeparated in the night. Even now perhaps he might have eſcaped, had he not been obliged to wait for the Souveraine, which was a heavy ſailer.

At noon the wind, which had blown a freſh gale, ſuddenly ſubſided; and although admiral Boſcawen had made ſignal to chace and engage in a line of battle a-head, it was not till half an hour after two that ſome of his headmoſt ſhips could overtake the rear of the enemy: which, though greatly overmatched in numbers, fought with uncommon bravery. The Engliſh admiral, without waiting to return the fire of the ſternmoſt, which he received as he paſſed, uſed all his endeavours to come up with the Ocean, which Mr. de la Clue commanded in perſon; and about four o'clock in the afternoon running athwart her hawſe, he poured into her a furious broadſide: thus the engagement began with equal vigour on both ſides. This diſpute however was of ſhort duration; in about half an hour admiral Boſcawen's mizen-maſt and topſail-yards were ſhot away; and the enemy hoiſted all the ſail they could carry. Mr. Boſcawen having ſhifted his flag from the Namur to the Newark, joined ſome other ſhips in attacking the Centaur of ſeventy-four cannon, which being thus overpowered, was obliged to ſubmit.

The Britiſh admiral purſued them all night, during which the Souveraine and the Guerrier altered their courſe, and deſerted their commander. At day-break, Mr. de la Clue, whoſe left leg had been broke in the engagement, perceiving the Engliſh ſquadron crowding all their ſails in order to overtake him, and finding himſelf on the coaſt of Portugal, determined to burn his ſhips, rather than they ſhould fall into the hands of the enemy. The Ocean was run aſhore two leagues from Lagos, near the fort of Almadana, the commander of which fired three ſhots at the Engliſh; another captain of the French ſquadron followed the example of his commander; and both endeavoured to diſembark their men; but the ſea being rough, this proved a very tedious and difficult attempt. The captains of the Temeraire and Modeſte, inſtead of deſtroying their ſhips, anchored as near as they could to the forts Exavier and Lagres, in hope of receiving their protection; but in this hope they were diſappointed. Mr. de la Clue had been landed, and the command of the Ocean devolved upon the count de Carne, who, having ſuſtained one broadſide from the America, ſtruck his colours, and the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of this noble prize, the beſt ſhip in the French navy, mounted with eighty cannon. Captain Bentley of the Warſpight, who had remarkably diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage during the action of the preceding day, attacked the Temeraire of ſeventy-four guns, and brought her

her off with little damage. Vice-admiral Broderick, the ſecond in command, advancing with his diviſion, burned the Redoubtable of ſeventy-four, which was bulged, and abandoned by her men and officers; but they made prize of the Modeſte, carrying ſixty-four guns, which had not been much injured in the engagement.

This victory was obtained by the Engliſh admiral at a very ſmall expence of men; the whole number of the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred and fifty on board of the Britiſh ſquadron; though the carnage among the enemy muſt have been much more conſiderable, as Mr. de la Clue, in his letter to the French ambaſſador at Liſbon, owns, that on board of his own ſhip the Ocean, one hundred men were killed on the ſpot, and ſeventy dangerouſly wounded: but the moſt ſevere circumſtancce of this diſaſter was the loſs of four capital ſhips, two of which were deſtroyed, and the other two brought in triumph to England, to be numbered among the beſt bottoms of the Britiſh navy. What augmented the good fortune of the victors, was, that not one officer loſt his life in the engagement. Captain Bentley, whom the admiral diſpatched to England, with the tidings of his ſucceſs, met with a gracious reception from the king, who knighted him for his gallantry.

As I intend to bring into one point of view all the naval tranſactions of the year, eſpecially thoſe that happened in the European ſeas, I muſt now, without regarding the order of time, delay the mention of ſome previous events of importance, and record the laſt action at ſea, that in the courſe of this year was performed by the navy of Great Britain. The court of Verſailles, in order to embarraſs the Britiſh miniſtry, and divert their attention from all expeditions to the French coaſt, had in the winter projected a plan for invading ſome part of the Britiſh dominions; and in the beginning of the year had actually begun to make preparations in their different harbours, for carrying this deſign into execution. Even as far back as the latter end of May, meſſages from the king to both houſes of parliament, were delivered by the earl of Holderneſſe and Mr. Pitt, the two ſecretaries of ſtate, importing that his majeſty had received advice of preparations making by the French court, with a deſign to invade Great Britain; that, though perſuaded by the univerſal zeal and affection of his people, any ſuch attempt muſt, under the bleſſing of God, end in the deſtruction of thoſe who engaged in it; yet he apprehended he ſhould not act conſiſtent with that paternal care and concern which he had always ſhewn for the ſafety and preſervation of his ſubjects, if he omitted any means in his power, which might be neceſſary for their defence: he therefore acquainted the parliament with his having received intelligence of the enemy's preparations, to the end that his majeſty might, if he ſhould think proper, in purſuance of the late act of parliament, cauſe the militia, or ſuch part thereof as ſhould be neceſſary, to be drawn out and embodied, in order to march as occaſion ſhould require.

Theſe meſſages were no ſooner read, than each houſe ſeparately reſolved to preſent an addreſs, thanking his majeſty for having imparted this intelligence; aſſuring him that they would with their lives and fortunes ſupport him againſt all attempts whatever: that warmed with affection and zeal for his perſon and government, and animated by indignation at the daring deſigns of an enemy, whoſe fleet had hitherto ſhunned the terror of the Britiſh navy, they would chearfully exert their utmoſt efforts to repel all inſults, and effectually enable their ſovereign, not only to diſappoint the attempts of France, but, by the bleſſing of God, turn them to their own confuſion. The commons at the ſame time reſolved upon another addreſs, deſiring his majeſty would give directions to his lieutenants of the ſeveral counties, ridings, and places within South Britain, to employ their utmoſt diligence and attention in executing the ſeveral acts of parliament relating to the militia.

Theſe and other precautionary ſteps were accordingly taken; but the government wiſely placed their chief dependence upon the ſtrength of the navy, part of which was ſo diſpoſed and ſtationed, as to block up all the harbours of France, in which the enemy were known to make any naval preparations. I have obſerved in what manner rear-admiral Rodney viſited the town and harbour of Havre de Grace, and alarmed that part of the coaſt in ſucceſſive cruiſes: I have alſo given an account of the expedition and victory of admiral Boſcawen over the ſquadron of La Clue, which was fitted out at Toulon, with deſign to aſſiſt in the projected invaſion.

Notwithſtanding this diſaſter, the French miniſtry perſevered in their deſign; towards the execution of which, they had aſſembled another conſiderable fleet, at the harbours of Rochfort, Breſt, and Port Louis, to be commanded by Mr. de Conflans, and reinforced by a numerous body of troops, which were actually drawn together under the Duc d'Aiguillon, at Vannes in Lower Bretagne. Flat-bottomed boats, and tranſports for the purpoſe, were collected in different ports on the coaſt of France; and a ſmall ſquadron was equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of an enterpriſing adventurer, named Thurot, who had, in the courſe of the preceding year, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage and conduct in a large privateer, called the Belleiſle, which had ſcoured the North Seas, taken a number of ſhips, and at one time maintained an obſtinate engagement againſt two Engliſh frigates, which were obliged to deſiſt, after having ſuſtained conſiderable damage.

This man's name became a terror to the trading veſſels of Great Britain; for his valour was not more conſpicuous in battle than his conduct in eluding the purſuit of the Britiſh cruiſers, who were ſucceſſively ſent in queſt of him, through every port of the German ocean and Northern Sea, as far as the iſlands of Orkney. It muſt be acknowledged, likewiſe, for the honour of humanity, and in juſtice to this bold mariner, though deſtitute of the advantages of birth and education, he was eminently diſtinguiſhed by his generoſity and compaſſion to thoſe who had the misfortune to fall under his power; and that his behaviour in every reſpect entitled him to a much more honourable rank in the ſervice of his country. The court of Verſailles were not inſenſible to his merit. He obtained a commiſſion from the French king, and was intruſted with the command of the ſmall armament now fitting out in the harbour of Dunkirk.

The Britiſh government, being timely informed of theſe particulars, took every meaſure that ſagacity could ſuggeſt, or vigour execute, to defeat the purpoſed invaſion. With this view, Thurot's armament at Dunkirk was watched by an Engliſh ſquadron in the Downs, commanded by commodore Boys; the port of Havre was guarded by rear-admiral Rodney; Mr. Boſcawen had been ſtationed off Toulon; and the coaſt of Vannes was ſecured by a ſmall ſquadron detached from Sir Edward Hawke, who had during the whole ſummer blocked up the harbour of Breſt, where Conflans lay with his fleet, in order to be joined by the other diviſions of the armament. Theſe different ſquadrons of the Britiſh navy were connected by a chain of ſeparate cruiſers; ſo that the whole coaſt of France, from Dunkirk to the extremity of Bretagne, might be ſaid to be ſubjected to an actual blockade.

The French miniſtry being thus over-awed, delayed their attempt upon Britain; and the projected invaſion ſeemed to hang in ſuſpence, till the month of Auguſt, in the beginning of which their army in Germany ſuſtained a defeat on the plains of Minden. Their deſigns in that country being baffled by this diſaſter, they ſeemed to convert their chief attention to their ſea armament; the preparations were reſumed with redoubled vigour; and even after the defeat of La Clue, they reſolved to try their fortune in a deſcent. They now propoſed to diſembark a body of troops in Ireland.

Thurot received orders to ſail from Dunkirk with the firſt opportunity, and direct his courſe round the northern parts of Scotland, that he might alarm the coaſt of Ireland, and make a diverſion from that part where Conflans intended to effect a landing. The tranſports and ſhips of war were collected at Breſt and Rochfort, having on board a train of artillery, with ſaddles, and other accoutrements for cavalry, to be mounted in Ireland. A body of French troops, including part of the Iriſh Brigade, was kept in readineſs to embark; and the young pretender, having agreed to the terms propoſed by France, arrived in the neighbourhood of Vannes incognito, in order, once more, to hazard his perſon, and excite a revolt in the dominions of Great-Britain.

The execution of this ſcheme was, however, prevented by the vigilance of Sir Edward Hawke, who blocked up the harbour of Breſt, with a fleet of twenty-three capital ſhips; while another ſquadron of ſmaller ſhips and frigates, under the command of captain Duff, continued to cruiſe along the French coaſt from port L'Orient in Bretagne to the point of St. Gilles in Poitou. At length, however, in the beginning of November, the Britiſh ſquadron commanded by Sir Edward Hawke, Sir Charles Hardy, and rear admiral Geary, were forced from the coaſt of France by ſtreſs of weather, and anchored in Torbay.

The French admiral Conflans ſeized this opportunity of ſailing from Breſt, with one and twenty ſail of the line, and four frigates, in hope of being able to deſtroy the Engliſh ſquadron commanded by captain Duff, before the larger fleet could return from the coaſt of England. Sir Edward Hawke having received intelligence that the French fleet had departed from Breſt, immediately ſtood to ſea, in order to purſue them; and in the mean time, the government iſſued orders for guarding all thoſe parts of the coaſt that were thought the moſt expoſed to a deſcent. The land forces were put in motion, and quartered along the ſhore in Kent and Suſſex; all the ſhips of war in the different harbours, even thoſe that had juſt arrived from America, were ordered to put out to ſea, and every ſtep was taken to diſappoint the deſigns of the enemy.

While theſe meaſures were taken with equal ſpirit and circumſpection, Sir Edward Hawke ſteered his courſe directly for Quiberon, on the coaſt of Bretagne, which he ſuppoſed would be the rendezvous of the French: but notwithſtanding his utmoſt efforts, he was driven by a hard gale conſiderably to the weſtward, where he was joined by two frigates, the Maidſtone and Coventry. Theſe he ordered to keep a-head of the ſquadron. The weather growing more moderate, the former made the ſignal for ſeeing a fleet, on the twentieth day of November, at half an hour paſt eight o'clock in the morning, and in an hour afterwards diſcovered them to be the enemy's ſquadron. They were at that time in chace of captain Duff's ſquadron, which now joined the large fleet, after having been in ſome danger of being taken. Sir Edward Hawke, who, when the Maidſtone gave the firſt notice, had formed the line a-breaſt, now obſerving, that the French admiral endeavoured to eſcape with all the ſail he could croud, threw out a ſignal for ſeven of his ſhips that were neareſt the enemy to chace, and endeavour to detain them, until they could be reinforced by the reſt of the ſquadron, which were ordered to form into a line of battle a-head, as they advanced, that no time might be loſt in the purſuit.

Conſidering the roughneſs of the weather, which was extremely tempeſtuous; the nature of the coaſt, which in this place is ſown thick with ſand banks, ſhoals, rocks, and iſlands, as entirely unknown to the Britiſh ſailors, as they were familiar to the French navigators; the dangers of a ſhort day, dark night, and lee ſhore; it required an uncommon degree of reſolution in the Engliſh admiral to attempt hoſtilities on this occaſion: but Sir Edward Hawke, prompted by the innate bravery of his own heart, animated by a warm love for his country, and well acquainted with the importance of the ſtake on which the ſafety of his country in a great meaſure depended, was determined to run every riſque in endeavouring to fruſtrate at once a boaſted ſcheme projected for the annoyance of his fellow-ſubjects.

With regard to his ſhips of the line, he had but the advantage of one in point of number, and was rather inferior in the article of men and metal; conſequently Mr. de Conflans might have hazarded a fair battle on the open ſea, without any imputation of temerity; but he thought proper to play a more artful game, though it did not ſucceed according to his expectation. He kept his fleet in a body, and retired cloſe in ſhore, with a view to draw the Engliſh ſquadron among the ſhoals and iſlands, on which he hoped they would pay dear for their raſhneſs and impetuoſity, while he and his officers, who were perfectly acquainted with the navigation, could either ſtay, and take advantage of the diſaſter, or if hard preſſed, retire through channels unknown to the Britiſh pilots.

At half an hour after two, the van of the Engliſh fleet began the engagement with the rear of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Belleiſle. Every ſhip as ſhe advanced poured in a broad ſide on the ſternmoſt of the French, and bore down upon their van, leaving the rear to thoſe that came after. Sir Edward Hawke, in the Royal George of one hundred and ten guns, reſerved his fire in paſſing through the rear of the enemy, and ordered his maſter to bring him along-ſide of the French admiral, who commanded in perſon on board of the Soleil Royal, a ſhip mounted with eighty cannon, and furniſhed with a complement of twelve hundred men.

When the pilot remonſtrated that he could not obey his command, without the moſt imminent riſque of running upon a ſhoal, the gallant Hawke replied, "You have done your duty in ſhewing the danger; now you are to obey my order, and lay me along-ſide the Soleil Royal." His wiſh was gratified: the Royal George ranged up with the French admiral. The Theſée, a French ſeventy-four gun ſhip, generouſly put herſelf between them: Hawke was obliged to beſtow upon her the fire he had reſerved for a greater occaſion, and at one broadſide ſunk her to the bottom. The ſame was the fate of the Superbe, another French ſhip of ſeventy guns.

Notwithſtanding the boiſterous weather, a good number of ſhips on both ſides fought with equal fury and dubious ſucceſs, till about four in the afternoon, when the Formidable ſtruck her colours. The Heros took the ſame ſtep, in token of ſubmiſſion, and dropped anchor; but the wind was ſo high, that no boat could be ſent effectually to ſecure the conqueſt. By this time day-light began to fail, and the greater part of the French fleet eſcaped under cover of the night.

Night approaching, the ſtorm continuing to encreaſe on a lee-ſhore, and the Britiſh ſquadron being ſurrounded by unknown ſhoals and iſlands, Sir Edward Hawke made the ſignal for anchoring to the weſtward of the ſmall iſland Dumet; and here the fleet remained all night, in a very dangerous riding, alarmed by the fury of the tempeſt, and the inceſſant firing of guns of diſtreſs, without knowing whether it proceeded from friend or enemy. The Soleil Royal had, under favour of the night, anchored likewiſe in the midſt of the Britiſh ſquadron; but, at day-break, Mr. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut, and ſhe drove aſhore to the weſtward of Crozie. The Engliſh admiral immediately made ſignal to the Eſſex to ſlip cable, and purſue her; and, in obeying this order, ſhe ran unfortunately on a ſand-bank, called Lefour, where the Reſolution, another ſhip of the Britiſh ſquadron, was already grounded. Here they were both irretrievably loſt, in ſpite of all the aſſiſtance that could be given: but all their men, and part of their ſtores, were ſaved, and the wreck ſet on fire by order of the admiral. He likewiſe detached the Portland, Chatham, and Vengeance, to deſtroy the Soleil Royal, which was burned by her own people, before the Engliſh ſhips could approach; but they arrived time enough to reduce the Heros to aſhes on the Lefour, where ſhe had been alſo ſtranded; and the Juſte, another of their great ſhips, periſhed in the mouth of the Loire.

The admiral, obſerving ſeven large ſhips of the enemy riding at anchor between Point Penvas and the mouth of the river Vilaine, made the ſignal to weigh, in order to attack them; but the fury of the ſtorm increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he was obliged to remain at anchor, and even order the top-gallant maſts to be ſtruck. In the mean time, the French ſhips being lightened of their cannon, their officers took advantage of the flood, and a more moderate gale under the land, to enter the Vilaine, where they lay within half a mile of the entrance, defended by ſome occaſional batteries erected on the ſhore, and by two large frigates, moored acroſs the mouth of the harbour. There they were effectually protected from any attempts of ſmall veſſels; and as for large ſhips, they could not approach ſo near as to reach them with their metal.

On the whole, this battle, in which a very ſmall number of lives was loſt, may be conſidered as one of the moſt glorious and important actions that ever happened in any war between the two nations: for it not only defeated the projected invaſion, with which the iſland of Great Britain had been ſo long threatened; but it gave the finiſhing blow to the naval power of France, which was thenceforward rendered totally incapable of undertaking any enterprize of importance.

As for the Britiſh admiral, he continued cruiſing off the coaſt of Bretagne for a conſiderable time after the victory he had gained, taking particular care to block up the mouth of the river Vilaine, that the ſeven French ſhips might not eſcape, and join Mr. Conflans, who made ſhift to reach Rochfort with the ſhattered remains of his ſquadron. Sir Edward Hawke, having undergone a long and dangerous conflict with tempeſtuous weather, was at length recalled, and preſented to his ſovereign, who gratified him with a conſiderable penſion, for the courage and conduct he had ſo often and ſo ſignally diſplayed in the ſervice of his country; and his extraordinary merit was afterwards honoured with the ſolemn thanks of the parliament.

The people of France were ſo diſpirited by the diſcomfiture of their army at Minden, and the defeat of their ſquadron at Lagos, that the miniſtry of Verſailles thought proper to conceal the greatneſs of their laſt misfortune under a palliating detail publiſhed in the Gazette of Paris, as a letter from Mr. Conflans to the count de St. Florentin, ſecretary of the marine. In this egregious miſrepreſentation their admiral was made to affirm, that the Britiſh fleet conſiſted of forty ſhips of the line of battle, beſides frigates; that the Soleil Royal had compelled the Royal George to ſheer off; that the ſeven ſhips, which retreated into the river Vilaine, had ſuſtained very little damage, and would be ſoon repaired; and that, by the junction of Bompart's ſquadron, he ſhould be ſoon able to give a good account of the Engliſh admiral. Such were the pitiful ſhifts which the French miniſtry were obliged to employ, in order to ſave themſelves the mortification of confeſſing the irreparable loſs they had ſuffered.

The alarm of the French invaſion, which was thus ſo happily diſconcerted, not only affected the tranquillity of Great Britain, but alſo communicated itſelf to the kingdom of Ireland, where it gave occaſion to ſome public diſorder. In the latter end of

of October the two houſes of parliament, having aſſembled at Dublin, received a formal meſſage from the duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, importing, that, by a letter from the ſecretary of ſtate, written by his majeſty's expreſs command, it appeared that France, far from reſigning her plan of invaſion, on account of the diſaſter that befel her Toulon ſquadron, was more and more confirmed in her purpoſe, and even inſtigated by deſpair itſelf, to attempt, at all hazards, the only reſource ſhe ſeemed to have left, for thwarting, by a diverſion at home, the meaſures of England abroad, in proſecuting a war which had hitherto opened, in all parts of the world, ſo unfavourable a proſpect to the views of French ambition: that, in caſe the body of French troops, amounting to eighteen thouſand men, under the command of the duc d'Aiguillon, aſſembled at Vannes, where alſo a ſufficient number of tranſports was prepared, ſhould be able to elude the Britiſh ſquadron, Ireland would, in all probability, be one of their chief objects; his grace thought it therefore incumbent upon him, in a matter of ſuch high importance to the welfare of that kingdom, to impart this intelligence to the Iriſh parliament: that his majeſty made no doubt but that the zeal of his faithful Proteſtant ſubjects in that kingdom, had been already ſufficiently quickened by the repeated accounts received of the enemy's dangerous deſigns, and actual preparations, at a vaſt expence, in order to invade the ſeveral parts of the Britiſh dominions: that his grace had received his ſovereign's commands to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to animate and excite his loyal people of Ireland to exert their well-known zeal and ſpirit in ſupport of his majeſty's government, and in defence of all that was dear to them, by timely preparation to reſiſt and fruſtrate any attempts of the enemy to diſturb the quiet, and ſhake the ſecurity of this kingdom: he, therefore, in the ſtrongeſt manner, recommended it to them to manifeſt, upon this occaſion, that zeal for the preſent happy eſtabliſhment, and that affection for his majeſty's perſon and government, by which the parliament of that nation had been ſo often diſtinguiſhed.

This meſſage was no ſooner read, than the houſe of commons unanimouſly reſolved to preſent an addreſs to the lord lieutenant, thanking his grace for the care and concern he had ſhewn for the ſafety of Ireland, in having communicated intelligence of ſo great importance; deſiring him to make uſe of ſuch means as ſhould appear to him the moſt effectual for the ſecurity and defence of the kingdom; and aſſuring him, that the houſe would make good whatever expence ſhould be neceſſarily incurred for that purpoſe.

This intimation, and the ſteps that were taken in conſequence of it, for the defence of Ireland, produced ſuch apprehenſions and diſtraction among the people of that kingdom, as had well nigh proved fatal to the public credit. In the firſt tranſports of popular fear, there was ſuch an extraordinary run upon the banks of Dublin, that ſeveral conſiderable bankers were obliged to ſtop payment; and the circulation was in danger of being entirely ſtagnated, when the lord lieutenant, the members of both houſes of parliament, the lord mayor, aldermen, merchants, and principal traders of Dublin, engaged in an aſſociation to ſupport public credit, by taking the notes of bankers in payment: a reſolution which effectually anſwered the purpoſe intended.

Whatever hopes the court of Verſailles might have conceived, that their invading army would in Ireland be reinforced by a great number of the natives, in all probability their expectations would have been wholly diſappointed, had they even been able to effect a landing; for no ſigns of diſaffection to the reigning family appeared at this juncture. On the contrary, the wealthy individuals of the Romiſh perſuaſion offered voluntarily to furniſh the government with large ſums of money, in caſe of neceſſity, to ſupport the preſent eſtabliſhment againſt all its enemies; and the Roman catholics of the city of Corke, in a body, preſented an addreſs to the lord lieutenant, expreſſing their loyalty in the warmeſt terms of affection. After having congratulated his grace on the unparalleled ſucceſſes which had attended his majeſty's arms, and expreſſed their ſenſe of the king's paternal tenderneſs for his kingdom of Ireland, they acknowledged, with the deepeſt ſenſe of gratitude, that protection and indulgence they had enjoyed under his majeſty's mild and auſpicious reign. They profeſſed the warmeſt indignation at the threatened invaſion of the kingdom by an enemy, who, grown deſperate from repeated defeats, might poſſibly make that attempt as a laſt effort, vainly flattered with the imaginary hope of aſſiſtance in Ireland, from the former attachments of their deluded predeceſſors. They aſſured his grace, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that ſuch ſchemes were altogether inconſiſtent with their principles and intentions: that they would, to the utmoſt exertion of their abilities, with their lives and fortunes, join in the defence and ſupport of his majeſty royal perſon and government againſt all invaders whatſoever: that they ſhould be always ready to concur in ſuch meaſures, and to act ſuch parts, in defence of the kingdom, in common with the reſt of his majeſty's ſubjects, as his grace in his great wiſdom ſhould be pleaſed to appoint; and think themſelves particularly happy to be under the direction and command of ſo known an aſſertor of liberty, ſuch an important and diſtinguiſhed governor. Finally, they expreſſed the moſt earneſt wiſh, that his majeſty's arms might be crowned with ſuch a continuance of ſucceſs, as ſhould enable him to defeat the devices of all his enemies, and obtain a ſpeedy and honourable peace. This loyal addreſs, which was tranſmitted to the earl of Shannon, and by him preſented to the duke of Bedford, could not fail to be very agreeable to the government at ſuch a critical conjuncture.

Although no ſigns of diſaffection to his majeſty's family appeared on this trying occaſion, it muſt nevertheleſs be acknowledged, that a ſpirit of diſſatisfaction broke out with extraordinary violence among the populace of Dublin. Whether they were diſſatisfied with the conduct of the lord lieutenant, whoſe character was by no means popular, or began to entertain ſuſpicions of the deſigns of the Engliſh miniſtry; certain it is, great pains were taken to infuſe into them a belief, that an union would ſoon be effected between Great Britain and Ireland; in which caſe this laſt kingdom would be deprived of its parliament and independency, and be ſubjected to the ſame taxes that were impoſed upon the people of England.

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This notion enraged the populace to ſuch a degree, that they aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, broke into the houſe of lords, inſulted the peers, ſeated an old woman on the throne, and ſearched for the Journals, which, had they found them, they would in all probability have committed to the flames. Not content with this outrage, they compelled the members of both houſes, whom they met in the ſtreets, to take an oath that they would never conſent to ſuch an union, or give any vote contrary to the true intereſt of Ireland. Several coaches belonging to obnoxious perſons were deſtroyed, and their horſes killed; and a gibbet was erected for one gentleman in particular, who narrowly eſcaped the ungovernable rage of thoſe furious inſurgents. A body of horſe and infantry were drawn out on this occaſion, in order to diſperſe the multitude, who accordingly retired to their own habitations. Next day addreſſes were preſented to the lord-lieutenant by both houſes of parliament, and a committee of enquiry appointed, that the ringleaders of the tumult might be ſpeedily apprehended and brought to condign puniſhment.

When the miniſtry of England received the firſt intelligence of Thurot's having ſailed from Dunkirk with a ſmall ſquadron of armed ſhips, and a body of land troops, deſigned for a private expedition on the coaſt of Scotland or Ireland, expreſſes were immediately ſent to the commanding officers of the forces in North Britain, with orders to put the forts along the coaſt of that kingdom in the beſt poſture of defence, and to hold every thing in readineſs to repel the enemy, ſhould they attempt to effect a landing. In conſequence of theſe inſtructions, beacons were erected for the more eaſy communicating the alarm; places of rendezvous appointed for the regular troops and militia; and ſtrict orders iſſued that no officer ſhould abſent himſelf from his duty, on any pretence whatſoever. The greateſt encomium that can be given to the reputation of this adventurer, is an account of the terror which the ſailing of his puny armament diffuſed through the whole extent of ſuch a powerful kingdom, whoſe fleets covered the ocean. Perhaps Thurot's career would have been ſooner checked, had commodore Boys been victualled for a longer cruize; but this commander was obliged to put in at Leith for a ſupply of proviſions, at the very time when Thurot was ſeen hovering upon the coaſt near Aberdeen; and before the Engliſh ſquadron was ready to reſume its cruize, the other had taken ſhelter at Gottenburg in Sweden.

Having thus given a ſuccinct detail of the actions performed in the European ſeas by the naval force of Great Britain, within the compaſs of the preſent year, I ſhall now proceed to relate the exploits of the Britiſh arms within the tropics, and particularly the expedition to Martinico and Guadalupe, which is ſaid to have ſucceeded even beyond the expectation of the miniſtry. A plan had been laid for improving the ſucceſs of the preceding year in North America, by carrying the Britiſh arms up the river St. Laurence, and attacking Quebec, the capital of Canada. The armament allotted for the reduction of Martinico and Guadalupe conſtituted part of this deſign, inaſmuch as the troops employed in that expedition were, in caſe of a failure in the firſt attempt, intended to reinforce the Britiſh army in North America, which was juſtly regarded as the chief ſeat of the war.

What hope of ſucceſs the miniſtry entertained from an attack upon Martinico may be eaſily conjectured from the ſtate of that iſland, as it appeared in a memorial preſented by the French king's lieutenants of its ſeveral diſtricts to the general of the French iſlands, in conſequence of an order iſſued in November, for holding them in readineſs to march and defend the iſland from the Engliſh, of whoſe deſigns they were fully appriſed. They repreſented, that the trade with the Dutch was become their ſole dependance: that they could expect no ſuccour from Europe, by which they had been abandoned ever ſince the commencement of the war: that the traders, veſted with the privilege of trafficking among them, had abuſed the intention of the general, and, inſtead of being of ſervice to the colony, had fixed an arbitrary price for all the proviſions they had brought in, as well as for the commodities which they exported; ſo that the former was valued at as high a price as their avarice could exact, and the latter ſunk as low in value as their own ſelfiſh hearts could deſire: that the colony for two months had been deſtitute of all kinds of proviſion; the commodities of the planters lay upon their hands, and their negroes were in danger of periſhing through hunger; a circumſtance which excited the apprehenſion of the moſt dreadful conſequences: that to ſlaves half-ſtarved, all kinds of bondage were equal; and people reduced to ſuch a ſituation were often driven to deſpair, ſeeking, in anarchy and confuſion, a remedy from the evils by which they were oppreſſed: that the beſt provided of the inhabitants laboured under the want of the common neceſſaries of life; and others had not ſo much as a grain of ſalt in their houſes: that there was an irreparable ſcarcity of ſlaves to cultivate their lands; and the planters were reduced to the neceſſity of killing their cattle to ſupport the lives of thoſe who remained alive; ſo that the mills were no longer worked, and the inhabitants conſumed beforehand what ought to be reſerved for their ſuſtenance, in caſe of being blocked up by the enemy.

They deſired therefore that the general would ſuppreſs the permiſſions granted to particular merchants, and admit neutral veſſels freely into their ports, that they might trade with the inhabitants unmoleſted and unreſtrained. They obſerved, that the citadel of Port Royal ſeemed the principal object on which the ſafety and defence of the country depended; as the loſs of it would be neceſſarily attended with the reduction of the whole iſland: they therefore adviſed that this fort ſhould be ſpeedily furniſhed with every thing neceſſary for its ſafety and defence; and that magazines of proviſion, as well as ammunition, ſhould be eſtabliſhed in different quarters of the iſland.

From this remonſtrance it plainly appears, that the iſland was wholly unprepared to repel the meditated invaſion, and that the plan adopted by the miniſtry of Great Britain was founded on the beſt and moſt authentic intelligence. The regular troops of Martinico amounted to about twenty independent companies, greatly defective in point of number. The militia was compoſed of burghers and planters, diſtreſſed and diſſatisfied, inter-

mixed with a parcel of wretched negroe ſlaves, groaning under the moſt intolerable miſery, from whence they could have no hope of deliverance but by a ſpeedy change of maſters; their magazines were empty, and their fortifications out of repair.

Such was the ſtate of Martinico, when the inhabitants every day expected a viſit from the Britiſh armament, whoſe progreſs I ſhall now deſcribe. On the twelfth day of November, in the preceding year, captain Hughes ſailed from St. Helen's with eight ſail of the line, one frigate, four bomb-ketches, and a fleet of tranſports, having on board ſix regiments of infantry, and a detachment of artillery, beſides eight hundred marines diſtributed among the ſhips of war; this whole force being under the command of major-general Hopſon, an old experienced officer, aſſiſted by major-general Barrington, the colonels Armiger and Haldane, and the lieutenant-colonels Trapaud and Clavering, acting in the capacity of brigadiers. After a voyage of ſeven weeks and three days, the fleet arrived at Barbadoes, and anchored in Carliſle-bay, where they joined commodore Moore, who, in conſequence of his majeſty's expreſs inſtructions for that purpoſe, aſſumed the command of the united ſquadrons, conſiſting of ten ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and bomb-ketches.

Ten days were conſumed in ſupplying the fleet with wood and water, in reviews, reimbarkations, councils of war, aſſemblies of the council belonging to the iſland, in iſſuing proclamations, and beating up for volunteers. At length, every great ſhip being reinforced with forty negroes, to be employed in drawing the artillery; and the troops, which amounted to five thouſand eight hundred and twenty-four men, being joined by four hundred Highlanders belonging to the ſecond battalion of the regiment commanded by lord John Murray in North America, the whole armament ſailed from Carliſle-bay on the thirteenth day of January: but by this time the troops, unaccuſtomed to a hot climate, were conſiderably weakened and reduced by fevers, diarrhœas, the ſcurvy, and the ſmall-pox; which laſt diſeaſe had unhappily broke out amongſt the tranſports. Next morning the ſquadron came in ſight of the iſland of Martinico, which was the place of its deſtination, lying in the latitude of fifteen degrees north, extending about thirteen leagues in length and ſeven in breadth, divided quite acroſs by a lofty ridge of mountains, well watered with ſtreams and rivulets, extremely fertile in its ſoil, which produces ſugar, cotton, ginger, and indigo; indented with commodious bays, of which the moſt conſiderable is the great bay of Port Royal, the capital of the iſland, ſeven miles long, and in ſome places five miles over.

Martinico is ſtill further conſiderable by its centrical ſituation in the midſt of the Caribbees, by its ſtrength, the number of its inhabitants, and the advantages it derives from being the ſeat of government, and ſtaple of trade, from whence even the ſugars of Guadalupe and other French iſlands are exported for the European markets. The chief fortification of the iſland was the citadel of Port Royal, a regular fort, garriſoned by four companies which hardly amounted to the number of one hundred and fifty men, thirty-ſix bombardiers, eighty Swiſs, and fourteen officers. Their whole ſtore of proviſion conſiſted of only one hundred barrels of beef, and they were entirely deſtitute of all other neceſſaries. They were almoſt wholly unprovided with water in the ciſterns, with ſpare carriages for their cannon, match, wadding, and langrage; they had but a ſmall ſtock of other ammunition, and the walls were in many parts decayed. The only preparations they had made for defence were ſome paultry intrenchments formed at St. Pierre, and a place called Caſenavire, where they imagined the deſcent would probably be attempted.

On the fifteenth day of the month the Britiſh ſquadron entered the great bay of Port Royal, ſome of the ſhips being expoſed to the ſhot of a battery erected on the Iſle de Ranieres; a little iſland about half way up the bay. At their approach, the Floriſſant, of ſeventy-four guns, which had been ſo roughly handled by captain Tyrrel in the Buckingham, then lying under the guns of Fort Negro, along with two frigates, turned up under the citadel, and came to anchor in the Carenage, behind the fortification. One of the frigates, during the enſuing night, made her eſcape through the tranſports, and directed her courſe for Europe.

Next day three ſhips of the line were ordered to attack Fort Negro, a battery at the diſtance of three miles from the citadel, which, being mounted with ſeven guns only, was ſoon ſilenced, and immediately poſſeſſed by a detachment of marines and ſailors; who, being landed, in flat-bottomed boats, clambered up the rock, and entered through the embraſures with their bayonets fixed: here, however, they met with no reſiſtance. The enemy had abandoned the fort with precipitation. The Britiſh colours were immediately hoiſted, and centinels of marines poſted upon the parapet. The next care was to ſpike and diſable the cannon, break the carriages, and deſtroy the powder which they found in the magazine: nevertheleſs the detachment was ordered to keep poſſeſſion of the battery. This ſervice being ſucceſsfully performed, three ſhips were ſent to reduce the other battery at Caſenavire, which conſiſted only of four guns, and theſe were ſoon rendered unſerviceable.

The French troops, reinforced by militia, which had been detached from the citadel to oppoſe the landing, obſerving the whole Britiſh ſquadron, and all the tranſports, already within the bay, and Fort-Negro poſſeſſed by the marines, withdrew to Port Royal, leaving the beach open; ſo that the Engliſh troops were diſembarked without oppoſition, and, being formed, advanced into the country towards Fort Negro, in the neighbourhood of which they lay all night upon their arms; while the fleet, which had been galled by bomb-ſhells from the citadel, ſhifted their ſtation, and ſtood farther up the bay.

By ten next day the Engliſh officers had brought up ſome field-pieces to an eminence, and ſcoured the woods, from whence the troops had been greatly annoyed by the ſmall ſhot of the enemy during the beſt part of the night, and all that morning. At noon the Britiſh forces advanced, in order, towards the hill that overlooked the town and citadel of Port Royal, and ſuſtained a troubleſome fire from enemies they could not ſee; for the French militia were entirely concealed among the

trees and buſhes. This eminence, called the Morne Tortueſon, though the moſt important poſt of the whole iſland, was neglected by the general of Martinico, who had alſo determined to blow up the fortifications of the place: but, luckily for the iſlanders, he had not prepared the materials for this operation, which muſt have been followed by the immediate reduction of the capital, and indeed of the whole country. Some of the inferior officers, ſenſible of the importance of the Morne Tortueſon, reſolved to defend that poſt with a body of the militia, which had been joined by the garriſons of Fort Negro and Caſenavire, as well as by ſome ſoldiers detached from the Floriſſant: but notwithſtanding all their endeavours, as they were entirely deſtitute of cannon, extremely deficient in point of diſcipline, diſheartened by the puſillanimity of their governor, and in a great meaſure diſconcerted by the general conſternation that prevailed among the inhabitants, in all probability they could not have withſtood a ſpirited and well conducted attack.

The Engliſh army, however, met with much greater obſtruction from the nature of the ground than from the ſtrength of the enemy. The whole country was interſected with a number of gullies, incloſed by ſteep and almoſt perpendicular precipices; ſo that it was extremely difficult for the troops to advance, and abſolutely impoſſible for them to tranſport their artillery. The general, therefore, ſent word to the commodore, that he could not maintain his ground, unleſs the ſquadron would ſupply him with heavy cannon, landed near the town of Port Royal, or aſſiſt him in attacking the citadel by ſea, while he ſhould make his approaches by land. Both theſe expedients being deemed impracticable, the attempt upon Port Royal was forthwith abandoned, and the troops being recalled from their advanced poſts, were reimbarked in the evening without moleſtation.

The majority of the Britiſh officers, who compoſed the council of war, having given it as their opinion, that it might be for his majeſty's ſervice to make an attack upon St. Pierre, the fleet proceeded to that part of the iſland, and entered the bay on the nineteenth. The commodore told the general, that he made no doubt of being able to reduce the town of St. Pierre: but, as the ſhips might be diſabled in the attack, ſo as not to be in a condition to proceed immediately on any other material ſervice; as the troops might alſo be reduced in their numbers, ſo as to be incapable of future attacks; as, even upon the ſuppoſition of its being taken, the general ſeemed apprehenſive of his not being able to garriſon the place; and as the reduction of the iſland of Guadalupe would be of great benefit to the ſugar colonies; Mr. Moore propoſed that the armament ſhould immediately proceed to this iſland; and the general agreed to the propoſal. Before this reſolution was taken, however, the commodore had ordered the bay of St. Pierre to be ſounded, and directed the Rippon to advance, and ſilence a battery ſituated a mile and a half to the northward of the town. Accordingly captain Jekyl, who commanded that ſhip, ſtood in, and anchoring cloſe to the ſhore, attacked it with ſuch impetuoſity, that in a few minutes it was abandoned. At the ſame time the Rippon was expoſed to the fire of two other ſmall batteries, from which ſhe received conſiderable damage both in her hull and rigging; and was in great danger of running aground, when orders were given to tow her out of danger.

The whole armament having abandoned the deſign on Martinico, directed their courſe to Guadalupe, another of the Caribbee iſlands, lying at the diſtance of thirty leagues to the weſtward, about fifteen leagues in length, and twelve in breadth; divided into two parts by a channel, which the inhabitants croſs in a ferry-boat. The weſtern diviſion is diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Baſſe-terre, or Guadalupe properly ſo called; and here the metropolis ſtands, defended by the citadel and other fortifications. The eaſtern part, called Grand-terre, is deſtitute of freſh water, which abounds in the other diviſion, and is ſecured by fort Louis, with a redoubt, which commands the road in the diſtrict of Goſier. The gut, or canal that ſeparates the two parts, is known by the name of the Salt River, having a road or bay at each end; the one called the great Cul de Sac, the other the ſmall Cul de Sac. Guadalupe is covered with high mountains and precipices, to which the inhabitants uſed to convey their valuable effects in time of danger: but here are alſo beautiful plains, watered by brooks and rivers, which fertilize the ſoil, enabling it to produce a great quantity of ſugar, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and caſſia; beſides plenty of rice, potatoes, all kinds of pulſe and fruit peculiar to the iſland. The country is populous and flouriſhing, and the government comprehends two ſmaller iſlands, called All Saints, and Deſeada, which appear at a ſmall diſtance from the coaſt, on the eaſtern ſide of the iſland.

The Britiſh ſquadron arrived at Baſſe-terre on the twenty-ſecond day of January; and the chief engineer having reconnoitred the town, pronounced it abſolutely impregnable to ſhipping. The commodore, however, was of another opinion. Having diſpoſed his ſhips in proper order, he reſolved to attack it early next morning. At nine, the Lion, commanded by captain Trelawney, began the engagement againſt a battery of nine guns; and the reſt of the fleet continued to draw up a-breaſt of the other batteries and the citadel, which mounted forty-ſix cannon, beſides two mortars. The action in a little time became general, and was maintained on both ſides for ſeveral hours with great vivacity: while the commodore, who had ſhifted his flag into the Woolwich frigate, kept aloof without gunſhot, that he might be the more diſengaged to view the ſtate of the battle, and give his orders with the greater preciſion.

During the whole attack, all the ſea commanders behaved with extraordinary ſpirit and reſolution, particularly the captains Leſſie, Burnet, Gayton, Jekyl, Trelawney, and Shuldam; who, in the very hotteſt of the action, diſtinguiſhed themſelves equally by their courage and deliberation. About five in the afternoon, the fire of the citadel was exhauſted. The Burford and Berwick were driven out to ſea; ſo that captain Shuldam in the Panther was unſupported; and two batteries played upon the Rippon, captain Jekyl, who, by two in the afternoon, ſilenced the guns of one called the Morne-rouge; but at the ſame time could not prevent his ſhip from running a-ground. The enemy obſerving her diſaſter, aſſembled in great numbers on the

the hill, and lined the trenches, from whence they poured in a ſevere fire of muſquetry. The militia afterwards brought up a cannon of eighteen pound ball; and for two hours raked her fore and aft with conſiderable effect: nevertheleſs captain Jekyl returned the fire with equal ſpirit and perſeverance; and being aſſiſted by captain Leſlie, of the Briſtol, found means at laſt to get out of all danger. At ſeven in the evening, all the other large ſhips having ſilenced the guns to which they had been reſpectively oppoſed, he joined the reſt of the fleet. The four bomb-ketches being anchored near the ſhore, began to ply the town with ſhells and carcaſſes; ſo that in a little time the houſes were in flames; the magazines of gun-powder blew up with the moſt terrible exploſion; and about ten o'clock the whole place was involved in one general conflagration.

Next day, at two in the afternoon, the fleet arrived in the road of Baſſeterre, where they found the hulls of divers ſhips which the enemy had ſet on fire at their approach: ſeveral ſhips turned out and endeavoured to eſcape, but were intercepted and taken by the Engliſh ſquadron. At five the troops landed without oppoſition, and took poſſeſſion of the town and citadel, which they found entirely abandoned. They learned from a Genoeſe deſerter, that the regular troops of the iſland conſiſted of five companies only, the whole amounting to a very inconſiderable number; and that they had laid a train to blow up the powder magazine in the citadel; but had been obliged to retreat with ſuch precipitation, as did not permit them to execute this deſign. The train was immediately cut off, and the magazine ſecured. The nails with which they had ſpiked up their cannon were drilled out by the matroſſes; and in the mean time the Britiſh colours were hoiſted on the parapet. Part of the troops took poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt on an eminence, and part entered the town, which ſtill continued burning with great violence.

In the morning, at day-break, the enemy appeared, to the number of two thouſand, about four miles from the town, and began to throw up intrenchments in the neighbourhood of a houſe where the governor had fixed his head quarters, declaring he would maintain his ground to the laſt extremity. To this reſolution indeed he was encouraged by the nature of the ground, and the neighbourhood of a paſs called the Dos d'Ane, a cleft through a mountainous ridge, opening a communication with Capeſterre, a more level and beautiful part of the iſland. The aſcent from Baſſeterre to this paſs was ſo very ſteep, and the way ſo broken and interrupted by rocks and gullies, that there was no proſpect of attacking it with ſucceſs, except at the firſt landing, when the inhabitants were ſeized with the moſt terrible panic. They ſoon, however, recovered their wonted ſpirit, aſſembled and fortified themſelves among the hills, armed and arrayed their negroes, and affected to hold the invaders at defiance. A flag of truce being ſent with offers of terms to their governor, the chevalier d'Etreil, he rejected them in a letter, with which his ſubſequent conduct but very ill correſponded. Indeed from the beginning his deportment had been ſuch as gave no very favourable idea of his character. When the Britiſh ſquadron advanced to the attack, inſtead of viſiting in perſon the citadel and the batteries, in order to encourage and animate his people by his exhortation and example, he retired out of the reach of danger to a diſtant plantation, where he remained a tame ſpectator of the deſtruction that overwhelmed the capital of the iſland. Next morning, when he ought to have exerted himſelf in preventing the diſembarkation of the Engliſh troops, who had a difficult ſhore and violent ſurf to encounter, and when he might have defended the entrenchments and lines which had been made to oppoſe their landing, he abandoned all theſe advantages, and took ſhelter among the mountains that were deemed inacceſſible.

But however puſillanimous the conduct of the governor, certain it is the inhabitants behaved with great ſpirit and activity in defence of their country. They continually harraſſed the ſcouring detachments, by firing upon them from woods and ſugar plantations. Their armed negroes in particular were very expert in this kind of buſh-fighting. The natives or militia appeared in conſiderable parties, and even attacked detached bodies of the Britiſh army. A lady of maſculine courage, whoſe name was Ducharmy, having armed her ſlaves, headed them in perſon, made ſeveral bold attempts upon an advanced poſt poſſeſſed by major Melville, and threw up intrenchments upon a hill oppoſite to the ſtation of this officer, who had all along diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his intrepidity, vigilance, and conduct. At length the works of this virago were ſtormed by a regular detachment, which, after an obſtinate and dangerous conflict, entered the intrenchment ſword in hand, and burned the houſes and plantations; but the lady, who commanded in perſon during the action, eſcaped with ſome difficulty. Some of the enemy were killed, and a good number taken; of the Engliſh detachment twelve ſoldiers were ſlain, and thirty wounded, including three ſubaltern officers, one of whom loſt his arm.

The greateſt body of the enemy was poſted at the governor's head quarters, where they had raiſed a redoubt, and formed ſome intrenchments. From theſe a conſiderable detachment advanced on the ſixth day of February, in the morning, towards the citadel, and fell in with an Engliſh party, whom they attacked with great vivacity; but after a ſhort, though warm diſpute, they were obliged to retire with the loſs of ſome men. Without all queſtion the inhabitants of Guadalupe purſued the moſt feaſible plan that could poſſibly have been concerted for their own ſafety. Inſtead of riſking a general engagement with regular troops, in which in all probability they would have been defeated, they reſolved to weary them out, by maintaining a kind of petty war in ſeparate parties, to alarm and harraſs the Engliſh with hard duty in a ſultry climate, where they were but indifferently ſupplied with proviſion and refreſhment. Both the army and navy were attacked with fevers and other diſeaſes epidemical in thoſe hot countries; and the regimental hoſpitals were ſo crouded, that it was found abſolutely neceſſary to ſend five hundred ſick men to the iſland of Antigua, where they might be properly attended.

In the mean time, the reduction of the iſlanders on the ſide of Guadalupe becoming every day

more difficult, the general reſolved to transfer the ſeat of war to the eaſtern and more fertile part of the iſland, called Grand-terre, which, as I have already obſerved, was ſecured by a ſtrong battery, named Fort Louis. In purſuance of this plan, the great ſhips were ſent round to Grand-terre, in order to reduce this fortification, which they accordingly attacked on the thirteenth day of February. After a ſevere cannonading, which laſted ſix hours, a body of marines being landed, with the Highlanders, they drove the enemy from their intrenchments ſword in hand, and, taking poſſeſſion of the fort, hoiſted the Engliſh colours.

In a few days after this exploit, general Hopſon dying at Baſſeterre, the chief command devolved upon general Barrington, who determined to proſecute the entire reduction of the iſland with the utmoſt vigour and diſpatch. The better to facilitate this conqueſt, the commodore ordered two ſhips of war to cruize off the iſland of St. Euſtatia, and prevent the Dutch traders from aſſiſting the natives of Guadalupe, whom they had hitherto conſtantly ſupplied with proviſions ſince they withdrew to the mountains. General Barrington, on the very firſt day of his command, ordered the troops who were encamped to ſtrike their tents and build huts, that the enemy might imagine he intended to continue in this quarter; but in a few days the batteries in and about Baſſeterre were blown up and deſtroyed, the detachments recalled from the advanced poſts, and the whole army reimbarked, except one regiment, with a detachment of artillery, left in garriſon at the citadel; the command of which was conferred on colonel Debriſay, an accompliſhed officer of great experience.

The enemy no ſooner obſerved the coaſt clear than they ruſhed down from the hills, and endeavoured to make themſelves maſters of the town, from which however they were driven by the fire of the citadel. They afterwards erected a battery, from whence they annoyed this fortification both by ſhot and ſhells, and even threatened a regular attack; but as often as they approached the place, they were repulſed by ſallies from the caſtle. In the midſt of theſe hoſtilities, the gallant Debriſay, together with major Trollop, one lieutenant, two bombardiers, and ſeveral common ſoldiers, were blown up, and periſhed by the exploſion of a powder magazine at the flanked angle of the ſouth-eaſt baſtion. The confuſion neceſſarily produced by ſuch an unfortunate accident, encouraged the enemy to come pouring down from the hills, in order to take advantage of the diſaſter; but they were ſoon repulſed by the fire of the garriſon. The general, being made acquainted with the fate of colonel Debriſay, beſtowed the government of the fort upon major Melvil, and ſent thither the chief engineer to repair and improve the fortifications.

In the mean time, commodore Moore having received certain intelligence that monſieur de Bompart had arrived at Martinico with a ſquadron, conſiſting of eight ſail of the line and three frigates, having on board a whole battalion of Swiſs, and ſome other troops, to reinforce the garriſons of the iſlands, he called in his cruizers, and ſailed immediately to the bay of Dominique, an iſland to the windward, at the diſtance of nine leagues from Guadalupe, whence he could always be able to oppoſe any attempts which the French commander might make againſt the operations of the Britiſh armaments. Some reflections were thrown on his conduct for retiring ſo ſpeedily to this ſtation, and not rather advancing directly to attack the French ſquadron; but theſe cenſures appeared, in the ſequel, to have proceeded either from prejudice or ignorance.

General Barrington being by this time left with one ſhip of forty guns, for the protection of the tranſports, concerted a plan of proſecuting the war in Guadalupe by detachments; and the ſucceſs fully anſwered his expectation. He determined to make a deſcent on the diviſion of the iſland called Grand-terre, and for that purpoſe allotted ſix hundred men, who, under the command of colonel Crump, landed between the towns of St. Anne and St. François, and demoliſhed ſome batteries of the enemy, from whence he met with very little oppoſition. While he was employed in this ſervice, a detachment of three hundred men attacked the town of Goſier, which, notwithſtanding a ſevere fire, they took by aſſault, drove the garriſon into the woods, ſet fire to the place, and deſtroyed the battery and intrenchment raiſed for its defence. This exploit being happily atchieved, the detachment was ordered to force their way to Fort Louis, while the garriſon of that caſtle was directed to make two ſallies, in order to favour their irruption. They accordingly penetrated with ſome loſs, ſuſtained in forcing a ſtrong paſs, and took poſſeſſion of a battery which the enemy had raiſed againſt the Engliſh camp, in the neighbourhood of Fort Louis.

The general, having hitherto ſucceeded in his deſigns, formed the ſcheme of ſurpriſing at once the three towns of Petitbourg, Guoyave, and St. Mary, ſituated on the Baſſe-terre ſide of the little Cul de Sac, and entruſted the execution of it to the colonels Crump and Clavering: but the night appointed for the ſervice, proved extremely dark and tempeſtuous, and the negro conductors were ſo frightened, that they ran ſeveral of the flat-bottomed boats on the ſhoals that ſkirt this part of the iſland. Colonel Clavering landed with about eighty men; but found himſelf ſo entangled with mangrove-trees, and the mud ſo impaſſably deep, that he was obliged to reimbark, though not before the enemy had diſcovered his deſign. This project having failed, the general detached the ſame commanders, whoſe gallantry and conduct cannot be ſufficiently extolled, with a detachment of fifteen hundred men, including one hundred and fifty volunteers from Antigua, to land in a bay not far from the town of Arnonville, at the bottom of the little Cul de Sac, under the protection of his majeſty's ſhip the Woolwich. The enemy made no oppoſition to their landing; but retreated, as the Engliſh advanced, to a ſtrong intrenchment thrown up behind the river Lecorne, a poſt of the utmoſt importance, as it commanded the whole country as far as the bay Mahaut, where proviſions and ſupplies of all ſorts were landed from St. Euſtatia. The river was rendered inacceſſible by a moraſs, covered with mangroves, except at two narrow paſſes, which they had ſecured with a redoubt, and intrenchments well palliſaded, mounted with cannon, and defended by a numerous militia: beſides, the narrow roads, through which only they could be attacked, were interſected with deep and wide ditches.

Notwithſtanding

Notwithſtanding theſe obſtructions, the Engliſh commanders reſolved to hazard an aſſault. While four field-pieces and two howitzers maintained a conſtant fire upon the top of the intrenchments, the regiment of Duroure and the Highlanders advanced under this cover, firing by platoons with the utmoſt regularity. The enemy, intimidated by their cool and reſolute behaviour, began to abandon the firſt intrenchment on the left. Then the Highlanders, drawing their ſwords, and ſuſtained by part of the regiment, threw themſelves in with their uſual impetuoſity, and followed the fugitives pell-mell into the redoubt, of which they took poſſeſſion: but the enemy ſtill kept their ground within the intrenchments on the right, from whence they annoyed the aſſailants both with muſquetry and cannon. In half an hour, an occaſional bridge being made, the Engliſh troops croſſed the river in order to attack this poſt, which the enemy abandoned with precipitation: notwithſtanding all their haſte, however, about ſeventy were taken priſoners, and among theſe ſome of the moſt conſiderable inhabitants of the iſland. This advantage coſt the Engliſh two officers and thirteen men killed, and about fifty wounded.

The roads being mended for the paſſage of the artillery, the troops proceeded towards Petit-bourg, harraſſed in their march by flying bodies of the enemy, and arrived late at night on the banks of the river Lizarde, the only ford of which the French had ſecured with ſtrong intrenchments, defended by a battery of four cannon, erected on a riſing ground in the rear. Colonel Clavering, while he amuſed them all night at this place by a conſtant fire into their lines, tranſported in two canoes, which he launched about a mile and a half farther down the river, a ſufficient number of troops, by day-break, to attack them on the other ſide in flank, while he ſhould charge them in front at the head of his little army; but they did not think proper to ſuſtain the aſſault. On the contrary, they no ſooner diſcovered his intention than they deſerted the poſt, and fled with precipitation. Colonel Clavering having croſſed the river, purſued them to Petit-bourg, which they had alſo fortified; and here he found captain Uvedale, of the Grenada bomb-ketch, throwing ſhells into the redoubt. He inſtantly ſent detachments to occupy the neighbouring heights; a circumſtance which the enemy no ſooner perceived than they abandoned the place, and retired in diſorder.

On the fifteenth day of April captain Steele deſtroyed a battery at Guoyave, a ſtrong poſt, which, though it might have been defended againſt an army, the French relinquiſhed abruptly, after having made a haſty diſcharge of their artillery. At the ſame time colonel Crump was detached with ſeven hundred men to the bay of Mahaut, where he burned the town and batteries, which he found abandoned, together with a vaſt quantity of proviſions which had been brought from the iſland of St. Euſtatia. Colonel Clavering, having left a ſmall garriſon at Petit-bourg, began his march on the twentieth day of the month towards St. Mary's, where he underſtood the enemy had aſſembled their whole force, thrown up intrenchments, and raiſed barricadoes; but they had left their rear unguarded. The Engliſh commander immediately detached colonel Barlow with a body of troops to attack them from that quarter, while he himſelf advanced againſt the front of their intrenchment They ſtood but one cannon-ſhot, and fled to their lines and batteries at St. Mary's, the flanks of which were ſecured with woods and precipices. When they obſerved the Engliſh troops endeavouring to ſurmount theſe difficulties, and turn their lines, they quitted them, in order to oppoſe the deſign; and were immediately attacked with ſuch vivacity, in the face of a ſevere fire of muſquetry and cannon, that they abandoned their ground, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion, leaving the field and all their artillery to the victors, who took up their quarters for the night at St. Mary's.

Next day they entered the fertile country of Capeſterre, where eight hundred and ſeventy negroes, belonging to one planter, ſurrendered at diſcretion. Here colonel Clavering was met by meſſieurs de Clainvilliers and Duqueruy, deputed by the principal inhabitants of the iſland, to know what capitulation would be granted. Theſe he conducted to Petit-bourg, where they were preſented to general Barrington, who, conſidering the abſence of the fleet, the ſmall number of his forces daily diminiſhing, the nature of the country, and the poſſibility of the enemy's being reinforced from Martinico, wiſely took advantage of their preſent panic, and ſettled the terms of capitulation without delay. The ſanity of this reſolution was ſoon viſible. The inhabitants had juſt ſigned the agreement, when a meſſenger arrived in their camp with intelligence that M. de Beauharnois, the general of the French iſlands, had landed at St. Anne, to the windward, with a reinforcement from Martinico, conſiſting of ſix hundred regulars from Europe, and about fifteen hundred militia, with a great ſupply of arms and ammunition, mortars, and artillery, under convoy of the ſquadron commanded by M. de Bompart, who no ſooner heard that the capitulation was ſigned than he reimbarked the troops and ſtores with all poſſible expedition, and ſailed back to Martinico.

Thus we ſee that the conqueſt of this important iſland, which is ſaid to produce a greater quantity of ſugar than any other of the Weſt Indian plantations, was as much owing to accident as to the valour of the troops and the conduct of the general: for, had the reinforcement arrived an hour ſooner than it actually landed, in all probability the Engliſh would have found it extremely difficult to complete the reduction of Guadalupe. Whatever be in this, certain it is that the inhabitants manifeſted great gallantry in the defence of their country, and no leſs fortitude in bearing their ſubjection now that it was inevitable. They immediately quitted the Dos d'Ane, and all their other poſts, and returned to their reſpective habitations.

The town of Baſſeterre being entirely reduced to aſhes, the inhabitants began to clear away the rubbiſh, and erected occaſional ſheds, where they reſumed their ſeveral occupations with that good humour ſo peculiar to the French nation; and general Barrington humanely indulged them with all the aſſiſtance in his power.

Soon after the reduction of Guadalupe, the iſlands of Deſeada, Los Santos, and Marigalante, were ſummoned to ſurrender; and they accordingly ſubmitted upon the ſame terms which was granted to the great iſland: but this ſtep was not

taken till after the departure of general Barrington for England.

This officer having happily completed the reduction of Guadalupe, ſent word to the commodore that he intended to ſend back part of the troops with the tranſports to Great Britain about the beginning of July. In conſequence of this intimation, Mr. Moore ſailed with his ſquadron to Baſſeterre road, where he was next day joined by two ſhips of the line from England, which rendered him ſuperior in ſtrength to the commander of the French ſquadron, who at this time retired to the iſland of Grenada, lying about eight leagues from Guadalupe. Here he was diſcovered by the ſhip Rippon, whoſe captain returned immediately to Baſſeterre, in order to inform the commodore of this circumſtance: but before he could put to ſea, a frigate arrived with advice that Bompart had departed from Grenada, and was ſuppoſed to have directed his courſe to Hiſpaniola. The commodore immediately diſpatched the Ludlow-caſtle with this intelligence to admiral Cotes, who commanded the ſquadron at Jamaica.

General Barrington having made a tour of Guadalupe, in order to viſit and repair the fortifications which he thought neceſſary to be maintained, and the affairs relating to the inhabitants being entirely ſettled, he ſent the Highlanders, with a body of draughts, to North America, under convoy; he garriſoned the principal towns of the iſland, and left the chief command to colonel Crump, who had for ſome time acted as brigadier-general, colonel Clavering having been ſent home to England with the news of the conqueſt. Colonel Melville, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a remarkable manner ever ſince their firſt landing, continued governor of the citadel at Baſſeterre; and the command at Grand-terre was beſtowed on colonel Delgarno. Three complete regiments were aſſigned as a ſufficient guard for the whole iſland, and the other three were embarked for England. General Barrington himſelf went on board the Roebuck in the latter end of June, and with the tranſports, under convoy of a ſmall ſquadron, ſet ſail for Great Britain, while commodore Moore with his larger fleet directed his courſe to Antigua.

During theſe tranſactions in the Leeward Iſlands, the war was carried on with no leſs vigour in North America, which may be properly conſidered as the chief ſcene of action. In October of the preceding year a grand aſſembly had been held at Eaſton, about ninety miles from Philadelphia; and there peace was concluded, by a formal treaty, between Great Britain and the ſeveral nations of Indians inhabiting the country between the Apalachian mountains and the lakes. The Twightwees, however, ſettled between the river Ohio and the lakes, did not aſſiſt at this interview, though ſome ſteps had been taken to ſecure the alliance of that people. The conferences were managed by the governors of Penſylvania and New Jerſey, accompanied by ſir William Johnſon's deputy for Indian affairs, four members of the council of Penſylvania, ſix members of the aſſembly, two agents for the province of New Jerſey, a great number of planters and citizens of Philadelphia, chiefly quakers. They were met by the deputies and chiefs of the Mohawks, Oneidoes, Onondagoes, Cayagas, Senecas, Tuſcaroras, Nanticoques, and Conoys; the Tuteloes, Chugnuts, Delawares, and Unamies; the Miniſinks, Mohicons, and Wappingers; the whole number, including their women and children, amounting to five hundred and ſeven.

Some of the Six Nations thinking themſelves aggrieved by the Britiſh coloniſts, who had impriſoned ſome of their countrymen, killed a few, and treated others with neglect, did not fail to expreſs their reſentment, which had been artfully fomented by the French emiſſaries, even into an open rupture. The Delawares and Miniſinks in particular complained that the Engliſh had encroached upon their lands, and on that account were provoked to hoſtilities: but Teedyuſcung, the chief of the former, had made overtures of peace; and, in the character of ambaſſador from all the ten nations, had been very inſtrumental in forming this aſſembly. The chiefs of the Six Nations, though very well diſpoſed to peace, took umbrage at the importance aſſumed by this chief of the Delawares, over whom, as their deſcendants, they claimed a kind of parental authority; and on this occaſion they made no ſcruple to expreſs their diſpleaſure. The buſineſs therefore of the Engliſh governors, at this congreſs, was to aſcertain the limits of the lands in diſpute, reconcile the Six Nations with their nephews the Delawares, remove every cauſe of miſunderſtanding between the Engliſh and the Indians, detach theſe ſavages entirely from the French intereſt, eſtabliſh a firm peace, and induce them to exert their influence in perſuading the Twightwees to accede to this treaty.

Thoſe Indians, though poſſeſſed of few ideas, circumſcribed in their mental faculties, ſtupid, brutal, and ferocious, conduct themſelves nevertheleſs, in matters of importance to the community, by the general maxims of reaſon and juſtice; and their treaties are always founded upon good ſenſe, conveyed in a very ridiculous manner. Their language is guttural, harſh, and polyſyllabical; and their ſpeech conſiſts of hyperbolical metaphors and ſimilies, which inveſt it with an air of dignity, and heighten the expreſſion. They manage their conferences by means of wampum, a kind of bead, formed of hard ſhells, either in ſingle ſtrings, or ſewed in broad belts of different dimenſions, according to the importance of the ſubject. Every propoſition is offered, every anſwer made, every promiſe corroborated, every declaration atteſted, and every treaty confirmed, by producing and interchanging theſe belts of wampum.

The conferences were continued from the eighth to the twenty-ſixth day of October, when every article was ſettled to the mutual ſatisfaction of all parties. The Indian deputies were gratified with a valuable preſent, conſiſting of looking-glaſſes, knives, tobacco-boxes, ſleeve-buttons, thimbles, ſheers, gun-locks, ivory combs, ſhirts plain and ruffled, ſhoes and ſtockings for men and women, hats, caps, handkerchiefs, thread, cloaths, blankets, gartering, ſerges, watch-coats, and a few ſuits of laced cloaths for their chieftains. To complete their happineſs, the ſtores of rum were opened: they drank themſelves into a ſtate of brutal intoxication, and next day returned in peace to their reſpective places of habitation.

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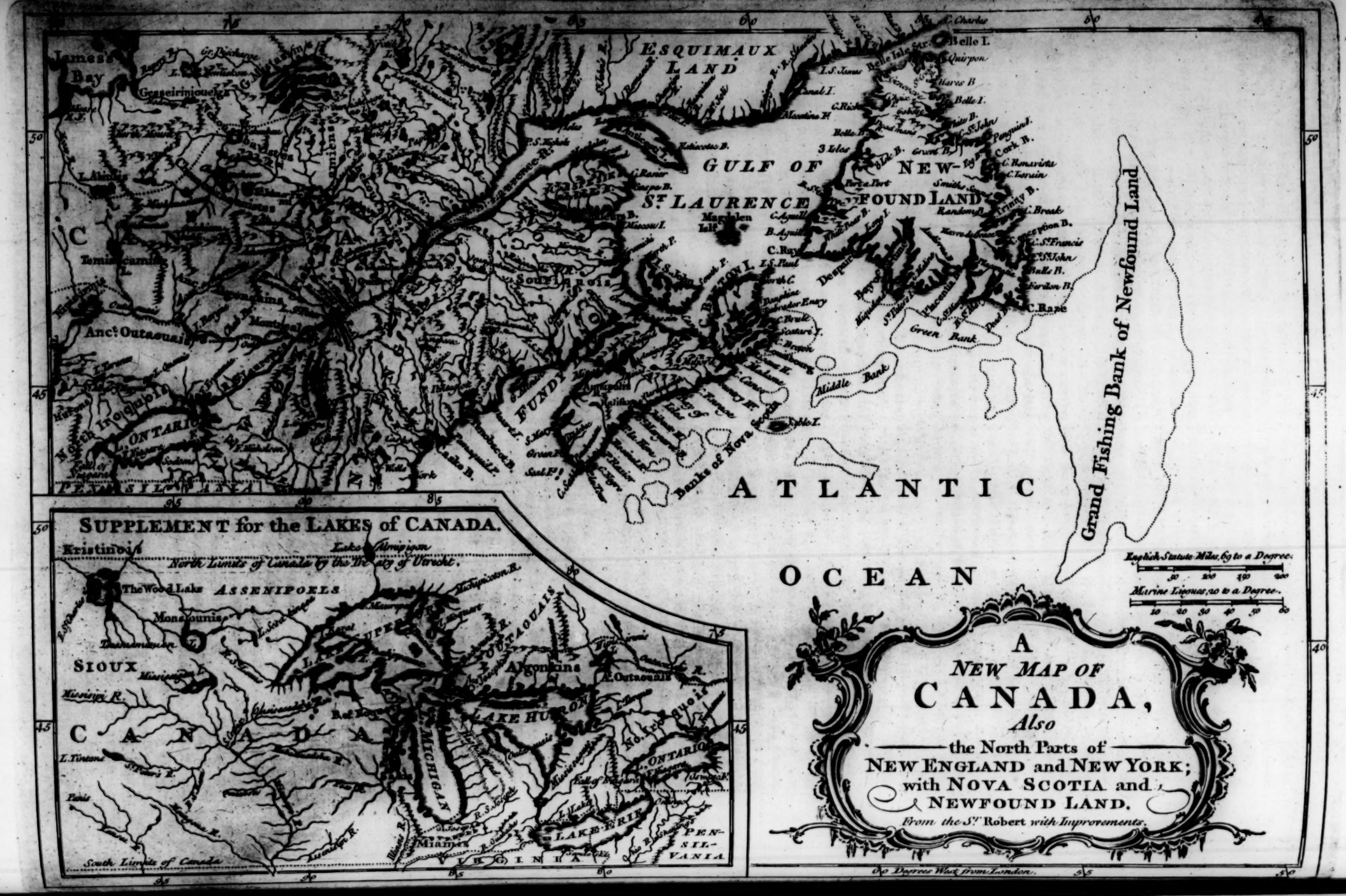
ESQUIMAUX LAND
GULF OF ST. LAURENCE
NEW-FOUNDLAND
CANADA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Grand Fishing Bank of Newfound Land
Green Bank
Middle Bank
Banks of Nova Scotia
FUNDY
ONTARIO
Anc.t Outaouais
Iroquois
SUPPLEMENT for the LAKES of CANADA.
North Limits of Canada by the Treaty of Utrecht.
ASSENIPOELS
SIOUX
Algonkins
LAKE HURON
LAKE ERIE
MICHIGAN
South Limits of Canada
A NEW MAP OF CANADA, Also the North Parts of NEW ENGLAND and NEW YORK; with NOVA SCOTIA and NEWFOUND LAND.
From the S.r Robert with Improvements.
English Statute Miles, 69 to a Degree.
Marine Leagues, 20 to a Degree.
80 Degrees West from London.

This treaty with the Indians, who had been debauched from the intereſt of Great Britain, happily contributed to facilitate the operations which had been projected againſt the French ſettlements in Canada. Inſtead of employing the whole ſtrength of the Britiſh arms in North America upon one object, the Britiſh miniſtry reſolved to divide the forces, and make impreſſions on three different parts at once, that the enemy might be divided, diſtracted, and weakened, and the conqueſt of Canada accompliſhed in one campaign. In order the more effectually to inſure ſucceſs, the different expeditions were planned in ſuch a manner as to co-operate with each other occaſionally; ſo practicable was it thought for them to maintain ſuch a correſpondence as would admit of a junction of this nature.

The project of this campaign imported, that general Wolfe, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo eminently in the ſiege of Louiſbourg, ſhould proceed up the river St. Laurence as ſoon as the navigation ſhould be clear of ice, with a body of eight thouſand men, and a conſiderable ſquadron of ſhips from England, to undertake the ſiege of Quebec, the capital of Canada: that general Amherſt, who commanded in chief, ſhould, with another army of regular troops and provincials, amounting to twelve thouſand men, reduce Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, croſs the lake Champlain, and, proceeding along the river Richelieu to the banks of St. Laurence, join general Wolfe in the ſiege of Quebec: that brigadier-general Prideaux, with a third body, reinforced by a conſiderable number of friendly Indians, aſſembled by the influence and under the command of ſir William Johnſon, ſhould attack the French fort erected by the fall of the cataract of Niagara, which was certainly the moſt important poſt of all French America, as it in a manner commands all the interior parts of that vaſt continent. It overawes the whole country of the Six Nations, who were perſuaded to agree to its being built on their territory: it ſecured all the inland trade, the navigation of the great lakes, the communication between Canada and Louiſiana, and opened a way for inroads into the colonies of Great Britain. It was propoſed that the Britiſh forces, having taken Niagara, ſhould be embarked on the lake Ontario, ſail down the river St. Laurence, reduce the town of Montreal, and then join or co-operate with Amherſt's army. Beſides theſe larger armaments, colonel Stanwix was entruſted with a ſmaller detachment for ſubduing ſmaller forts, and ſcouring the banks of the lake Ontario.

The ſame good fortune that ſo remarkably attended the Britiſh arms in the conqueſt of Guadalupe, ſeemed to accompany them in a manner ſtill more aſtoniſhing in the ſiege of Quebec, the particulars of which we ſhall relate in their proper place: at preſent, we muſt explain the operations of general Amherſt, whoſe ſeparate army was firſt in motion, though ſuch impediments were thrown in his way as greatly retarded the progreſs of his armament.

The ſummer was already far advanced before he could paſs lake George with his forces, and reach the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, where in the preceding year the Britiſh troops had ſuſtained ſuch a terrible diſaſter. At firſt the enemy ſeemed determined to defend this fortreſs; but perceiving the Engliſh commander reſolute, cautious, and well prepared for undertaking the ſiege, having moreover orders to retreat, from place to place, towards the centre of operations at Quebec, rather than run the riſk of being made priſoners of war; they, in the night of July the 27th, abandoned the poſt, after having in ſome meaſure demoliſhed the fortifications, and retired to Crown Point, a fort ſituated on the banks of Lake Champlain. General Amherſt having taken poſſeſſion of this important poſt, which effectually ſecured the frontiers of New York, and afforded to himſelf a ſafe retreat in caſe of neceſſity, ordered the works to be repaired, and allotted a ſtrong garriſon for its defence. This acquiſition, however, was not made without the loſs of a brave accompliſhed young officer, colonel Roger Townſhend, who, in reconnoitring the fort, was killed with a cannon ſhot, and fell near the ſame ſpot which, in the former year, had been enriched with the blood of the gallant lord Howe, whom he ſtrongly reſembled in the circumſtances of birth, age, qualifications, and character.

While the general ſuperintended the repairs of Ticonderoga, and the men were employed in conſtructing batteaus and other veſſels, his ſcouting parties hovered in the neighbourhood of Crown-Point, in order to watch the motions of the enemy. From one of theſe detachments he received information on the firſt day of Auguſt, that the enemy had abruptly left Crown-Point. He forthwith detached a body of rangers before him to take poſſeſſion of the place, embarked with the reſt of his army, and on the fourth day of the month landed at the fort, where the troops were immediately encamped. His next care was to lay the foundations of a new fort, to be maintained for the ſecurity of the Britiſh dominions in that part of the country, and particularly for guarding againſt the inroads of ſcalping parties, by whom the plantations had been dreadfully infeſted.

Here he likewiſe received intelligence that the enemy had retired to the iſle Aux Noix, at the other end of the lake Champlain, five leagues on the hither ſide of St. John's: that their force encamped in that place, under the command of M. de Burlemaque, conſiſted of three battalions and five piquets of regular troops, with Canadians and marines, amounting in the whole to three thouſand five hundred effective men, provided with a numerous artillery; and that the lake was occupied by four large veſſels, mounted with cannon, and manned with piquets of different regiments, under the command of M. le Bras, a captain in the French navy, aſſiſted by M. de Rigal, and other ſea officers. In conſequence of this intimation, the Engliſh general, who had for ſome time employed captain Loring to ſuperintend the building of veſſels at Ticonderoga, being determined to have the ſuperiority on the lake, directed the captain to build, with all poſſible diſpatch, a ſloop of ſixteen guns, and a radeau eighty-four feet in length, capable of carrying ſix large cannon.

Theſe, together with a brigantine, being finiſhed, victualled, and manned, by the eleventh day of October, the general embarked with the whole troops in batteaus, in order to attack the enemy; but next day, the weather growing tempeſtuous, he

he was forced to take ſhelter in a bay on the weſtern ſhore, where the men were landed for refreſhment. In the mean time captain Loring, with his ſmall ſquadron, ſailed down the lake, gave chace to a French ſchooner, and drove three of their ſhips into a bay, where two of them were ſunk, and the third run aground by their own crews, who eſcaped. This laſt, however, was repaired and brought away by captain Loring; ſo that now the French had but one ſchooner left. General Amherſt, after having been ſome days wind-bound, reimbarked his forces, and proceeded down the lake; but the ſtorm which had abated beginning to blow with redoubled fury, ſo as to ſwell the waves mountain high, the ſeaſon for action being elapſed, and winter ſetting in with a moſt ſevere froſt, he ſaw the impoſſibility of executing his deſign, and was obliged to deſiſt.

Returning to the ſame bay where he had formerly taken ſhelter, he landed the troops, and began his march for Crown-Point, where he arrived on the twenty-firſt day of October. Having attained a ſuperiority on the lake, he now employed all his attention in raiſing the new fortreſs at Crown-Point, together with three ſmall out-forts for its better defence; in forming roads of communication with Ticonderoga, and the governments of the Maſſachuſets and New Hampſhire; and in making diſpoſitions for the winter-quarters of his troops, ſo as to ſecure the country from the inroads of the enemy. During this whole ſummer he received not the leaſt intelligence of Mr. Wolfe's operations, except a few hints in ſome intercepted letters of the French general Montcalm, relating to the exchange of priſoners. From theſe he learned that Mr. Wolfe had landed in the neighbourhood of Quebec, and ſeemed determined to undertake the ſiege of that city: that he had honoured him (the French general) with ſeveral notes, ſometimes couched in a ſoothing ſtrain, ſometimes filled with menaces: that the French army intended to give him battle; and a few days would determine the fate of Quebec.

Though Mr. Amherſt was ignorant of the proceedings of the Quebec ſquadron, he enjoyed nevertheleſs a free communication with the forces employed againſt Niagara, and had the ſatisfaction to hear of their ſucceſs before he quitted the lines of Ticonderoga. General Prideaux, with his body of troops, reinforced by the Indian auxiliaries under ſir William Johnſon, advanced to the cataract of Niagara without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition on his march; and inveſting the French fortreſs about the middle of July, carried on his approaches with great vigour till the twentieth day of that month, when, viſiting the trenches, he was unfortunately killed by the burſting of a cohorn. Mr. Amherſt was no ſooner appriſed of his diſaſter than he detached from Ticonderoga brigadier-general Gage, to aſſume the command of that army. In the mean time it devolved to ſir William Johnſon, who, though in a great meaſure unacquainted with the rules of war, proſecuted the plan of his predeceſſor with all the ſkill and activity of the moſt veteran commander.

The enemy, alarmed with the apprehenſion of loſing a place of ſuch importance, reſolved to exert their endeavours for its relief. They collected a body of regular troops, amounting to twelve hundred men, drawn from Detroit, Venango, and Preſque Iſle; and theſe, with a number of Indian auxiliaries, were detached, under the command of monſieur d'Aubry, on an attempt to reinforce the garriſon of Niagara. Sir William Johnſon having received intelligence of their deſign, made a diſpoſition to intercept them in their march. In the evening he ordered the light infantry and piquets to poſt themſelves to the left, on the road leading from Niagara falls to the fortreſs; and theſe were reinforced in the morning with the grenadiers, and part of the forty-ſixth regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Maſſey; and another regiment, under lieutenant-colonel Farquhar, was poſted at the tail of the works, in order to ſupport the guard of the trenches. About eight in the morning, the enemy being in ſight, the Indians in the Engliſh army advanced to ſpeak with their countrymen who ſerved under the French banners; but this conference was declined by the enemy. Then the French Indians having uttered the horrible ſcream called the war-whoop, which by this time had loſt its effect among the Britiſh forces, the enemy began the action with great impetuoſity: but they met with ſuch a warm reception in front, while the Indian auxiliaries fell upon them in flank, that in a little more than half an hour their whole army was routed, their general, with all his officers, taken, and the purſuit continued through the woods for ſeveral miles with conſiderable ſlaughter.

This battle, which happened on the twenty-fourth day of July, having been fought in ſight of the French garriſon at Niagara, ſir William Johnſon ſent major Harvey with a trumpet to the commanding officer, to preſent him with a liſt of the ſeventeen officers taken in the engagement, and adviſe him to ſurrender before more blood was ſhed, while he had it in his power to reſtrain the Indians. The commandant having certified himſelf of the truth, by ſending an officer to viſit the priſoners, agreed to treat, and in a few hours the capitulation was ſigned. The garriſon, conſiſting of ſix hundred and ſeven effective men, marched out with the honours of war, in order to be embarked in veſſels on the lake, and conveyed in the moſt expeditious manner to New York. They laid down their arms when they embarked, but were permitted to keep their baggage, and, by a proper eſcort, protected from the ſavage inſolence and rapacity of the Indians. All the women were conducted, at their own requeſt, to Montreal; and the ſick and wounded, who could not bear the fatigue of travelling, were treated with humanity.

This was the ſecond complete victory gained, in the courſe of the ſame war, by ſir William Johnſon, who, without the help of a military education, ſucceeded ſo ſignally in the field by dint of innate courage and natural ſagacity. What remarkably diſtinguiſhed theſe battles, is the circumſtance of his having taken in both the commander of the enemy. Nor was he more ſerviceable to his country by his valour and conduct in the field, than by the influence and authority which his juſtice, benevolence, and integrity, had acquired him among the Indian tribes of the Six Nations, whom he not only aſſembled at Niagara, to the number of eleven hundred, but alſo reſtrained within the bounds of good order and moderation.

The reduction of Niagara, and the poſſeſſion of Crown-Point, were exploits much more eaſily accompliſhed than the conqueſt of Quebec, the great object to which all theſe ſubordinate operations tended, and of which we now come to give an account. It was about the middle of February that a conſiderable ſquadron ſailed from England for Cape Breton, under the command of the admirals Saunders and Holmes, two gentlemen of worth and probity, who had on ſeveral occaſions ſignalized their courage and conduct in the ſervice of their country. By the twenty-firſt day of April they were in ſight of Louiſbourg: but the harbour was blocked up with ice in ſuch a manner, that they were obliged to bear away for Halifax in Nova Scotia. From thence rear-admiral Durell was detached with a ſmall ſquadron, to ſail up the river St. Laurence as far as the iſle de Coudres, in order to intercept any ſupplies from France intended for Quebec: he accordingly took ſome ſtore-ſhips; but he was anticipated by ſeventeen ſail of ſhips, loaded with proviſion, ſtores, and ſome recruits, under convoy of three frigates, which had already reached the capital of Canada. Mean while, admiral Saunders arrived at Louiſbourg; and the troops being embarked, to the number of eight thouſand, proceeded up the river without further delay.

The operations at land were intruſted to the conduct of major-general James Wolfe, who had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the ſiege of Louiſbourg; and his ſubordinates in command were the brigadiers Monckton, Townſhend, and Murray; all four in the flower of their age, who had ſtudied the military art with equal application and proficiency, and though young in years, were old in experience. The firſt was a ſoldier by deſcent, the ſon of major-general Wolfe, a veteran officer of acknowleged capacity: the other three reſembled each other, not only in years, qualifications, and ſtation, but alſo in family-rank, all three being the ſons of noblemen. The ſituation of brigadier Townſhend was ſingular: he had ſerved abroad in the laſt war with reputation, and reſigned his commiſſion during the peace, in diſdain of ſome hard uſage he had received from his ſuperiors. That his military talents, however, might not be loſt to his country, he exerciſed them with equal ſpirit and perſeverance in projecting the plan of a national militia. When the command and direction of the army devolved to a new leader, ſo predominant in his breaſt was the ſpirit of patriotiſm and the love of glory, that though heir-apparent to a Britiſh peerage, poſſeſſed of a very affluent fortune, remarkably dear to his acquaintance, and ſolicited to a life of quiet by every allurement of domeſtic felicity, he nobly diſregarded theſe meaner conſiderations: he burſt from all entanglements; proffered his ſervice to his ſovereign; expoſed himſelf to the perils of a diſagreeable voyage, the rigours of a ſevere climate, and the hazards of a campaign peculiarly fraught with toil, danger, and difficulty.

The armament intended for Quebec ſailed up the river St. Laurence without any interruption, or having encountered any of thoſe difficulties and perils with which the navigation of that river had been ſaid to be attended. Their good fortune in this particular, indeed, was owing to ſome excellent charts of the river, which had been found in veſſels taken from the enemy. About the latter end of June the land forces were diſembarked in two diviſions upon the iſle of Orleans, ſituated a little below Quebec, a large fertile iſland, well cultivated, producing plenty of grain, abounding with people, villages, and plantations. General Wolfe no ſooner landed on the iſland of Orleans than he diſtributed a manifeſto among the French coloniſts, importing, That the king his maſter, juſtly exaſperated againſt the French monarch, had equipped a conſiderable armament in order to humble his pride, and was determined to reduce the moſt conſiderable French ſettlements in America: that it was not againſt the induſtrious peaſants, their wives and children, nor againſt the miniſters of religion, that he intended to make war: on the contrary, he lamented the misfortunes to which they muſt be expoſed by the quarrel: he offered them his protection, and promiſed to maintain them in their temporal poſſeſſions, as well as in the free exerciſe of their religion, provided they would remain quiet, and take no part in the difference between the two crowns. He obſerved, that the Engliſh were maſters of the river St. Laurence, ſo as to intercept all ſuccours from Europe; and had, beſides, a powerful army on the continent, under the command of general Amherſt: that the reſolution they ought to take was neither difficult nor doubtful, as the utmoſt exertion of their valour would be uſeleſs, and ſerve only to deprive them of the advantages which they might reap from their neutrality: that the cruelties exerciſed by the French upon the ſubjects of Great Britain in America, would excuſe the moſt ſevere repriſals; but Britons were too generous to follow ſuch barbarous examples. He again offered to the Canadians the ſweets of peace amidſt the horrors of war; and left it to themſelves to determine their own fate by their own conduct. He expreſſed his hope that the world would do him juſtice, ſhould they oblige him, by rejecting theſe favourable terms, to adopt violent meaſures. He expatiated upon the ſtrength and power, as well as the generoſity of Great Britain, in thus ſtretching out the hand of humanity; a hand ready to aſſiſt them on all occaſions, even when France was, by her weakneſs, compelled to abandon them in the moſt critical conjuncture.

This declaration produced no immediate effect; nor indeed could the Canadians be perſuaded to depend upon the ſincerity and faith of a nation whom their prieſts had induſtriouſly repreſented as the moſt ſavage and cruel enemy on earth. Poſſeſſed of thoſe notions, which prevailed even among the better ſort, they choſe to abandon their habitations, and expoſe themſelves and families to certain ruin, in provoking the Engliſh by the moſt cruel hoſtilities, rather than be quiet, and confide in the general's promiſe of protection. Inſtead of purſuing this prudent plan of conduct, they joined the ſcalping parties of Indians who ſkulked among the woods, and iſſuing forth among the Engliſh ſtragglers, butchered them with the moſt inhuman barbarity. Mr. Wolfe, whoſe nature revolted againſt ſuch wanton and perfidious cruelty, ſent a letter to the French general, repreſenting, that ſuch enormities were contrary to the rules of war eſtabliſhed among civilized nations, diſhonour-

able to the ſervice of France, and diſgraceful to human nature: he therefore deſired the French coloniſts and Indians might be reſtrained within due bounds, otherwiſe he would burn their villages, deſolate their plantations, and retaliate upon the perſons of his priſoners whatever cruelty ſhould, in the ſequel, be committed on the ſoldiers or ſubjects of his maſter. In all probability the French general's authority was not ſufficient to bridle the ferocity of the ſavages, who continued to ſcalp and murder with the moſt brutal appetite for blood and revenge; ſo that Mr. Wolfe, in order to intimidate the enemy into a ceſſation of theſe outrages, found it neceſſary to connive at ſome irregularities in the way of retaliation.

M. de Montcalm, who commanded the French troops, though ſuperior in number to the Engliſh, wiſely determined to depend upon the natural ſtrength of the country, rather than run the riſk of a general engagement in the field. The city of Quebec was ſkilfully fortified, defended with a numerous garriſon, and plentifully ſupplied with proviſion and ammunition. Montcalm had reinforced the troops of the colony with five regular battalions, formed of the beſt of the inhabitants; and completely diſciplined all the Canadians of the neighbourhood capable of bearing arms, with the ſeveral tribes of ſavages. With this army he had taken poſt, in a very advantageous ſituation, along the ſhore of Beaumont, from the river St. Charles to the Falls of Montmorenci, every acceſſible part of his camp being deeply intrenched. To undertake the ſiege of Quebec againſt ſuch odds and advantages, was not only a deviation from the eſtabliſhed maxims of war, but a raſh enterprize, ſeemingly repugnant to the dictates of common ſenſe.

Mr. Wolfe was well acquainted with all the difficulties of the undertaking; but he knew at the ſame time he ſhould always have it in his power to retreat, in caſe of emergency, while the Britiſh ſquadron maintained its ſtation in the river: he was not without hope of being joined by general Amherſt; and he was ſtimulated by an appetite for glory, which no proſpect of danger could entirely overcome. Underſtanding that there was a body of the enemy poſted with cannon at the Point of Levi, on the ſouth ſhore, oppoſite to the city of Quebec, he detached againſt them brigadier Monckton, at the head of four battalions, who paſſed the river at night; and next morning, having ſkirmiſhed with ſome of the enemy's irregulars, obliged them to retire from that poſt, which the Engliſh immediately occupied. At the ſame time colonel Carlton, with another detachment, took poſſeſſion of the weſtern point of the iſland of Orleans; and both theſe poſts were fortified, in order to anticipate the enemy, who, had they kept poſſeſſion of either, might have rendered it impoſſible for any ſhip to lie at anchor within two miles of Quebec. Beſides, the Point of Levi was within cannon-ſhot of the city, againſt which a battery of mortars and artillery was immediately erected. Montcalm, foreſeeing the effect of this expedient, detached a body of ſixteen hundred men acroſs the river, to attack and deſtroy the works before they were completed: but this detachment fell into diſorder, fired upon each other, and fled in the utmoſt confuſion. The battery being finiſhed without further interruption, the cannon and mortars began to play with ſuch ſucceſs, that in a little time the upper town was conſiderably damaged, and the lower town entirely demoliſhed.

Mean while, the fleet was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. Immediately after the landing the troops on the iſland of Orleans, the wind increaſed to a furious ſtorm, which blew with ſuch violence that many tranſports ran foul of one another, and were diſabled; a number of boats and ſmall craft foundered, and ſeveral large ſhips loſt their anchors. The enemy reſolving to take advantage of the confuſion produced, as they believed, by this terrible tempeſt, prepared ſeven fire-ſhips, and at midnight ſent them down from Quebec among the tranſports, which lay ſo thick as to cover the whole ſurface of the river. The ſcheme, though well contrived and ſeaſonably executed, was entirely defeated by the vigilance of the Britiſh admiral, and the dexterity of his mariners, who reſolutely boarded the fire-ſhips, and towed them faſt aſhore, where they lay burning to the water's edge, without having done the leaſt prejudice to the Engliſh ſquadron. On the very ſame day of the ſucceeding month, they ſent down a raft of fire-ſhips, or radeaus, which were likewiſe conſumed, without producing any effect.

The works for the ſecurity of the hoſpital, and the ſtores on the iſland of Orleans, being completed, the Britiſh forces croſſed the north channel in boats, and landing under the cover of two ſloops, encamped on the ſide of the river Montmorenci, which ſeparated them from the left of the enemy; and next morning a company of rangers, poſted in a wood to cover ſome workmen, were attacked by the French Indians, and put to flight: however, the neareſt troops advancing, repulſed the Indians in their turn with conſiderable loſs. The reaſons that induced general Wolfe to chuſe this ſituation by the Falls of Montmorenci, in which he was divided from Quebec by this and another river called St. Charles, he explained in a letter to the ſecretary of ſtate. He obſerved that the ground he had choſen was high, and in ſome meaſure commanded the oppoſite ſide, on which the enemy was poſted: that there was a ford below the falls, paſſable in every tide for ſome hours at the latter part of the ebb, and beginning of the flood; and he hoped that means might be found of paſſing the river higher up, ſo as to fight the marquis de Montcalm upon leſs diſadvantageous terms than thoſe of directly attacking his intrenchments. Accordingly, in reconnoitring the river Montmorenci, a ford was diſcovered about three miles above; but the oppoſite bank, which was naturally ſteep and covered with woods, the enemy had fortified in ſuch a manner as to render it almoſt inacceſſible. The eſcorte was twice attacked by the Indians, who were as often repulſed; but theſe rencounters coſt the Engliſh about forty men killed and wounded, including ſome officers.

On the eighteenth day of July the admiral, at the general's requeſt, ſent two ſhips of war, two armed ſloops, and ſome tranſports, having troops on board, up the river; and they paſſed the city of Quebec without having met with any obſtruction. The general being on board of this little armament, carefully ſurveyed the banks on the ſide of the enemy, which were extremely difficult, from

from the nature of the ground; and theſe difficulties were further increaſed, by the foreſight and precaution of the French commander. Though a deſcent ſeemed impracticable between the city and Cape Rouge, where it was intended, general Wolfe, with a view to divide the enemy's force, and obtain intelligence, ordered a detachment, under the command of colonel Carlton, to land higher up, at the Point au Tremble; to which place, he was informed, a good number of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired with their moſt valuable effects. This ſervice was performed with little loſs, and ſome priſoners were brought away; but no magazine was diſcovered.

The general, thus diſappointed in his expectation, returned to Montmorenci, where brigadier Townſhend had, by maintaining a ſuperior fire acroſs that river, prevented the enemy from erecting a battery, which would have commanded the Engliſh camp; and now he determined to attack them, notwithſtanding their advantageous ſituation, and the incredible pains they had taken to render their camp abſolutely impregnable. His deſign was, firſt, to reduce a detached redoubt cloſe to the water's edge, ſeemingly ſituated within gunſhot of the intrenchment on the hill. Should this fortification be defended by the enemy, he foreſaw that he ſhould be able to bring on a general engagement: on the contrary, ſhould they remain tame ſpectators of its reduction, he could afterwards examine their ſituation at leiſure, and fix upon the place at which they could be moſt eaſily attacked.

Diſpoſitions were accordingly made for ſtorming the redoubt. On the laſt day of July, in the forenoon, part of brigadier Monckton's brigade was embarked in the boats of the fleet, to be tranſported from the Point of Levi. The two brigades commanded by the brigadiers Townſhend and Murray were drawn out, in order to croſs the ford when it ſhould be found neceſſary. To facilitate their paſſage, the admiral had ſtationed the Centurion ſhip of war in the channel, to check the fire of the lower battery, by which the ford was commanded: a numerous train of artillery was planted upon the eminence, to batter and enfilade the left of the enemy's intrenchment; and two flat-bottomed armed veſſels, prepared for the purpoſe, were run aground near the redoubt, to favour the deſcent of the forces. The manifeſt confuſion produced among the French by theſe previous ſteps, and by the fire of the Centurion, which was plied with great activity, determined Mr. Wolfe to ſtorm this intrenchment without further delay. Orders were given, that the three brigadiers ſhould put their troops in motion at a certain ſignal, which was accordingly made at a proper time of the tide.

Many of the boats from Point Levi ran aground upon a ledge that runs off a conſiderable diſtance from the ſhore; and this accident occaſioned a diſorder, by which ſo much time was loſt, that the general was obliged to ſtop the march of brigadier Townſhend's corps, which he obſerved to be in motion. In the mean time, the boats were floated and ranged in proper order, though expoſed to a ſevere fire of ſhot and ſhells; and the general, in perſon ſounding the ſhore, pointed out the place where the troops might diſembark with the leaſt oppoſition. Thirteen companies of grenadiers, and two hundred men of the ſecond American battalion, were the firſt who landed. They had received orders to form in four diſtinct bodies, and begin the attack, ſuſtained by the corps of brigadier Monckton, as ſoon as the other troops ſhould have croſſed the ford, and be near enough to contribute their aſſiſtance. Theſe inſtructions, however, were entirely neglected. Before Mr. Monckton had landed, and while brigadier Townſhend was on his march at a conſiderable diſtance, the grenadiers, without waiting to be drawn up in any regular form, impetuouſly ruſhed towards the enemy's intrenchments in the utmoſt confuſion. Their courage ſerved only to increaſe their misfortune. They were received by ſuch a violent and ſteady fire from the enemy, that, unable to ſtand the repeated vollies, they took ſhelter under the redoubt which the French had abandoned at their approach. In this uncomfortable ſituation they continued ſome time, incapable of forming under ſo hot a fire, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of many gallant officers, who laviſhly expoſed, and even loſt their lives, in attempting to bring them into ſome kind of order.

The general, ſeeing all their endeavours ineffectual, ordered them to retreat and form behind Monckton's brigade, which was by this time landed, and drawn up on the beach. They accordingly retired in confuſion, leaving a conſiderable number lying on the field, to the barbarity of the Indian ſavages, who butchered the living and ſcalped the dead, even in ſight of their indignant companions. This unhappy accident occaſioned a new delay, and the day was already far advanced. The wind began to blow with uncommon violence, and the tide to make; ſo that, in caſe of a ſecond repulſe, the retreat of brigadier Townſhend might have been rendered hazardous and uncertain. Mr. Wolfe therefore thought proper to deſiſt, and returned without further moleſtation to the other ſide of the river Montmorenci. The admiral ordered the two veſſels which were aground to be ſet on fire, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. The circumſtances that determined the general to make the attack on this ſide conſiſted in the following particulars: all the artillery could be uſed with good effect; all the troops could act at once; and, in caſe of a miſcarriage, the retreat was ſecure and open, at leaſt for a certain time of the tide. Theſe advantages, however, ſeemed to have been counterbalanced by other conſiderations. The enemy were poſted on a commanding eminence; the beach was covered with deep mud, ſlippery, and broken into holes and gullies; the hill was ſteep, and in ſome places inacceſſible; the enemy were numerous, ſtrongly intrenched, and defended by a formidable artillery. Had the attack ſucceeded, the loſs of the Engliſh muſt have been very conſiderable in compariſon of that of the enemy; becauſe the neighbouring woods afforded theſe laſt immediate ſhelter; and the river St. Charles remained to be paſſed before the town could be regularly inveſted.

Immediately after this ſevere check, in which above five hundred men and many brave officers were killed, the general detached brigadier Murray with twelve hundred men in tranſports, above the town, to act in concert with rear-admiral Holmes, whom the admiral had ſent up with ſome force againſt

againſt the French ſhipping, which he hoped to deſtroy. The brigadier was likewiſe directed to ſeize every opportunity of fighting the enemy's detachments, and even of provoking them to battle. In purſuance of theſe inſtructions, he twice attempted to land on the north ſhore, but found it impracticable: the third attempt was more ſucceſsful; he made a ſudden deſcent at Chambaud, and burned a conſiderable magazine, filled with arms, cloathing, proviſion, and ammunition. The enemy's ſhips being moored in ſuch a poſture as to be out of the reach of all danger, and nothing elſe occurring that required the brigadier's longer ſtay, he returned to the camp, with intelligence procured from his priſoners, that the fort of Niagara was taken, Crown-Point abandoned, and general Amherſt employed in making preparations to attack the corps poſted at the iſle aux Noix, under M. Burlemaque.

This information, however, though extremely agreeable, brought no proſpect of the approach of any aſſiſtance from that quarter. The ſeaſon waſted apace. The general fell violently ill; conſumed by care, watching, and fatigue, too great to be ſupported by a delicate conſtitution, and by a body unequal to that vigorous and enterpriſing ſoul which it contained. It was not enough for him to eſcape from ſo great an expedition uncondemned and unapplauded: to be pitied was, he thought, but a milder kind of cenſure; and he knew that no military conduct can ſhine, unleſs it be gilded by ſucceſs. His own high notions, the expectations of the public, the good ſucceſs of other commanders, all turned inward upon him, and converted diſappointment into diſeaſe. As ſoon as he had a little recovered, he diſpatched an expreſs with an account of his proceedings, to England, written indeed in the ſtile of deſpondency, but with ſuch perſpicuity, clearneſs, and elegance, as would have ranked him among our beſt writers, if his military exploits had not placed him among our greateſt commanders.

He reſolved, when he ſent away his account, to continue the campaign to the laſt poſſible moment; and, after a conſultation with his officers, determined, that any further attempts at Montmorenci would be to little purpoſe; and that their principal operations ought to be carried on above the town, in order, if poſſible, to draw the enemy to an engagement. This reſolution, however, was not adopted until the general and admiral had reconnoitred the town of Quebec, with a view to a general aſſault; and concluded from their own obſervation, reinforced by the opinion of the chief engineer, who was perfectly well acquainted with the interiors of the place, that ſuch an attack could not be hazarded with any proſpect of ſucceſs. The ſhips of war indeed might have ſilenced the batteries of the lower town, but they could not affect the upper works, from which they muſt have ſuſtained conſiderable damage.

When we conſider the ſituation of this place, and the fortifications with which it was ſurrounded; the natural ſtrength of the country; the great number of veſſels and floating batteries they had provided for the defence of the river; the ſkill, valour, ſuperior force, and uncommon vigilance of the enemy; their numerous bodies of ſavages continually hovering about the poſts of the Engliſh, to ſurpriſe parties and harraſs detachments; we muſt own, that there was ſuch a combination of difficulties as might have diſcouraged and perplexed the moſt reſolute and intelligent commander.

In conſequence of the reſolution taken to quit the camp at Montmorenci, the troops and artillery were reimbarked, and landed at Point Levi: they afterwards paſſed up the river in tranſports, while admiral Holmes made a movement with his ſhips, to amuſe the enemy poſted on the north ſhore: and the men being much crowded on board, the general ordered one half of them to be landed for refreſhment on the other ſide of the river. As no poſſibility appeared of attacking the enemy above the town, the ſcheme of operations was entirely changed. The three brigadiers formed and preſented a plan for conveying the troops farther down in boats, and landing them in the night within a league of Cape Diamond, in hope of aſcending the Heights of Abraham, which riſe abruptly with a ſteep aſcent from the banks of the river, that they might take poſſeſſion of the ground on the back of the city, where it was but indifferently fortified.

The dangers and difficulties attending the execution of this deſign were ſo peculiarly diſcouraging, that one would imagine it could not have been embraced but by a ſpirit of enterprize that bordered on deſpair. The ſtream was rapid, the ſhore ſhelving, the bank of the river lined with centinels, the landing-place ſo narrow as to be eaſily miſſed in the dark, and the ground ſo difficult as hardly to be ſurmounted in the day-time, had no oppoſition been expected. If the enemy had received the leaſt intimation from ſpy or deſerter, or even ſuſpected the ſcheme; had the embarkation been diſordered, in conſequence of the darkneſs of the night, the rapidity of the river, or the ſhelvineſs of the north ſhore, near which they were obliged to row; had one centinel been alarmed, or the landing-place much miſtaken; the Heights of Abraham muſt have been inſtantly ſecured, by ſuch a force as would have rendered the undertaking abortive; confuſion would have neceſſarily enſued in the dark; and this would have naturally produced a panic, which might have proved fatal to the greater part of the detachment. Theſe objections could not eſcape the penetration of the gallant Wolfe, who nevertheleſs adopted the plan without heſitation, and even executed it in perſon, though at that time greatly enfeebled by the ſevere dyſentery and fever with which he had lately been afflicted.

The neceſſary preparations being made, and the time fixed for this hazardous attempt, admiral Holmes moved with his ſquadron farther up the river, about three leagues above the place appointed for the diſembarkation, that he might deceive the enemy and amuſe M. de Bougainville, whom Montcalm had detached with fifteen hundred men to attend the motions of that ſquadron; but the Engliſh admiral was ordered to ſail down the river in the night, ſo as to protect the landing of the forces; and theſe orders he punctually obeyed. On the twelfth day of September, an hour after midnight, the firſt embarkation, conſiſting of four complete regiments, the light infantry, commanded by colonel Howe, a detachment of Highlanders, and the American grenadiers, was made in flat-bottomed boats, under the immediate command of the

the brigadiers Monckton and Murray; though general Wolfe accompanied them in perſon, and was among the firſt who landed, and they began to fall down with the tide to the intended place of diſembarkation, rowing cloſe to the north ſhore, in order to find it the more eaſily. Without any diſorder the boats glided gently along; but, by the rapidity of the tide, and the darkneſs of the night, the boats overſhot the mark, and the troops landed a little below the place at which the diſembarkation was intended.

As the troops landed, the boats were ſent back for the ſecond embarkation, which was ſuperintended by brigadier Townſhend. In the mean time colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, aſcended the woody precipices with admirable courage and activity; and diſlodged a captain's guard, which defended a ſmall intrenched narrow path, by which alone the reſt of the forces could reach the ſummit. Then they mounted without farther moleſtation from the enemy, and the general drew them up in order as they arrived. Monſieur de Montcalm was no ſooner informed that the Engliſh had gained the Heights of Abraham, which in a manner commanded the town on its weakeſt part, than he determined to hazard a battle, and began his march without delay, after having aſſembled his whole force from the ſide of Beauport.

General Wolfe obſerving the enemy croſſing the river St. Charles, began to form his own line, which conſiſted of ſix battalions and the Louiſbourg grenadiers; the right commanded by brigadier Monckton, and the left by brigadier Murray: to the rear of the left colonel Howe was poſted with his light infantry, juſt returned from a four gun battery, which they had taken without oppoſition. M. de Montcalm advancing in ſuch a manner as to ſhew his intention was to flank the left of the Engliſh, brigadier Townſhend was ſent thither with the regiment of Amherſt, which he formed *en potence*, preſenting a double front to the enemy: he was afterwards reinforced by two battalions; and the reſerve conſiſted of one regiment drawn up in eight ſubdivſions, with large intervals. The right of the enemy was compoſed of half the colony troops, two battalions, and a body of Canadians and ſavages: their center conſiſted of a column, formed by two other regular battalions; and on the left one battalion, with the remainder of the colony troops, was poſted: the buſhes and corn-fields in their front were lined with fifteen hundred of their beſt markſmen, who kept up an irregular galling fire, which proved fatal to many brave officers, thus ſingled out for deſtruction.

This fire indeed was, in ſome meaſure, checked by the advanced poſts of the Britiſh line, who piqueered with the enemy for ſome hours before the battle began. Both armies were deſtitute of artillery, except two ſmall pieces on the ſide of the French, and a ſingle gun, which the Engliſh ſeamen had made ſhift to draw up from the landing-place. This was very well ſerved, and galled their column ſeverely. At length, about nine in the morning, the enemy advanced to the charge with great order and reſolution, though their fire was irregular and ineffectual. On the contrary, the Britiſh forces reſerved their ſhot until the French had approached within forty yards of their line; then they poured in a terrible diſcharge, and continued the fire with ſuch activity and ſpirit as could not fail to produce a very conſiderable effect. General Wolfe was ſtationed on the right, at the head of Bragg's regiment and the Louiſbourg grenadiers, where the attack was moſt warm. As he ſtood conſpicuous in the front of the line, he had been aimed at by the enemy's markſmen, and received a ſhot in the wriſt, which however did not oblige him to quit the field. Having wrapped a handkerchief round his hand, he continued giving orders without the leaſt emotion, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed, when another ball unfortunately pierced the breaſt of this young hero, who fell in the arms of victory, juſt as the enemy gave way; for at this very inſtant every ſeparate regiment of the Britiſh army ſeemed to exert itſelf for the honour of its own peculiar character.

While the right preſſed on with their bayonets, brigadier Murray briſkly advanced with the troops under his command, and ſoon broke the center of the enemy; then the Highlanders drawing their broad ſwords, fell in among them with irreſiſtible impetuoſity, and drove them with great ſlaughter into the town and the works they had raiſed at the bridge of the river St. Charles. On the left and rear of the Engliſh the action was not ſo violent: ſome of the light infantry had thrown themſelves into houſes, where, being attacked, they defended themſelves with great courage and reſolution. Colonel Howe having taken poſt with two companies behind a ſmall corps, ſallied out frequently on the flanks of the enemy during this attack, and often drove them into heaps, while brigadier Townſhend advanced platoons againſt their front; ſo that the right wing of the French were totally prevented from executing their firſt intention. The brigadier himſelf remained with Amherſt's regiment to ſupport this diſpoſition, and to overawe a body of ſavages poſted oppoſite to the light infantry, waiting for an opportunity to fall upon the rear of the Britiſh army.

General Wolfe being ſlain, and at the ſame time Mr. Monckton dangerouſly wounded at the head of Laſcelles's regiment, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf with remarkable gallantry, the command devolved to brigadier Townſhend, who haſtened to the centre; and finding the troops diſordered in the purſuit, formed them again with uncommon expedition. This neceſſary taſk was ſcarce performed when M. de Bougainville, with a body of two thouſand freſh men, appeared in the rear of the Engliſh. He had begun his march from Cape Rouge, as ſoon as he received intelligence that the Britiſh troops had gained the Heights of Abraham; but did not come up in time to have any ſhare in the battle. Mr. Townſhend immediately ordered two battalions, with two pieces of artillery, to advance againſt this officer, who retired at their approach among woods and ſwamps, where general Townſhend was too wiſe to hazard a precarious attack. He had already gained a complete victory, taken a great number of French officers, and was poſted in a very advantageous ſituation, which it would have been imprudent to forego.

The French general M. de Montcalm was mortally wounded in the battle, and conveyed into Quebec, from whence, before he died, he wrote a

letter to general Townſhend, recommending the priſoners to that generous humanity by which the Britiſh nation has been always diſtinguiſhed. His ſecond in command was left wounded on the field, and next day expired on board an Engliſh ſhip, to which he had been carried. About one thouſand of the enemy were made priſoners, including a great number of officers; and about five hundred were ſlain on the field of battle. The wreck of their army, after they had reinforced the garriſon of Quebec, retired to Port au Tremble, from whence they proceeded to Jaques Quartiers, where they remained intrenched, until they were compelled by the ſeverity of the weather to make the beſt of their way to Trois Rivieres and Montreal.

This important victory was obtained at the expence of fifty-ſix men killed, including nine officers, and of five hundred and ſix men wounded; but the death of general Wolfe was a national loſs, univerſally lamented. This gentleman was formed by nature for military greatneſs; his memory was retentive, his judgment ſound, and his comprehenſion amazingly quick and clear: his conſtitutional courage was not only uniform and daring, perhaps in the extreme, but he poſſeſſed that higher ſpecies of it, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, that ſtrength, ſteadineſs, and activity of mind, which no difficulties could obſtruct, nor dangers deter. With an unuſual livelineſs, almoſt to impetuoſity of temper, he was not ſubject to paſſion; with the greateſt independence of ſpirit, free from pride: generous, almoſt to profuſion, he contemned every little art for the acquiſition of wealth, whilſt he ſearched after objects for his charity and beneficence: the deſerving ſoldier never went unrewarded; and even the needy inferior officer frequently taſted of his bounty. Conſtant and diſtinguiſhing in his attachments; manly and unreſerved; yet gentle, kind, and conciliating in his manners: he enjoyed a long ſhare of the friendſhip, and almoſt the univerſal good-will of mankind; and to crown all, ſincerity and candour, a true ſenſe of honour, juſtice, and public liberty, ſeemed the inherent principles of his nature, and the uniform rule of his conduct.

He betook himſelf, when very young, to the profeſſion of arms; and with ſuch talents, joined to the moſt unwearied aſſiduity, no wonder that he was ſo ſoon ſingled out as a moſt riſing military genius. Even ſo early as the battle of La Feldt, when ſcarce twenty years of age, he exerted himſelf in ſo maſterly a manner, and at a very critical juncture, that it drew the higheſt encomiums from the great officer then at the head of our army. During the whole of that war he went on forming the military character; was preſent at every engagement, and never paſſed undiſtinguiſhed. Even after the peace, whilſt others lolled on pleaſure's downy lap, he was cultivating the arts of war. He introduced, without one act of ſeverity, ſuch regularity and exactneſs of diſcipline in his corps, that as long as the ſix Britiſh battalions on the Plains of Minden are recorded in the annals of Europe, ſo long will Kingſley's ſtand amongſt the foremoſt of that day. Of that regiment he continued lieutenant-colonel, till the great miniſter, who rouſed the ſleeping genius of his country, called him forth into higher ſpheres of action. He was early in the moſt ſecret conſultations for the attack of Rochefort; and what he would have done there, and what he afterwards did at Louiſbourg, are freſh in every one's memory.

He was ſcarce returned from thence when he was appointed to command the important expedition againſt Quebec. There his abilities ſhone forth in their brighteſt luſtre: in ſpite of many unforeſeen difficulties, from the nature of the ground, from the great ſuperiority of the enemy, the ſtrength of the place itſelf, and his own bad ſtate of health, he perſevered with unwearied diligence, practiſing every ſtratagem of war to effect his purpoſe: at laſt, in conjunction with his ſubordinates in command, he formed and executed that great, that dangerous, yet neceſſary plan, which drew out the French to their defeat, and will for ever denominate him the conqueror of Canada. But there—tears will flow—there, when within the graſp of victory, he received a wound, firſt in his wriſt, and then in his breaſt, which obliged him to be carried off to a ſmall diſtance, in the rear, where rouſed from fainting in the laſt agonies, by the ſound of *they run*, he eagerly aſked, "Who run?" and being told, the French, and that they were defeated, he ſaid, "Then I thank God; I die contented;" and almoſt inſtantly expired.

Immediately after the battle of Quebec, admiral Saunders, who, together with his ſubordinates Durell and Holmes, had all along co-operated heartily with the land forces for the advantage of the ſervice, ſent up all the boats of the fleet, with artillery and ammunition; and on the ſeventeenth day of the month ſailed up, with all the ſhips of war, in a diſpoſition to attack the lower town, while the upper part ſhould be aſſaulted by general Townſhend. This gentleman had employed the time from the day of action in fortifying the camp with redoubts, in forming a military road for the cannon, in drawing up the artillery, preparing batteries, and cutting off the enemy's communication with the country. On the ſeventeenth, before any battery could be erected, a flag of truce was ſent from the town with propoſals of capitulation; which, being maturely conſidered by the general and admiral, were accepted and ſigned at eight next morning.

They granted the more favourable terms, as the enemy continued to aſſemble in the rear of the Britiſh army; as the ſeaſon was become wet, ſtormy, and cold; threatening the troops with ſickneſs, and the fleet with accident; and as a conſiderable advantage would accrue from taking poſſeſſion of the town while the walls were in a ſtate of defence. What rendered the capitulation ſtill more fortunate for the Britiſh general was, the information he afterwards received from deſerters, importing, that the enemy had rallied, and were reinforced behind Cape Rouge, under the command of M. de Levy, arrived from Montreal for that purpoſe, with two regular battalions; and that M. de Bougainville, at the head of eight hundred men, with a convoy of proviſions, was actually on his march to throw himſelf into the town on the eighteenth, that very morning on which it was ſurrendered: for the place was not then completely inveſted, as the enemy had broke their bridge of boats, and poſted detachments in very

ſtrong works, on the other ſide of the river St. Charles.

The capitulation was no ſooner ſigned than the Britiſh forces took poſſeſſion of Quebec on the land ſide, and guards were poſted in different parts of the town, to preſerve order and diſcipline: at the ſame time captain Palliſer, with a body of ſeamen, entered the lower town and took the ſame precautions. Next day about a thouſand priſoners were embarked on board of tranſports, which ſet ſail for France with the firſt opportunity: in the mean time, the inhabitants of the country came in great numbers, to deliver up their arms, and take the oath of fidelity to the Engliſh government. The death of Montcalm, which indeed was an irreparable loſs to France, in all probability overwhelmed the enemy with conſternation, and confounded all their councils; otherwiſe we cannot account for the tame ſurrender of Quebec to a handful of troops, even after the victory they had obtained: for although the place was not regularly fortified on the land ſide, and moſt of the houſes were in ruins, their walls and parapets had not yet ſuſtained the leaſt damage: the beſiegers were hardly ſufficient to complete the inveſtiture: a freſh army was aſſembled in the neighbourhood, with which their communication continued open; the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, that the Britiſh troops in a little time muſt have been forced to deſiſt, by the ſeverity of the weather, and even retire with their fleet before the approach of winter, which never fails to freeze up the river St. Laurence.

When the news of this deciſive action arrived in England, we all remember, though it is very difficult to deſcribe, the various and mixed emotions with which every one was affected. But two days before this came, was received the expreſs which general Wolfe had ſent off after the miſcarriage at Montmorenci. When the general doubted, the public thought they had reaſon to deſpair. But whilſt this gloom was freſh, and in the midſt of the general deſpondency, a ſecond expreſs arrived, and brought, all at once, an account of the victory, the taking of Quebec, and the death of general Wolfe. The effect of ſuch joyful news, immediately on the back of ſuch a dejection, and then the mixture of grief and pity which attended the public congratulations and applauſes, was very ſingular and affecting. The ſort of mourning triumph which manifeſted itſelf on that occaſion, did equal honour to the memory of the general and to the humanity of the nation. The king expreſſed his ſatisfaction, by conferring the honour of knighthood upon captain Douglas, whoſe ſhip brought the firſt tidings of this ſucceſs; and gratified him and colonel Hale with conſiderable preſents. A day of ſolemn thankſgiving was appointed by proclamation through all the dominions of Great Britain. The city of London, the univerſities, and many other corporations of the kingdom, preſented congratulatory addreſſes to his majeſty. The parliament was no ſooner aſſembled than the ſecretary of ſtate, in the houſe of commons, with that energy of eloquence peculiar to himſelf, expatiated upon the ſucceſſes of the campaign, the tranſcendent merit of the deceaſed general, and the conduct and courage of the admirals and officers who aſſiſted in the conqueſt of Quebec. In conſequence of this harangue, and the motion by which it was ſucceeded, the houſe unanimouſly reſolved to preſent an addreſs, deſiring his majeſty would order a monument to be erected in Weſtminſter-abbey, to the memory of major-general Wolfe. At the ſame time they paſſed another reſolution, that the thanks of the houſe ſhould be given to the ſurviving generals and admirals employed in the glorious and ſucceſsful expedition to Quebec. Teſtimonies of this kind, while they reflect the greateſt honour on thoſe who receive them, ſerve at the ſame time to excite the ambition of other commanders to merit the like diſtinction.

The people of England were ſo elevated by the aſtoniſhing ſucceſs of this campaign, which was alſo proſperous on the continent of Europe, that, far from expreſſing the leaſt uneaſineſs at the heavy burthens they were obliged to bear, they, with a ſpirit peculiar to the Britiſh nation, voluntarily raiſed large contributions to purchaſe warm jackets, ſtockings, ſhoes, coats, and blankets, for the ſoldiers who were expoſed to the rigours of an inclement ſky, in Germany and America. But they diſplayed a more noble proof of univerſal benevolence, extended even to foes. The French miniſtry, ſtraitned in their finances, which were found ſcarce ſufficient to ſupport the war, had ſacrificed their duty to their king, and every ſentiment of compaſſion for his unhappy ſubjects, to a thirſt of vengeance, and ſanguinary views of ambition. They had withdrawn the uſual allowance from their ſubjects who were detained priſoners in England; and theſe wretched captives, amounting in number to near twenty thouſand, were left to the mercy of thoſe enemies whom their ſovereign had taken ſuch pains to exaſperate. The allowance which they received from the Britiſh government effectually ſecured them from the horrors of famine: but ſtill they remained deſtitute of other conveniencies, and particularly expoſed to the miſeries of cold and nakedneſs. The generous Engliſh beheld theſe forlorn captives with ſentiments of ſympathy and compaſſion: they conſidered them as their fellow-creatures and brethren in humanity, and forgot their country while they beheld their diſtreſs. A conſiderable ſubſcription was raiſed in their behalf, and in a few weeks they were completely cloathed by the charity of the Britiſh benefactors. This act of beneficence was certainly one of the nobleſt triumphs of the human mind, which even the moſt inveterate enemies of Great Britain cannot help regarding with reverence and admiration.

The city of Quebec being reduced, together with great part of the adjacent country, brigadier Townſhend, who had accepted his commiſſion with the expreſs proviſo that he ſhould return to England at the end of the campaign, furniſhed it with a garriſon of five thouſand effective men, victualled from the fleet, under the command of brigadier Murray; and embarking with admiral Saunders, arrived in Great Britain about the beginning of winter. As for brigadier Monckton, he was conveyed to New York, where he happily recovered of his wound.

Nor were the arms of Great Britain leſs ſucceſsful in the Eaſt than in the Weſt Indies. We have already obſerved that general Lally had formed a reſolution to undertake the ſiege of Madraſs, and made

made mighty preparations for that purpoſe. In the month of October he had marched into Arcot without oppoſition, and in the beginning of December he proceeded towards Madraſs. On the twelfth he marched over Choultry Plain in three diviſions, cannonaded by the Engliſh artillery with conſiderable effect, and took poſt at Egmore and St. Thome. Colonel Laurence, who commanded the garriſon of Madraſs, retired to the iſland, in order to prevent the enemy from taking poſſeſſion of the iſland bridge; and at the ſame time ordered the poſts to be ſecured in the back town, or ſuburbs of Madraſs.

In the morning of the fourteenth, the enemy advancing with their whole force to attack this place, the Engliſh detachments withdrew into the garriſon; and in leſs than an hour a grand ſally was made, under the command of colonel Draper, a gallant officer, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf remarkably on this occaſion. He fell upon the regiment of Lorraine with great impetuoſity; and, in all probability, would have cut them to pieces, had not they been ſupported by the arrival of a freſh brigade. After an obſtinate diſpute, in which many officers, and a good number of men were ſlain on both ſides, colonel Draper was obliged to retreat, not altogether ſatisfied with the conduct of his grenadiers. As the garriſon of Madraſs was not very numerous, nothing further was attempted on their ſide without the works. In the mean time the enemy proceeded, with great expedition, to erect their batteries againſt the fort and town; which being opened on the ſixth day of January, maintained a continued diſcharge of ſhot and ſhells for twenty days, advancing their trenches all the time under cover of this fire, until they reached the breaſt of the glacis. There they erected a battery of four pieces of cannon, and opened it on the laſt day of the month; but for five days ſucceſſively, they were obliged to cloſe their embraſures by the ſuperior fire of the fort, and at length to abandon it intirely: nevertheleſs, they ſtill maintained a ſevere fire from the firſt grand battery, which was placed at the diſtance of four hundred and fifty yards from the defences. This artillery was ſo well ſerved, as to diſable twenty-ſix pieces of cannon, three mortars, and effect an inconſiderable breach. Perhaps they might have had more ſucceſs, had they battered in breach from the beginning; but Mr. Lally, in order to intimidate the inhabitants, had cruelly bombarded the town, and demoliſhed the houſes: he was, however, happily diſappointed in his expectation, by the wiſe and reſolute precautions of governor Pigot; by the vigilance, conduct, and bravery of the colonels Laurence and Draper, ſeconded by the valour and activity of Major Brereton, and the ſpirit of the inferior officers.

The artillery of the garriſon was ſo well directed, that, from the fifth day of February, the fire of the enemy gradually decreaſed from twenty-three to ſix pieces of cannon: nevertheleſs, they advanced their ſap along the ſea-ſide, ſo as to undermine the north-eaſt angle of the covered way, from whence their muſquetry drove the beſieged. They likewiſe endeavoured to open a paſſage into the ditch by a mine; but ſprung it ſo injudiciouſly, that they could make no advantage of it, as it lay expoſed to the fire of ſeveral cannon. While theſe operations were carried on before the town, Major Gaillaud with a body of ſipoys, ſome of the country horſe, and a few Europeans, drawn from the Engliſh garriſons of Tiruchenappaly and Chingliput, hovered at the diſtance of a few miles; blocking up the roads in ſuch a manner, that the enemy were obliged, four ſeveral times, to ſend large detachments againſt him, in order to open the communication; by which means the progreſs of the ſiege was in a great meaſure retarded.

On the ſixteenth day of February in the evening, the Queenborough ſhip of war, commanded by captain Kempenfelt, and the company's ſhip the Revenge, arrived in the road of Madraſs, with a reinforcement of ſix hundred men, belonging to colonel Draper's regiment: and part of them was immediately diſembarked. From the beginning of the ſiege, the enemy had diſcovered a backwardneſs in the ſervice, which ſeemed to promiſe them but little ſucceſs. They were ill ſupplied by their commiſſaries and contractors: they were diſheartened by the obſtinate defence of the garriſon; and all their hopes were intirely extinguiſhed by the arrival of this reinforcement. After a briſk fire, they raiſed the ſiege that very night, leaving behind them forty pieces of cannon; and, having deſtroyed the powder mills at Ogmore, withdrew into the territory of Arcot.

The Engliſh forces in the Eaſt-Indies, being as yet too weak to make head againſt Lally in the field, little detached expeditions were planned and executed with equal ſpirit and ſagacity. Colonel Ford, who commanded the troops in Bengal, attacked and defeated the French commander Conflans, in the neighbourhood of Maſulipatam, which he afterwards entered in triumph. At the ſame time captain Richard Maitland ſet out from Bombay, with fifteen hundred ſipoys, and nine hundred Europeans, on an expedition againſt the ſipoys who occupied the town and caſtle of Surat.

In the month of February, he embarked with his troops on board of the company's armed veſſels, and in a few days arrived at a place called Dentiloury, about nine miles from Surat; and here he quartered his troops for refreſhment: in two days he advanced againſt the French garden, in which a conſiderable number of the enemy was poſted, and drove them from thence after a very obſtinate diſpute.

Then he erected a battery, from which he battered the wall in breach: but this method appearing dilatory, he called a council of war compoſed of the land and ſea-officers, and laid before them the plan of a general attack, which was accordingly executed next morning. The company's grab, and the bomb-ketches, being warped up the river in the night, were diſpoſed in a line of battle oppoſite to the Bundar, which was the ſtrongeſt fortification that the enemy poſſeſſed; and under the fire of theſe, the troops being landed, took the Bundar by aſſault. The outer town being thus reduced, he forthwith began to bombard the inner town and caſtle with ſuch fury, that next morning they both ſurrendered, on condition that the inhabitants ſhould march out with their effects; and captain Maitland took poſſeſſion without further diſpute. This conqueſt, which coſt about two hundred men, including

a few officers, was atchieved with ſuch expedition, that he returned to Bombay by the ninth day of April.

The main body of the Engliſh forces, which had been poſted at Madraſs, for the ſecurity of that important ſettlement, took the field after the ſiege was raiſed, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Conjiveram, a place of great conſequence, which, with the fort of Schengelpel, commanded all the adjacent country, and covered the Britiſh poſſeſſions to the northward. Mr. Lally, ſenſible of the importance of this poſt, took the ſame route, in order to diſlodge them; but finding all his attempts ineffectual, he withdrew towards Wandewaſh, where his troops were put into quarters of cantonment. Nothing elſe of moment was performed till the month of September, when major Brereton, who commanded the Engliſh forces, being joined by major Gordon with three hundred men of colonel Coote's battalion, reſolved to attack the enemy in his turn. On the fourteenth day of the month he began his march from Conjiveram for Wandewaſh, at the head of four hundred Europeans, ſeven thouſand ſipoys, ſeventy European, and three hundred black horſe, with fourteen pieces of artillery. During his route he inveſted and took the fort of Trivitar, from whence he advanced to the village of Wandewaſh, where the French, to the number of one thouſand, were ſtrongly encamped under the guns of a fort commanded by a Raja, mounting twenty cannon, under the direction of a French gunner. On the thirtieth day of September the Engliſh, at two in the morning, attacked the village in three different places, and drove them from it, after a very obſtinate diſpute; but this advantage they were not able to maintain. The black pioneers ran away during the attack, ſo that proper traverſes could not be made in the ſtreets; and at day-break the fort poured in upon them a prodigious diſcharge of grape-ſhot with conſiderable effect. The enemy had retired to a dry ditch, which ſerved as an intrenchment, from whence they made furious ſallies; and a body of three hundred European horſe were already in motion, to fall upon their rear and complete their confuſion. In this emergency they retired in diſorder, and might have been entirely ruined, had not the body of reſerve effectually covered their retreat; yet this could not be effected without the loſs of ſeveral officers, and above three hundred men killed and wounded. After this mortifying check, they encamped a few days in ſight of the fort, and the rainy ſeaſon ſetting in, returned to Conjiveram. The garriſon of Wandewaſh was afterwards reinforced by French and ſipoys, and the other troops of the enemy were aſſembled by brigadier general de Buſſy at Arcot.

During theſe tranſactions at land, the ſuperiority at ſea was ſtill diſputed between the Engliſh and French admirals. On the firſt day of September vice-admiral Pocock ſailed from Madraſs to the ſouthward, in queſt of the enemy, and next day diſcovered the French fleet, conſiſting of fifteen ſail, ſtanding to the northward. He forthwith threw out the ſignal for a general chace, and ſtood towards them with all the ſail he could carry; but the wind abating, he could not approach near enough to engage. During the three ſucceeding days he exerted his utmoſt endeavours to bring them to a battle, which they ſtill declined; and at laſt they diſappeared. He then bent his courſe towards Pondicherry, on the ſuppoſition that they were bound to that harbour, and on the eighth day of the month obſerved them ſtanding to the ſouthward; but he could not bring them to an engagement till the tenth, when M. d'Apche, about two in the afternoon, made the ſignal for battle, and the cannonading began without further delay. The Britiſh ſquadron conſiſted only of nine ſhips of the line; the enemy's fleet amounted to eleven; but they had ſtill a greater advantage in number of men and weight of metal. Both ſquadrons fought with incredible obſtinacy till about ten minutes after four, when the enemy's rear began to give way; this example was ſoon followed by their center: and finally the van, with the whole ſquadron, bore away to the ſouth ſouth-eaſt with all the canvas they could ſpread. The Britiſh ſquadron had ſuffered ſo much in their maſts and rigging that they could not purſue; ſo that M. d'Apche was allowed to retreat without moleſtation.

On the fifteenth admiral Pocock returned to Madraſs, where his ſquadron being refitted by the twenty-ſixth, he ſailed again to Pondicherry, and in the road ſaw the enemy lying at anchor in line of battle. The wind being off ſhore, he made the line of battle a-head, and for ſome time continued in this ſituation. At length the French admiral weighed anchor, and came forth; but inſtead of bearing down upon the Engliſh ſquadron, which had fallen to leeward, he kept cloſe to the wind, and ſtretched away to the ſouthward. Admiral Pocock finding him averſe to another engagement, and his own ſquadron being in no condition to purſue, he, with the advice of his captains, deſiſted, and returned once more to the harbour of Madraſs. On the ſide of the Engliſh above three hundred men were killed in the engagement, including captain Michie, who commanded the Newcaſtle, captain Gore of the marines, two lieutenants, a maſter, gunner, and boatſwain; the captains Somerſet and Brereton, with about two hundred and fifty men, were wounded, and many of the ſhips conſiderably damaged. The loſs of the enemy was, in all probability, much more conſiderable, inaſmuch as, notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority in number of ſhips, weight of metal, and complements of men, they made they beſt of their way to the iſland of Mauritius, in order to be refitted, having on board general Lally and ſome other officers. Thus they left the Engliſh maſters of the Indian coaſt; a ſuperiority ſtill more confirmed by the arrival of rear-admiral Corniſh, with four ſhips of the line, who had ſet ſail from England in the beginning of the year, and joined admiral Pocock at Madraſs on the eighteenth day of October.

The Dutch had, during the courſe of the preſent war, maintained a moſt puſillanimous, and, in ſome reſpects, a moſt inſidious neutrality; and they now proceeded in the Eaſt Indies to open acts of hoſtility. The great extenſion of the Engliſh trade in the kingdom of Bengal had excited the envy and jealouſy of the Dutch factory, who poſſeſſed a ſtrong fort at Chinchura, in the river of Bengal, and determined, if poſſible, to engroſs to themſelves the whole ſaltpetre branch of commerce. They had, without doubt, tampered with the new Nabob, who lay under ſuch obligations to the

Engliſh, and probably ſecured his connivance. Their ſcheme was approved by the governor of Batavia, who undertook to put it in execution; and for that purpoſe choſe the opportunity when the Britiſh ſquadron had retired to the coaſt of Malabar. On pretence of reinforcing the Dutch garriſons in Bengal, he equipped an armament of ſeven ſhips, having on board five hundred European troops and ſix hundred Malayeſe, under the command of colonel Ruſſel. This armament having touched at Negapatam, proceeded up the bay, and arrived in the river of Bengal about the beginning of October.

Colonel Clive, who then reſided at Calcutta, had received intimation of their deſign, which he was determined at all events to defeat. He complained to the Subah, who, upon ſuch application, could not decently refuſe an order to the director and council of Hughley, forbidding this armament to proceed up the river. The colonel at the ſame time ſent a letter to the Dutch commodore, importing, that as he had received information of their deſign, he could not permit them to land forces and march to Chinchura. In anſwer to this intimation, the Dutch commodore, whoſe whole fleet had not yet arrived, aſſured the Engliſh commander that he had no intention to ſend any forces to Chinchura, and begged liberty to land ſome of his troops for refreſhment; a favour which was granted, on condition that they ſhould not advance.

Notwithſtanding the Subah's order, and his own engagement to this effect, the reſt of the ſhips were no ſooner arrived than he proceeded up the river to the neighbourhood of Tannah fort, where his troops were landed, and began their march to Chinchura. In the mean time, by way of revenging the affront he pretended to have received, in being denied a paſſage to their own factory, he took ſeveral ſmall veſſels on the river belonging to the Engliſh company; and the Calcutta Indiaman, commanded by captain Wilſon, homeward-bound, ſailing down the river, the Dutchman ſent word to him, that if he attempted to paſs he would ſink him to the bottom. The Engliſh captain ſeeing them run out their guns as if they really intended to put their threats in execution, returned to Calcutta, where two other ſhips lay at anchor, and reported his adventure to colonel Clive, who forthwith ordered the three ſhips to prepare for battle, and attack the Dutch armament.

The ſhips being properly manned, and their quarters lined with ſaltpetre, they fell down the river, and found the Dutch ſquadron drawn up in line of battle, in order to oppoſe their paſſage, which it muſt be acknowleged they ſeemed able to effect; for three of them were mounted with thirty-ſix guns each, three of them with twenty-ſix, and the ſeventh carried ſixteen. The Duke of Dorſet, commanded by captain Forreſter, being the firſt that approached them, dropped anchor cloſe to their line, and began the engagement with a broadſide, which was immediately returned. A dead calm unfortunately enſuing, this ſingle ſhip was for a conſiderable time expoſed to the whole fire of the enemy; but a ſmall breeze ſpringing up, the Calcutta and the Hardwicke advanced to her aſſiſtance, and a ſevere fire was maintained on both ſides, till two of the Dutch ſhips ſlipping their cables, bore away, and a third was driven aſhore. Their commodore being thus weakened, after a few broadſides, ſtruck his flag to captain Wilſon, and the other three followed his example. The victory being thus obtained, without the loſs of one man on the ſide of the Engliſh, captain Wilſon took poſſeſſion of the prizes, the decks of which were ſtrewed with carnage, and ſent the priſoners to colonel Clive at Calcutta.

The detachment of troops which they had landed, to the number of eleven hundred men, met with a check no leſs mortifying. Colonel Clive being informed that they were in full march to Chinchura, detached colonel Forde with five hundred men from Calcutta, in order to oppoſe and put a ſtop to their march at the French gardens. He accordingly proceeded to the northward, and entered the town of Chandenagore, where he was ſuddenly attacked by a Dutch party ſent out from Chinchura to join and conduct the expected reinforcement. Theſe being routed and diſperſed, after a ſhort engagement, colonel Forde in the morning advanced to a plain in the neighbourhood of Chinchura, where he found the enemy prepared to give him battle, on the twenty-fifth day of November. They even began the action with great ſpirit and activity; but found the fire of the Engliſh artillery and battalion ſo intolerably hot, that they ſoon gave way, and were totally defeated. A conſiderable number were ſlain, and the greater part of thoſe who ſurvived the battle were taken priſoners. During this conteſt the Nabob, at the head of a conſiderable army, maintained a ſuſpicious neutrality; and in all likelihood would have joined with the Dutch, had they proved victorious, as he had reaſon to believe they would, from their great ſuperiority in number. But fortune no ſooner declared in favour of the Engliſh, than he made a tender of his ſervice to the victor, and even offered to ſubdue Chinchura with his own army.

In the mean time, propoſals of accommodation being made to him by the directors and council of the Dutch factory at Chinchura, a negociation was ſet on foot, and a treaty concluded, to the ſatisfaction of all parties. Above three hundred of the priſoners enliſted into the ſervice of Great Britain; the reſt embarked on board the ſhips, which were reſtored as ſoon as the peace was ratified, and immediately departed for the ſettlement of Batavia.

The Engliſh company were ſtill more ſucceſsful on the coaſt of Coromandel. The governor and council of Madraſs having received intelligence that the French general, Lally, had detached a ſtrong body of troops to the ſouthward, advanced to Syringham, and menaced Tiruchenapally with a ſiege, it was determined that colonel Coote, who had lately arrived from England, ſhould take the field, and endeavour to ſtop his progreſs. He accordingly began his march at the head of two thouſand one hundred Europeans, including cavalry, and three thouſand blacks, with fourteen pieces of cannon and one howitzer. On the twenty-ſeventh day of November he laid ſiege to the fort of Wandewaſh: having made a practicable breach, the garriſon, amounting to near nine hundred men, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war; and here he found forty-nine pieces of cannon, with a great quantity of ammunition. Then he inveſted the

fortreſs of Carangoly, a place commanded by colonel O'Konnely, at the head of one hundred Europeans and five hundred ſipoys. In a few days he diſmounted the greater part of their guns, and they ſubmitted, on condition that the Europeans ſhould be allowed to march out with the honours of war; but the ſipoys were diſarmed and diſmiſſed.

General Lally, alarmed at the progreſs of this brave, vigilant, and enterpriſing officer, collected all his forces at Arcot, to the number of two thouſand two hundred Europeans, including horſe, three hundred Cofferies, and ten thouſand black troops or ſipoys, with twenty-five pieces of cannon. Of theſe he aſſumed the command in perſon, and on the tenth of January began his march in order to recover Wandewaſh. Colonel Coote having received information on the twelfth that he had taken Conjiveram, endeavoured by a forced march to regain this place, which they accordingly abandoned at his approach, and proſecuting their route to Wandewaſh, inveſted the fort without delay. The Engliſh commander paſſed the river Palla, in order to march towards the ſame quarter; and, on the twenty-firſt day of the month, underſtanding that a breach was already made, determined to give them battle without further heſitation.

The cavalry being formed, and ſuſtained by five companies of ſipoys, he advanced againſt the enemy's horſe, which, being at the ſame time galled by two pieces of cannon, retired in diſorder. Then colonel Coote, having taken poſſeſſion of a tank which they had abandoned, returned to the line, which was by this time drawn up in order of battle. Obſerving the men in high ſpirits, and eager to engage, he ordered the whole army to advance; and by nine in the morning they were within two miles of the enemy's camp, where they halted about half an hour. During this interval, the colonel examined the ſituation of the French forces, who were very advantageouſly poſted, and made a movement to the right, which conſtrained them to alter their diſpoſition. They now advanced, in their turn, within three quarters of a mile of the Engliſh line; and the cannonading began with great fury on both ſides. About noon their European cavalry coming up with a reſolute air to attack the left of the Engliſh, colonel Coote brought up ſome companies of ſipoys and two pieces of cannon, to ſupport the horſe which were ordered to oppoſe them; and theſe advancing, fell upon their flank with ſuch fury that they broke, and were driven by the Engliſh cavalry above a mile from the left, upon the rear of their own army.

Mean while, both lines continued advancing towards each other, and about one o'clock the firing with ſmall arms began with great vivacity. One of the French tumbrils being blown up by an accidental ſhot, the Engliſh commander took immediate advantage of their confuſion. He ordered major Brereton to wheel Draper's regiment to the left, and ſuddenly to charge the enemy in flank. This ſervice was performed with ſuch reſolution and ſucceſs, that the left wing of the French was completely routed, and fell upon their center, now cloſely engaged with the left of the Engliſh. About two in the afternoon their whole line gave way, and fled towards their own camp, which, obſerving themſelves cloſely purſued, they precipitately abandoned, together with twenty-two pieces of cannon. In this engagement they loſt about eight hundred men, killed and wounded, beſides about fifty priſoners, including brigadier-general de Buſſy, the chevalier Godeville, quarter-maſter-general, lieutenant-colonel Murphy, three captains, five lieutenants, and ſome other officers. On the ſide of the Engliſh, two hundred and ſixty two were killed and wounded, and among the former the brave and accompliſhed major Brereton, whoſe death was univerſally lamented.

General Lally having retreated with his broken troops to Pondicherry, the baron de Vaſſerot was detached towards the ſame place with a thouſand horſe and three hundred ſipoys, to ravage and lay waſte the French territory. In the mean time, the indefatigable colonel Coote undertook the ſiege of Chilliput, which in two days was ſurrendered by the chevalier de Tilly, himſelf and his garriſon remaining priſoners of war. The ſame too was the fate of fort Timmery, which being reduced, the colonel continued his march to Arcot, the capital of the province, againſt the fort of which he opened his batteries on the fifth of February. When he had carried on his approaches within ſixty yards of the creſt of the glacis, the garriſon, conſiſting of two hundred and fifty Europeans, and near three hundred ſipoys, ſurrendered as priſoners of war; and here the Engliſh commander found twenty-two pieces of cannon, four mortars, and a great quantity of all kind of military ſtores. Thus the campaign was gloriouſly finiſhed with the conqueſt of Arcot, after the French army had been routed and ruined by the diligence of colonel Coote, whoſe courage, conduct, and activity, cannot be ſufficiently admired. The reader will obſerve that, rather than interrupt the thread of ſuch an intereſting narration, I have ventured to encroach upon the annals of the year 1760.

Having thus given a particular detail of all the remarkable tranſactions that diſtinguiſhed this year in Europe, Africa, America, and Aſia, I ſhall now proceed, as uſual, to cloſe it with taking notice of ſome domeſtic events; which, though not very important in themſelves, may nevertheleſs merit a place in a general hiſtory. In the beginning of the year the court of London received the melancholy news of the death of the princeſs-dowager of Orange and Naſſau, governante of the United Provinces, in the fiftieth year of her age, and during the minority of her ſon the preſent ſtadtholder. Feeling her end approaching, ſhe delivered a key to one of her attendants, directing him to fetch two papers, which ſhe ſigned with her own hand. One was a contract of marriage between her daughter and the prince of Naſſau Weilburg: the other was a letter to the States-general, beſeeching them to conſent to this marriage, and preſerve inviolate the regulations ſhe had made touching the education and tutelage of the young ſtadtholder. Theſe two papers being ſigned and ſealed, ſhe ſent for her children, exhorted them to make a proper improvement of the education they had received, and to live in harmony with each other. Then ſhe implored heaven to ſhower down its bleſſings on them both, and embraced them with the moſt affecting marks of maternal tenderneſs. She afterwards continued to converſe

converſe calmly and deliberately with her friends, and in a few hours expired.

She was the eldeſt daughter of his Britannic majeſty, poſſeſſed of many perſonal accompliſhments and exemplary virtues; pious, moderate, ſenſible, and circumſpect. She had exerciſed her authority with equal ſagacity and reſolution; reſpected even by thoſe who were no friends to the houſe of Orange; and died with great fortitude and reſignation. In her will ſhe appointed the king her father, and the princeſs-dowager of Orange her mother-in-law, honorary tutors, and prince Louis of Brunſwic acting tutor to her children.

In the morning after her deceaſe, the States-general and the ſtates of Holland were extraordinarily aſſembled; and having received notice of this event, proceeded to confirm the regulations which had been made for the minority of the ſtadtholder. Prince Louis of Brunſwic was invited to aſſiſt in the aſſembly of Holland, where he took the oaths as repreſenting the captain-general of the union. Then he communicated to the aſſembly the act by which the princeſs had appointed him guardian of her children. He was afterwards invited to the aſſembly of the States-general, who agreed to the reſolution of Holland with reſpect to his guardianſhip; and in the evening the different colleges of the government ſent formal deputations to the young ſtadtholder and the princeſs Caroline his ſiſter, in whoſe names and preſence they were received, and anſwered by their guardian and repreſentative. A formal intimation of the death of the princeſs was tranſmitted to the king her father, in a pathetic letter, by the States-general, deploring the loſs which he, as well as they, had ſuffered by this melancholy event; and aſſuring him they would employ all their care and attention in ſecuring and defending the rights and intereſts of the young ſtadtholder and the princeſs his ſiſter, whom they conſidered as the children of the republic. The royal family of England ſuſtained another heavy ſtroke in the courſe of this year, by the deceaſe of the princeſs Elizabeth-Caroline, ſecond daughter of his late royal highneſs Frederic prince of Wales, a lady of the moſt engaging manners, who died at Kew in the month of September, before ſhe had attained the nineteenth year of her age.

Whether the ſanguinary ſpirit, which never fails to accompany a long and vigorous war, unhappily contributed at this period to render the temper of the Engliſh more ſavage than uſual, or whether other cauſes leſs viſible might not co-operate in producing this effect; certain it is, the preſent year was diſtinguiſhed by ſome murders remarkable for inſtances of the moſt ſhocking barbarity. One Halſey, who commanded a merchant ſhip in the voyage from Jamaica to England, having conceived ſome perſonal diſlike to a poor ſailor, named Davidſon, inſulted him with ſuch abuſe, expoſed him to ſuch hardſhips, and puniſhed him with ſuch wantonneſs of cruelty, that the poor wretch leaped overboard in deſpair. His inhuman tyrant envying him that death, which would have reſcued a miſerable object from his brutality, plunged into the ſea after him, and brought him on board, declaring he ſhould not eſcape while there were any torments left to inflict. Accordingly, he exerciſed his tyranny upon him with redoubled rigour, tied him to the ſhrouds with a cord, and beat him for ſome time with ſuch violence, that in a few hours after the poor creature expired. This ſavage ruffian was likewiſe indicted for the murder of another mariner, called Edwards; but being convicted on the firſt trial, the ſecond was found unneceſſary, and the criminal ſuffered death according to the law, which is perhaps too mild for malefactors convicted of ſuch aggravated cruelty.

Another barbarous murder was committed in the country near Birmingham, upon a ſheriff's officer, by the ſons of one Darby, whoſe effects the bailiff had ſeized on a diſtreſs for rent. The two young aſſaſſins, encouraged by the father, attacked the unhappy wretch with clubs, and mangled him in a terrible manner, ſo that he hardly retained any ſigns of life. Not contented with this cruel execution, they ſtripped him naked, and dragging him out of the houſe, ſcourged him with a waggoner's whip, until the fleſh was cut from his bones. In this miſerable condition he was found weltering in his blood, and conveyed to a neighbouring houſe, where he immediately expired. The three barbarians were apprehended, after having made a deſperate reſiſtance. They were tried, convicted, and executed: the ſons were hung in chains, and the body of the father diſſected.

One Mrs. Walker, the widow of a timber-merchant at Rotherhithe, being cruelly murdered in her own houſe, Mary Edmonſon, a young woman her niece, ran out into the ſtreet with her arms cut acroſs, and gave the alarm, declaring her aunt had been aſſaſſinated by four men, who forced their way into the houſe, and that ſhe (the niece) had received thoſe wounds in attempting to defend her relation. According to the circumſtances that appeared, this unnatural wretch had cut the throat of her aunt and benefactreſs with a caſe-knife, then dragged the body from the waſh-houſe to the parlour; that ſhe had ſtole a watch and ſome ſilver ſpoons, and concealed them, together with the knife and her own apron, which was ſoaked with the blood of the deceaſed.

After having acted this ſhocking tragedy, at the bare recital of which the humane reader muſt ſhudder with horror, ſhe put on another apron, and wounded her own fleſh, the better to conceal her guilt. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions ſhe was ſuſpected, and committed to priſon. Being brought to trial, ſhe was convicted and condemned upon circumſtantial evidence, and finally executed at Kennington Common, though ſhe denied the fact to the laſt moment of her life. At the place of execution ſhe behaved with great compoſure, and, after having ſpent ſome minutes in devotion, proteſted ſhe was innocent of the crime laid to her charge.

What ſeemed to corroborate this proteſtation, was the condition and character of this young woman, who had been educated in a ſphere above the vulgar, and maintained a reputation without reproach in the country, where ſhe was actually betrothed to a clergyman. On the other hand, the circumſtances that appeared againſt her almoſt amounted to a certainty; though nothing weaker than proof poſitive ought to determine a jury in capital caſes to give a verdict againſt the perſon accuſed.

A miſ-

A miſcreant, whoſe name was Haines, having eſpouſed the daughter of a farmer in the neighbourhood of Glouceſter, who poſſeſſed an eſtate of eighty pounds a year, which he intended to divide among ſeven children, was ſo abandoned as to form the deſign of poiſoning the whole family, that, in right of his wife, he might enjoy the whole inheritance. For the execution of this infernal ſcheme, he employed his own father to procure him a quantity of arſenic; part of which he adminiſtered to three of the children, who were immediately ſeized with the dreadful ſymptoms produced by this mineral, and the eldeſt expired. He afterwards mixed it with three apple-cakes which he bought for the purpoſe, and preſented to the other three children, who underwent the ſame terrible convulſions which had proved fatal to the eldeſt brother. The inſtantaneous effects of the poiſon occaſioned a ſuſpicion of Haines, who being ſeized and examined, the whole ſcene of villany was diſcloſed. Nevertheleſs, the villain found means to eſcape.

In the month of April five French priſoners, confined on board the king's ſhip the Royal Oak, were convicted of having murdered one Jean de Manaux, their countryman and fellow-priſoner, in revenge for his having diſcovered that they had forged paſſes to facilitate their eſcape. Enraged at this detection, they ſeized this unfortunate informer in the place of their confinement, gagged his mouth, ſtripped him naked, tied him with a ſtrong cord to a ring-bolt, and ſcourged his body with ſuch ſavage cruelty, as almoſt put an end to his life. By dint of ſtruggling the poor wretch diſengaged himſelf from the cord with which he had been tied; and being unable to ſtand, fell upon his back; then they finiſhed the tragedy, by leaping and ſtamping on his breaſt, till the cheſt was broke, and he expired. They afterwards divided the body into ſmall pieces, and conveyed it through the neceſſary into the ſea, becauſe the throwing it over-board would have alarmed the centry. Next day twenty-ſeven of the French priſoners being carried on ſhore, one of them gave information of the murder; in conſequence of which the criminals were ſecured, brought to trial, condemned, and puniſhed with death.

Nor were the inſtances of cruel aſſaſſination which prevailed at this juncture confined to Great Britain. At the latter end of the foregoing year an atrocious maſſacre was perpetrated by two Genoeſe mariners, upon the maſter and crew of an Engliſh veſſel, among whom they were inrolled. Theſe monſters of cruelty were in different watches, a circumſtance that favoured the execution of the horrid plan they had concerted. When one of them retired to reſt with his fellows of the watch, conſiſting of the mate and two ſeamen, he waited till they were faſt aſleep, and then butchered them all with a knife. Having ſo far ſucceeded without diſcovery, he returned to the deck and communicated the exploit to his aſſociate; then they ſuddenly attacked the maſter of the veſſel, and cleft his head with an hatchet, which they likewiſe uſed in murdering the man who ſtood at the helm; a third was likewiſe diſpatched, and no Engliſhman remained alive but the maſter's ſon, a boy, who lamented his father's death with inceſſant tears and cries for three days; at the expiration of which he was likewiſe ſacrificed, becauſe the aſſaſſins were diſturbed by his clamour.

This barbarous tragedy was acted within ſixty leagues of the Rock of Liſbon; but the veſſel was taken between the capes Ortugal and Finiſterre by the captain of a French privateer called La Favourite, who ſeeing the deck ſtained with blood, and finding all the papers of the ſhip deſtroyed, began to ſuſpect that the maſter and crew had been murdered. He accordingly taxed them with the murder, and they confeſſed the particulars. The privateer touched at Vigo, where the captain imparted this detail to the Engliſh conſul; but the prize, with the two villains on board, was ſent to Bayonne in France, where it is to be hoped, for the honour of humanity, they were brought to condign puniſhment, notwithſtanding the war that ſubſiſted between the two nations; for there are certain eſtabliſhed rights of general juſtice and humanity which no particular war can deſtroy.

A maſſacre, if poſſible ſtill more ſhocking and horrid, was committed about the ſame time by a negro at St. Euſtatia. This man being at work on a ſhip in the harbour, and having had ſome words with a white perſon, ſtabbed him in his paſſion; upon which another negro told him that he would certainly be put to death for this cruel murder, and that he could be ſubjected to no greater puniſhment if he had killed twenty more. The fellow, rendered deſperate by this intimation, ſnatched up a knife, and throwing himſelf into the water, ſwam immediately to ſhore. The firſt perſon he met happened to be an Engliſh ſailor, and him he cut acroſs the belly in ſuch a manner that his bowels came out. This done, he ruſhed in a moment into a woollen-draper's ſhop, and ſtabbed the apprentice, who was ſitting behind the counter: then he ran into the ſtreet, and dangerouſly wounded two or three others. By this time the people were greatly alarmed; but the fellow being deſperate, every body ſhunned him. The governor offered a reward to any one who would ſeize him alive, and a ſailor undertook it, armed with a muſket; but if he found it impracticable, he was ordered to ſhoot him. The negro, who was then at the wharf-ſide, alone, ſaw him coming, and met him with great reſolution. He made an eſſay to ſtab the ſailor, by giving a ſudden leap upon him; but the tar avoided the blow, and ſtruck him with the butt-end of the muſket ſo as to break his arm. Upon this the negro, with great agility, ſeized the knife in the other hand, and made another puſh at the ſailor, but with as little ſucceſs as before; and by another blow he was, with the aſſiſtance of ſome other perſons who had gathered round, ſecured alive. He was immediately brought to trial, and condemned; and next day hung alive in irons upon a gibbet, where he continued in the moſt violent agonies, and ſhrieking in the moſt terrible manner for the ſpace of three days. His greateſt cry was for water, the weather being then extremely hot, and the ſun beating full upon him.

I ſhall conclude this bloody regiſter with the account of a murder, remarkable in all its circumſtances, for which a perſon, called Eugene Aram, ſuffered at York in the courſe of this year. This man, who exerciſed the profeſſion of a ſchool-maſter

at Knareſborough, had, as far back as the year 1745, been concerned with one Houſeman in robbing and murdering Daniel Clarke, whom they had previouſly perſuaded to borrow a conſiderable quantity of valuable effects from different perſons in the neighbourhood, on falſe pretences, that he might retire with the booty. He accordingly filled a ſack with theſe particulars, and begun his retreat with his two perfidious aſſociates, who ſuddenly fell upon him, deprived him of life, and, having buried the body in a cave, took poſſeſſion of the plunder. Though Clarke diſappeared at once in ſuch a myſterious manner, no ſuſpicion fell upon the aſſaſſins; and Aram, who was the chief contriver and agent in the murder, moved his habitation to another part of the country.

In the ſummer of the preſent year, Houſeman being employed, among other labourers, in repairing the public highway, they, in digging for gravel by the road-ſide, diſcovered the ſkeleton of a human creature, which the majority ſuppoſed to be the bones of Daniel Clarke. This opinion was no ſooner broached than Houſeman, as it were by ſome ſupernatural impulſe which he could not reſiſt, declared that it was not the ſkeleton of Clarke, inaſmuch as his body had been interred in a place called St. Robert's Cave, where they would find it with the head turned to a certain corner. He was immediately apprehended, examined, admitted as evidence for the crown, and diſcovered the particulars of the murder.

The ſkeleton of Clarke having been found exactly in the place and manner he had deſcribed, Eugene Aram, who now acted as uſher to a grammar ſchool in the county of Norfolk, was ſecured, and brought to trial at the York aſſizes. There, his own wife corroborating the teſtimony of Houſeman, he was found guilty, and received ſentence, notwithſtanding a very artful and learned defence, in which he proved, from argument and example, the danger of convicting a man upon circumſtantial evidence. Finding all his remonſtrances ineffectual, he recommended himſelf in pathetic terms to the king's mercy; and if ever murder was intitled to indulgence, perhaps it might have been extended, not improperly, to this man, whoſe genius, in itſelf prodigious, might have exerted itſelf in works of general utility. He had, in ſpite of all the diſadvantages attending a low birth and ſtraitened circumſtances, by the dint of his own capacity and application, made conſiderable progreſs in mathematics and philoſophy, acquired all the languages ancient and modern, and executed part of a Celtic dictionary, which, had he lived to finiſh it, might have thrown ſome light upon the origin and obſcurities of the European hiſtory.

Convinced, at laſt, that he had nothing to hope from the clemency of the government, he wrote a ſhort poem in defence of ſuicide; and on the day fixed for his execution, opened the veins of his left arm with a razor which he had concealed for that purpoſe. Though he was much weakened by the effuſion of blood before this attempt was diſcovered; yet, as the inſtrument had miſſed the artery, he did not expire till he was carried to the gibbet and underwent the ſentence of the law. His body was conveyed to Knareſborough-foreſt, and hung in chains near the place where the murder was committed. Theſe are ſome of the moſt remarkable inſtances of homicide that appeared in the courſe of this year, which was more diſtinguiſhed than almoſt any preceding one for barbarous acts of this nature.

His preſent majeſty, then prince of Wales, having, in the beginning of June, entered the twenty-ſecond year of his age, the anniverſary of his birth was celebrated with great rejoicings at court, and the king received compliments of congratulation on the majority of a prince, who ſeemed born to fulfil the hopes and complete the happineſs of Great Britain. The city of London preſented an addreſs to the king on this occaſion, replete with expreſſions of loyalty and affection, aſſuring his majeſty that no hoſtile threats could intimidate a people animated by the love of liberty, who, confiding in the Divine Providence, and in his majeſty's experienced wiſdom and vigorous councils, were reſolved to exert their utmoſt efforts towards enabling their ſovereign to repel the inſults and defeat the attempts made by the ancient enemies of his crown and kingdom.

Congratulations of the ſame kind were offered by other cities, towns, corporations, and communities, who vied with each other in profeſſions of attachment; and indeed there was not the leaſt trace of diſaffection perceivable at this juncture in any part of the iſland.

So little were the citizens of London diſtreſſed by the expence, or incommoded by the operations of the war, that they found leiſure to plan and funds to execute magnificent works of art, for the ornament of the metropolis and the convenience of commerce. They had obtained an act of parliament, impowering them to build a new bridge over the Thames, from Blackfriars to the oppoſite ſhore, about midway between thoſe of London and Weſtminſter. Commiſſioners were appointed to put this act in execution; and at a court of common-council, it was reſolved that a ſum, not exceeding one hundred and forty-four thouſand pounds, ſhould be forthwith raiſed, within the ſpace of eight years, by inſtalments, not exceeding thirty thouſand pounds in one year, to be paid into the chamber of London: that the perſons advancing the money ſhould have an intereſt at the rate of four pounds per cent. per annum, to be paid half yearly by the chamberlain, yet redeemable at the expiration of the firſt ten years: and that the chamberlain ſhould affix the city's ſeal to ſuch inſtruments as the committee might think fit to give for ſecuring the payment of the ſaid annuities. Such were the firſt effectual ſteps taken towards the execution of a laudable meaſure, which, however violently oppoſed in the ſequel, is now carried on with equal harmony and expedition.

The inhabitants of London were, in the courſe of this year, greatly alarmed by two dreadful fires, which broke out in different parts of the city at no great interval of time. The firſt happened in the month of November, in the neighbourhood of the Royal Exchange, and burned with ſuch fury that, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance of the firemen and engines, employed under the perſonal direction of the magiſtracy, it deſtroyed a good number of houſes, and damaged many more. That whole quarter of the town was filled with conſternation: ſome individuals were beggared; one or two periſhed in the flames, and ſome were buried in the

ruin

ruin of the houſes that ſunk under the diſaſter. The other broke out in the month of December, at a cabinet-maker's in King's-ſtreet, Covent Garden, and raged with ſuch violence that it conſumed no leſs than fifty houſes; and the loſs ſuſtained by the unhappy ſufferers amounted to upwards of ſeventy thouſand pounds.

Some ſucceſsful attempts were about this time made towards the diſcovery of the longitude at ſea, that great deſideratum in navigation; for the aſcertainment of which ſo many nations have offered a public recompence, and in the inveſtigation of which ſo many mathematical heads have been diſordered. Some of thoſe who now appeared candidates for the prize deſerved encouragement for the ingenuity of their ſeveral ſyſtems; but he who ſeemed to enjoy the pre-eminence, in the opinion and favour of the public, was Mr. Irwin, a native of Ireland, who contrived a chair ſo artfully poiſed, that a perſon ſitting in it on board a ſhip, even in a rough ſea, can, through a teleſcope, obſerve the immerſion and emerſion of Jupiter's ſatellites, without being interrupted or incommoded by the motion of the veſſel. This gentleman was favoured with the aſſiſtance and protection of commodore lord Howe, in whoſe preſence the experiment was tried in ſeveral ſhips at ſea with ſuch ſucceſs, that his lordſhip granted a certificate ſignifying his approbation; and in conſequence of this Mr. Irwin is ſaid to have obtained a conſiderable reward from the board of admiralty.

The people of England, happy in their ſituation, felt none of the furious ſtorms of war which deſolated the neighbouring countries; but, enriched by a ſurpriſing augmentation of commerce, enjoyed all the ſecurity of peace, and all the pleaſures of taſte and affluence. The univerſity of Oxford having conferred the office of their chancellor, vacant by the death of the earl of Arran, upon another nobleman of equal honour and integrity, namely, the earl of Weſtmoreland, he made a public entrance into that celebrated ſeat of learning with great magnificence, and was inſtalled amidſt the encænia, which were celebrated with ſuch claſſical elegance of pomp as might have rivalled the chief Roman feſtival of the Auguſtan age. The chancellor elect was attended by a ſplendid train of the nobility and perſons of diſtinction. The city of Oxford was filled with a vaſt concourſe of ſtrangers. The proceſſions were contrived with taſte, and conducted with decorum. The inſtallation was performed with the moſt ſtriking ſolemnity. The congratulatory verſes and public ſpeeches breathed the ſpirit of old Rome: and the ceremony was cloſed by Dr. King, that venerable ſage of St. Mary Hall, who pronounced an oration in praiſe of the new chancellor with all the flow of Tully, animated by the fire of Demoſthenes.

In the ſpring of this year the liberal arts received a ſevere blow in the death of George-Frederic Handel, the moſt celebrated maſter in muſic which this age has produced. He was by birth a German; but had ſtudied in Italy, and afterwards ſettled in England, where he met with the moſt favourable reception, and reſided above half a century, univerſally admired for his ſtupendous genius in the ſublime parts of muſical compoſition.

The following event is ſo ſurpriſing and deplorable in all its circumſtances, that it may well claim a place in the hiſtory of England. A ſloop called the Dolphin, bound from the Canaries to New York, met with ſuch unfavourable weather, that ſhe was detained one hundred and ſixty-five days in the paſſage, and the proviſion of the ſhip was altogether expended before the firſt fifty days were elapſed. The wretched crew had devoured their dog, cat, and all the ſhoes on board: at length, being reduced to the laſt extremity, they agreed to caſt lots for their lives, that the body of him upon whom the lot ſhould fall might ſerve for ſome time to ſupport the ſurvivors. The wretched victim was one Antonio Galatia, a Spaniſh gentleman and paſſenger. Him they ſhot with a muſquet; and having cut off his head, threw it overboard; but the intrails and the reſt of the carcaſe they greedily devoured. This horrid banquet having, as it were, fleſhed the famiſhed crew, they began to talk of another ſacrifice; from which, however, they were diverted by the influence and remonſtrances of their captain, Mr. Baron, who prevailed upon them to be ſatisfied with about an inch and a half ſquare of leather to each man per diem, cut from a pair of breeches that were found in the cabin. Upon this calamitous pittance, together with the graſs which grew plentifully upon the deck, theſe poor objects made ſhift to ſubſiſt for twenty days; at the expiration of which they were relieved, and taken on board one captain Bradſhaw, who chanced to fall in with them at ſea. By this time the whole crew, conſiſting of ſeven men, were ſo ſqualid and emaciated, as to exhibit an appearance at once piteous and terrible; and ſo reduced in point of ſtrength, that it was found neceſſary to uſe ropes and tackle for hoiſting them from one ſhip to another.

In the month of November the Britiſh parliament was opened by commiſſion; and the commons attending in the houſe of peers, the lord-keeper made a ſpeech to the members, importing, that his majeſty had directed him to aſſure them, that he thought himſelf peculiarly happy in being able to convoke them in a ſituation of affairs ſo glorious to his crown and advantageous to his kingdoms; that the king ſaw and devoutly adored the hand of Providence in the many ſignal ſucceſſes, both by ſea and land, with which his arms had been bleſſed in the courſe of the laſt campaign: that he reflected with great ſatisfaction on the confidence which the parliament had placed in him, by making ſuch ample proviſions, and intruſting him with ſuch extenſive powers, for carrying on a war which the defence of their valuable rights and poſſeſſions, together with the preſervation of the commerce of his people, had rendered both juſt and neceſſary: that he needed not remind them of the late ſucceſſes of the Britiſh arms, the reduction of Goree on the coaſt of Africa, the conqueſt of ſo many important places in America, the defeat of the French army in Canada, the reduction of their capital city Quebec, effected with ſo much honour to the courage and conduct of his majeſty's officers and forces; the important advantage obtained by the Britiſh ſquadron off Cape Lagos, and the effectual blocking up for ſo many months the principal part of the French navy in their

their own harbours; events which muſt have filled the hearts of all his majeſty's faithful ſubjects with the ſincereſt joy, and convinced his parliament that there had been no want of vigilance or vigour on his part, in exerting thoſe means which they with ſo much prudence and public-ſpirited zeal had put into his majeſty's hands: that the national advantages had extended even as far as the Eaſt Indies, where, by the Divine Bleſſing, the dangerous deſigns of his majeſty's enemies had miſcarried, and that valuable branch of commerce had received great benefit and protection: that the memorable victory gained over the French at Minden had long made a deep impreſſion on the minds of his majeſty's people: that if the criſis in which this battle was fought, the ſuperior number of the enemy, the great and able conduct of his majeſty's general, prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic, were conſidered, that action muſt be the ſubject of laſting admiration and thankfulneſs: that if any thing could fill the breaſts of his majeſty's good ſubjects with ſtill farther degrees of exultation, it would be the diſtinguiſhed and unbroken valour of the Britiſh troops, owned and applauded by thoſe whom they overcame: that the glory they had gained was not merely their own, but, in a national view, was one of the moſt important circumſtances of our ſucceſs, as it muſt be a ſtriking admonition to our enemies with whom they have to contend: that his majeſty's good brother and ally the king of Pruſſia, attacked and ſurrounded by ſo many conſiderable powers, had, by his magnanimity and abilities, and the bravery of his troops, been able, in a ſurpriſing manner, to defeat the ſchemes concerted for his deſtruction by ſo many formidable enemies: that as the king of Great Britain had not entered into this war from views of ambition, ſo he did not wiſh to continue it from motives of reſentment: that the deſire of his majeſty's heart was to ſee a ſtop put to the effuſion of Chriſtian blood: that, whenever ſuch terms of peace could be eſtabliſhed, as ſhould be juſt and honourable for his majeſty and his allies; and by procuring ſuch advantages as, from the ſucceſſes of his majeſty's arms, might in reaſon and equity be expected, ſhould bring along with them full ſecurity for the future, his majeſty would rejoice to ſee the repoſe of Europe reſtored on ſuch ſolid and durable foundations; and his faithful ſubjects, to whoſe liberal ſupport and unſhaken firmneſs his majeſty owed ſo much, happy in the enjoyment of the bleſſings of peace and tranquillity; but, in order to this great and deſirable end, he ſaid his majeſty was confident the parliament would agree with him, that it was neceſſary to make ample proviſion for carrying on the war, in all parts, with the utmoſt vigour: that the great ſupplies which the commons had granted in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, had been faithfully employed for the purpoſes for which they were allotted; but the uncommon extent of the war, and the various ſervices neceſſary to be provided for, in order to ſecure ſucceſs to his majeſty's meaſures, had unavoidably occaſioned extraordinary expences: that his majeſty took the higheſt ſatisfaction in that harmony and good agreement which was ſo conſpicuous among his ſubjects; he was happy in ſeeing it continued and confirmed: and that experience had ſhewn how much the nation owed to this union, which alone could ſecure the true happineſs of his people.

This ſpeech was highly applauded, not only by the parliament, but alſo by the nation in general. As the addreſſes of both houſes were conceived nearly in the ſame ſtrain, I ſhall content myſelf with exhibiting to the reader a complete copy of that of the commons. It was expreſſed in the following terms:

"We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament aſſembled, return your majeſty our moſt humble thanks for the ſpeech delivered, by your majeſty's command, to both houſes of parliament.

"Permit us, Sir, with the ſincereſt zeal and duty, to congratulate your majeſty on the glorious and uninterrupted ſeries of ſucceſs and victory which hath attended your majeſty's arms during the whole courſe of this diſtinguiſhed and memorable year.

"With the deepeſt reverence and moſt devout gratitude to Divine Providence, we acknowlege that manifeſt bleſſing and protection which God hath vouchſafed to beſtow upon your majeſty's counſels and arms, and offer up our moſt ardent vows and prayers for its continuance.

"Your majeſty's faithful commons will not attempt to enumerate all the advantages and glories derived to your majeſty and theſe kingdoms, from the various ſucceſſes which have been extended into every quarter of the world; but we humbly beg leave to aſſure your majeſty, that our hearts are filled with a lively and moſt grateful ſenſe of the happy conſequences which, under God, are owing to the wiſdom, vigilance, and vigour of your majeſty's meaſures in the proſecution of this juſt and neceſſary war; particularly, the taking of the iſland of Goree, and the extenſion of our commerce on the coaſt of Africa: the defeat of the French fleet in the Eaſt Indies, and the repulſe of the land forces before Madraſs, whereby the dangerous deſigns of our enemies there have miſcarried, and protection hath been given to our trade and ſettlement in thoſe countries: the valuable conqueſt of Guadalupe and Marigalante in the Weſt Indies; the reduction of ſo many forts and places in North America, completed and crowned by that glorious and deciſive victory over the French army in Canada, and the ſurrender of their capital city Quebec, effected with ſo much courage and conduct of your majeſty's officers, both by ſea and land, and with ſo much luſtre to your intrepid forces; the important ſucceſs of your majeſty's fleet, in purſuing, taking, and deſtroying a conſiderable part of the French ſquadron off Cape Lagos; and blocking up for ſo many months the reſt of the navy of France, in their own ports, which has greatly augmented the diſtreſs of our enemies, whilſt it has protected and ſecured our commerce and navigation.

"Nor can we forget that critical, ſignal, and memorable defeat of the French army near Minden, ſo juſtly the ſubject of laſting admiration and thankfulneſs, if we conſider the ſuperior numbers of the enemy, the great and able conduct of his ſerene highneſs prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic, or the unconquerable valour of your majeſty's troops.

"When

"When we reflect upon this continued train of ſucceſſes, part of which would have been ſufficient to have ſignalized this long and active campaign, it is impoſſible for us not to expreſs the higheſt ſatisfaction at the great ability, reſolution, and perfect harmony, ſo conſpicuous in your majeſty's admirals and generals throughout the execution of your commands; and at the ardent courage which hath manifeſted itſelf in the behaviour of the officers and forces by ſea and land with ſuch perſonal and national glory. Nothing but this ſpirit could have enabled them to ſurmount every difficulty ariſing from the ſuperior number and ſituation of the enemy; and we are perſuaded that the like reſolution, ardour, and zeal, exerted and animated by theſe beſt incentives, your majeſty's gracious acceptance and royal approbation of their eminent ſervices, followed by the warmeſt and moſt univerſal applauſe of their country, will continue to give terror to the enemies, and confidence to the allies of Great Britain.

"We view, with the higheſt admiration, the magnanimity and unexampled efforts of that great prince, your majeſty's ally the king of Pruſſia, whoſe conſummate genius, unwearied activity, and unſhaken conſtancy of mind, ſeconded by the bravery of his troops, have been able, in every ſituation, to ſupply reſources ſufficient to reſiſt the united forces of ſo many and ſuch formidable powers.

"Your majeſty's faithful commons feel, with due gratitude, your patenral care and concern for the peace and happineſs of your people; and cannot too much admire that true greatneſs of mind which diſpoſes your heart, in the midſt of proſperities, to wiſh that a ſtop may be put to the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, and that public tranquility may be reſtored.

"We entirely rely on your majeſty's known wiſdom and firmneſs, that this deſirable object, whenever it ſhall be attained, will be on ſuch terms as ſhall be juſt and honourable for your majeſty and your allies; and ſhall bring along with them full ſecurity for the future, on ſolid and durable foundations, by procuring ſuch advantages as may, in reaſon and equity, be expected from the ſucceſs of our arms, and which will fix, in the minds of a grateful people, the laſting remembrance of this happy æra, and of the benefits derived to them, under your majeſty's gracious and auſpicious government.

"In order to effect this great end, we are thoroughly ſenſible that ample proviſion muſt be made for carrying on the war, in all parts, with the utmoſt vigour; and we aſſure your majeſty that we will chearfully grant your majeſty ſuch ſupplies as ſhall be found neceſſary to ſuſtain, and preſs with effect, all our extenſive operations againſt the enemy, and at the ſame time, by the bleſſing of God, to repel and fruſtrate their daring deſigns againſt theſe kingdoms; convinced, from the long experience we have had of your majeſty's wiſdom aud goodneſs, that they will be applied in ſuch a manner as will beſt anſwer theſe purpoſes.

"We cannot ſufficiently teſtify our grateful ſenſe of the high ſatisfaction which your majeſty has been pleaſed to expreſs, in that perfect union and good harmony which ſo happily ſubſiſts among your faithful ſubjects, the ſalutary effects of which have been moſt conſpicuous; and the pleaſing experience we have had of them, joined to your majeſty's paternal recommendation, muſt be the moſt powerful motives to enforce the continuance of thoſe diſpoſitions, ſo eſſential to the full exertion of our utmoſt ſtrength, as well as to the tranquility, good order, and happineſs of your majeſty's people."

The addreſſes of the two houſes were no ſooner preſented than the commons proceeded to ſettle the ſupply. For the ſervice of the enſuing year they voted ſeventy thouſand ſeamen, including eighteen thouſand three hundred and fifty-five marines; and for their maintenance allotted three millions ſix hundred and forty thouſand pounds. The number of land-forces, including the Britiſh troops in Germany, and the invalids, they fixed at fifty-ſeven thouſand two hundred and ninety-four men, and granted for their ſubſiſtence one million three hundred eighty-three thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-eight pounds ten-pence. For maintaining other forces in the plantations, Gibraltar, Guadalupe, Africa, and the Eaſt Indies, they allowed eight hundred forty-ſix thouſand one hundred and ſixty-eight pounds nineteen ſhillings; for the expence of four regiments on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, ſerving in North America, they voted thirty-five thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-four pounds eight ſhillings and four-pence. For pay to the general and ſtaff-officers, and officers of the hoſpital for the land forces, they aſſigned fifty-four thouſand four hundred and fifty-four pounds eleven ſhillings and nine-pence. They voted for the expence of the militia in South and North Britain, the ſum of one hundred two thouſand and ſix pounds four ſhillings and eight-pence. They granted for the maintenance of thirty-eight thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty men, being the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttle, Saxe-Gotha, and Buckeburg, retained in the ſervice of Great Britain, the ſum of four hundred forty-ſeven thouſand eight hundred eighty-two pounds ten ſhillings and five-pence halfpenny; and for nineteen thouſand Heſſian troops, in the ſame pay, they gave three hundred ſixty-ſix thouſand ſeven hundred twenty-five pounds one ſhilling and ſix-pence. They afterwards beſtowed the ſum of one hundred eight thouſand and twelve pounds twelve ſhillings and ſeven-pence, for defraying the additional expence of augmentations in the troops of Hanover and Heſſe, and the Britiſh army ſerving in the empire. For the ordinary of the navy, including half pay to ſea officers; for carrying on the building of two hoſpitals, one near Goſport, and the other in the neighbourhood of Plymouth; for the ſupport of the hoſpital at Greenwich; for purchaſing ground, erecting wharfs, and other accommodations neceſſary for refitting the fleets at Halifax in Nova Scotia; for the charge of the office of ordnance, and defraying the extraordinary expence incurred by that office in the courſe of the laſt year, they allowed ſeven hundred eighty-one thouſand four hundred and eighty-nine pounds ſix ſhillings and ſix-pence. Towards paying off the navy debt, buildings, rebuildings, and repairs of the king's ſhips, together with the charge of tranſport-ſervice, they granted one million ſeven hundred and one thouſand ſeventy-eight pounds ſixteen ſhillings and ſix-pence. For defraying the extraor-

dinary expences of the land forces, and other ſervices not provided for by parliament, comprehending the penſions for the widows of reduced officers, they allotted the ſum of nine hundred fifty-five thouſand three hundred and forty-four pounds fifteen ſhillings and five-pence halfpenny. They voted one million to empower his majeſty to diſcharge the like ſum, raiſed in purſuance of an act made in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, and charged upon the firſt aids or ſupplies to be granted in this ſeſſion of parliament. They gave ſix hundred and ſeventy thouſahd pounds for enabling his majeſty to make good his engagements with the king of Pruſſia, purſuant to a new convention between him and that monarch, concluded on the ninth day of November in the preſent year. Fifteen thouſand pounds they allowed, upon account, towards enabling the principal officers of his majeſty's ordnance to defray the neceſſary charges and expences of taking down and removing the preſent magazine for gun-powder, ſituated in the neighbourhood of Greenwich, and of erecting it in ſome leſs dangerous ſituation. Sixty thouſand pounds they gave to enable his majeſty to fulfil his engagements with the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, purſuant to the ſeparate article of a treaty between the two powers, renewed in the month of November; the ſum to be paid as his moſt Serene Highneſs ſhould think it moſt convenient, in order to facilitate the means by which the landgrave might again fix his reſidence in his own dominions, and by his preſence give freſh courage to his faithful ſubjects. Five hundred thouſand pounds they voted, upon account, as a preſent ſupply towards defraying the charges of forage, bread, bread waggons, train of artillery, wood, ſtraw, proviſions, and contingencies of his majeſty's combined army under the command of prince Ferdinand. To the Foundling hoſpital they granted five thouſand pounds; and fifteen thouſand for improving, widening, and enlarging the paſſage over and through London-bridge. To replace divers ſums taken from the ſinking fund, they granted two hundred twenty-five thouſand two hundred and eighty-one pounds nineteen ſhillings and four-pence. For the ſubſiſtence of reduced officers, including the allowances to the ſeveral officers and private men of the two troops of horſe-guards and regiment of horſe reduced, and to the ſuperannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horſe-guards, they voted thirty-eight thouſand five hundred and ninety-ſeven pounds nine ſhillings. Upon account, for the ſupport of the colonies of Nova Scotia and Georgia, they granted twenty-one thouſand ſix hundred twenty-four pounds two ſhillings and two-pence. For enabling the king to give a proper compenſation to the provinces in North America, for the expences they might incur in levying and maintaining troops, according as the vigour and activity of thoſe reſpective provinces ſhould be thought by his majeſty to merit, they advanced the ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds. The Eaſt India company they gratified with twenty thouſand pounds towards enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in their ſettlements, in lieu of a battalion of the king's troops now returned to Ireland. Twenty five thouſand pounds were provided for the payment of the out-penſioners of Chelſea-hoſpital. For ſubſequent augmentations of the Britiſh forces, ſince the firſt eſtimate of guards and garriſons for the enſuing year was preſented, they allowed one hundred thirty-four thouſand one hundred thirty-nine pounds ſeventeen ſhillings and four-pence. They further voted, upon account, towards enabling the governors and guardians of the Foundling-hoſpital to maintain, educate, and bind apprentice, the children admitted into the ſaid charity, the ſum of forty-ſeven thouſand two hundred and eighty-five pounds. For defraying the expence of maintaining the militia in South and North Britain, to the twenty-fourth day of December of the enſuing year, they voted an additional grant of two hundred ninety thouſand eight hundred and twenty-ſix pounds ſixteen ſhillings and eight-pence: and, moreover, they granted fourſcore thouſand pounds, upon account, towards defraying the charge of pay and cloathing of the unembodied militia for the year, ending on the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-one. For reimburſing the colony of New-York their expences in furniſhing proviſions and ſtores to the troops raiſed by them for his majeſty's ſervice, in the campaign of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-ſix, they allowed two thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-ſeven pounds ſeven ſhillings and eight-pence: and for maintaining the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, they renewed the grant of ten thouſand pounds. For the maintenance and augmentation of the troops of Brunſwic, in the pay of Great Britain, for the enſuing year, purſuant to an ulterior convention concluded and ſigned at Paderborn on the fifth day of March, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty, they granted the ſum of ninety thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-nine pounds eight ſhillings and eleven-pence farthing: and for the troops of Heſſe Caſſel in the ſame pay, during the ſame period, they allotted one hundred and one thouſand ninety-ſix pounds three ſhillings and two pence. For the extraordinary expences of the land forces, and other ſervices incurred, from the twenty-fourth day of December following, and not provided for, they granted the ſum of four hundred and twenty thouſand one hundred and twenty pounds one ſhilling. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the ſervice of this preſent year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-nine, they aſſigned the ſum of ſeventy-five thouſand one hundred and ſeventy pounds three-pence farthing. For printing the Journals of the Houſe of Commons they gave five thouſand pounds; and ſix hundred thirty-four pounds thirteen ſhillings and ſeven-pence as intereſt, at the rate of four per cent. per annum, from the twenty-fifth day of Auguſt in the preſent year to the ſame day of April next, for the ſum of twenty-three thouſand eight hundred pounds eleven ſhillings and eleven-pence remaining in the office of ordnance, and not paid into the hands of the deputy of the king's remembrancer of the cour of Exchequer, as directed by an act made in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, to make compenſation for lands and hereditaments purchaſed for his majeſty's ſervice at Chatham, Portſmouth, and Plymouth, by reaſon of doubts and difficulties which had ariſen touching the execution of the ſaid act. For defraying the extraordinary charge of the mint, during the preſent year, they allowed eleven thouſand nine hundred and

and forty pounds thirteen ſhillings and ten-pence; and two thouſand five hundred pounds, upon account, for paying the debts claimed and ſuſtained upon a forfeited eſtate in North Britain. They likewiſe allowed twelve thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-four pounds fifteen ſhillings and ten-pence, for defraying the charge of a regiment of light dragoons, and of an additional company to the corps commanded by lieutenant-colonel Vaughan. Finally, they voted one million, upon account, to enable the king to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the ſervice of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty; and to take all ſuch meaſures as might be neceſſary to defeat any enterprize or deſigns of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs might require.

In a word, the ſum total granted in this ſeſſion of parliament amounted to fifteen millions five hundred three thouſand five hundred and ſixty-three pounds fifteen ſhillings and nine-pence halfpenny; a ſum which, however immenſe, and even ſeemingly enormous, was no more than was abſolutely neceſſary for carrying on the war with that ſpirit and vigour with which it had hitherto been proſecuted.

The funds eſtabliſhed for raiſing this ſum conſiſted of the following particulars. The land-tax at four ſhillings in the pound, and the malt-tax, were continued, as the ſtanding revenue of Great Britain. The committee reſolved that the ſum of eight millions ſhould be raiſed by transferable annuities, after the rate of four pounds per centum: that an additional capital of three pounds ſhould be added to every hundred pounds advanced, to conſiſt of a lottery ticket valued at ten pounds, to be attended alſo with transferable annuities, after the rate of four per cent. per annum, to commence from the fifth day of January, in the year 1761, to continue for twenty years, and then be reduced to three pounds per cent. per annum: and that the ſaid ſum of eight millions ſhould bear the ſame intereſt of four per cent. commencing on the ſame day, to continue for twenty-one years, and then be reduced to three pounds per centum: that the ſaid annuities ſhould be transferable at the bank of England, and be redeemable by parliament, in the whole or in part, by ſums not leſs than five hundred thouſand pounds at one time, after the expiration of twenty-one years, and not ſooner, ſix months notice having been given of ſuch payments reſpectively: that every ſubſcriber ſhould, on or before the fifteenth day of January next, make a depoſit of fifteen pounds per cent. on ſuch ſums as he ſhould chuſe to ſubſcribe towards raiſing the eight millions, with the caſhiers of the bank of England, as a ſecurity for his making the future payments, which were fixed in the following manner; ten per cent. on or before the twenty-ſixth day of February next; ten per cent. on or before the twenty-fifth day of March next; ten per cent. on or before the twenty-ninth day of April next; the ſame proportion on the laſt day of May, the third day of July, the fourteenth day of Auguſt, the ſixteenth day of September, and the twenty-ninth day of October; which ſeveral ſums ſo received ſhould, by the ſaid caſhiers, be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, to be applied, from time to time, to ſuch ſervices as ſhould then have been voted by the houſes in this ſeſſion of parliament, and not otherwiſe: that ſuch of the proprietors of tallies and orders made out at the Exchequer, by virtue of an act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, for enabling the king to raiſe the ſum of one million, for the uſes and purpoſes therein mentioned, as ſhould be deſirous of ſubſcribing a ſum equal to the principal ſum contained in ſuch reſpective orders; and ſhould, on or before the eighth day of January, produce the ſaid orders, and ſignify ſuch their deſire to the ſaid caſhiers, ſhould be admitted ſubſcribers for ſuch ſums: that any tallies or orders made out at the Exchequer, by virtue of the ſaid act, ſhould be received by the ſaid caſhiers as caſh, to the amount of the reſpective ſums contained in ſuch tallies or orders, and the intereſt that ſhould be due thereupon, as well in making the ſaid depoſit, as in all ſubſequent payments: that the tallies and orders ſo received, ſhould be taken at the receipt of the Exchequer, and allowed in the payments to be made by the caſhiers, for the amount of ſuch principal ſums and intereſt: and that every ſubſcriber who ſhould pay in the whole of this ſubſcription, on or before the ſixteenth day of September, ſhould be allowed a diſcount, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per annum, from the day ſuch ſubſcription ſhould be ſo completed, to the twenty-ninth day of October.

The committee further reſolved, that an additional tax of three-pence ſhould be paid for every buſhel of malt made in England and Wales, and three halfpence for every buſhel made in Scotland; and ſo proportionably for any greater or leſs quantity, to be paid by the makers thereof: that three halfpence ſhould be paid for every buſhel of malt conveyed from Scotland to England and Wales: and that the afore-mentioned annuities and lottery ſhould be charged upon the ſaid duties on malt, for which the ſinking fund ſhould be a collateral ſecurity. With regard to the ſame impoſition they reſolved, that this new duty ſhould, both in England and Scotland, be paid for every buſhel of malt, whether ground or unground, which, having been made before the commencement of theſe additional duties, ſhould, on or after the ſaid day of commencement, be in the poſſeſſion of any maltſter, or maker of malt, for ſale, ſeller, or retailer of malt, brewer, diſtiller, inn-keeper, victualler, vinegar-maker, or any perſon or perſons in truſt for them, or for their uſe: that the monies ariſing by the ſaid duties ſhould be carried to, and made part of the fund for the payment of the annuities and lottery, allowing the ſum of eight millions granted to his majeſty in the preſent ſeſſion of parliament.

They determined that a ſtamp duty of ten ſhillings ſhould be charged on every piece of vellum or parchment, or ſheet of paper, on which any licence for making and ſelling meaſures of capacity ſhould be engroſſed, written, or printed, as well as upon every piece of vellum or paper on which a licence, for making and ſelling weights, ſhould be written or printed. They reſolved, that a new duty of five-pence ſhould be charged upon every gallon of low wines or ſpirits, of the firſt extraction, made or drawn from any ſort of liquor or waſh brewed of malt or corn, or from brewers waſh or tilts, over and above all other duties charged or chargeable thereon, to be paid by the

diſtillers or makers thereof: that for every gallon of ſtrong waters, or aqua vitæ, made for ſale, of the materials aforeſaid, one ſhilling and three-pence, over and above all other duties charged and chargeable thereon, ſhould be paid by the diſtillers or makers thereof; and that the ſame duty ſhould be exacted of the diſtillers or makers, for every gallon of low wines or ſpirits of the firſt extraction, made or drawn from any foreign or imported materials, or any mixture therewith, over and above all other duties: that a new duty of eight-pence per gallon ſhould be impoſed upon ſpirits drawn in Great Britain from any foreign or imported materials, or any mixture therewith: that ſix-pence three farthings, over and above all other duties chargeable thereon, ſhould be paid for every gallon of low wines, or ſpirits of the firſt extraction, made or drawn from cyder, or any ſort of Britiſh materials, except thoſe before mentioned, or any mixture therewith; and that the diſtillers and makers ſhould pay one ſhilling one penny three farthings for every gallon of ſpirits made for ſale from cyder, or any other Britiſh materials, except thoſe already mentioned, over and above all other duties chargeable in the ſame article: that, in order to encourage the exportation of ſpirits drawn or made in Great Britain, the like drawbacks and allowances ſhould be made, under proper regulations, upon the exportation of rectified ſpirits made or drawn in Great Britain, as are now payable upon the exportation of home-made raw ſpirits; and that, as a further encouragement, an additional drawback or allowance of twenty-four pounds ten ſhillings per ton ſhould be paid, upon the exportation of all ſuch ſpirits: that an additional duty of one ſhilling for every gallon of ſingle brandy, ſpirits, or aqua vitæ, imported from beyond ſeas; and of two ſhillings for every gallon of ſuch ſpirits above proof, commonly called double brandy, ſo imported, ſhould be paid by the importer; and that theſe additional duties ſhould ſtand appropriated and be applied to the ſame uſes and purpoſes, reſpectively, to which the preſent duties on ſpirituous liquors are now applied and appropriated.

The committee reſolved, that the three pound per cent. annuities, amounting to ſix millions ſix hundred thouſand pounds, together with the additional capital of fifteen pounds added to every hundred pounds advanced towards the ſaid ſum, amounting to nine hundred and ninety thouſand pounds, granted in the laſt ſeſſion, ſhould be, with the conſent of the ſeveral proprietors, made part of the joint ſtock of three pounds per cent. annuities, transferable at the bank of England, conſolidated by the acts in the twenty-fifth, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirty-ſecond of his preſent majeſty's reign; and the charges and expences in reſpect thereof, be charged upon and paid out of the ſinking fund, until redemption thereof by parliament, in the ſame and like manner as the annuities conſolidated as aforeſaid are paid and payable; and that ſuch perſons as ſhould not, on or before the twentieth day of June enſuing, ſignify their diſſent, in books to be opened at the bank of England for that purpoſe, ſhould be deemed aſſenting thereto: that all monies ariſing from the fifth day of January next, or that may afterwards ariſe from the produce of the ſubſidy of poundage upon certain goods and merchandizes imported or to be imported into the kingdom; and the additional inland duty on coffee and chocolate, which were made a fund for payment of three pounds per cent. per annum, at the bank of England, on ſix millions ſix hundred thouſand pounds, by virtue of an act towards the ſupply of this year, 1759; as alſo the additional capital of fifteen pounds added to every hundred advanced towards the ſaid ſum, amounting to nine hundred and ninety thouſand pounds, ſhould be made part of the ſinking fund: that all duties charged upon rum or ſpirits of the growth, produce, and manufacture of his majeſty's ſugar plantations, imported into Great Britain, ſhould be drawn back upon the re-exportation; and that an additional drawback or allowance of three pounds three ſhillings per ton ſhould be paid upon the exportation of ſpirits drawn in Great Britain from molaſſes, over and above all other drawbacks and allowances payable thereon.

They reſolved to continue in force ſeveral acts and clauſes relating to the juriſdiction, powers, and authorities veſted in commiſſioners for licenſing hackney chairs and coaches; and agreed, that the act for making ſail-cloth, now near expiring, ſhould be protracted. They reſolved, that for raiſing the ſum of one million, granted to his majeſty towards diſcharging the debt of the navy, and alſo the ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds, ſhould be raiſed by loans, or Exchequer bills, to be charged upon the firſt aids to be granted in the next ſeſſion of parliament; and ſuch Exchequer bills, if not diſcharged, with intereſt, on or before the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year 1761, to be exchanged and received in payment, in ſuch manner as Exchequer bills have uſually been exchanged and received: that the ſum of two millions ſix hundred two thouſand ſeven hundred and ſix pounds nine ſhillings and nine-pence, ſhould be iſſued and applied out of ſuch monies as ſhould or might ariſe from the ſurplus, exceſs, or overplus monies, and other revenues compoſing the ſinking fund: and that the ſum of one million ſhould be raiſed by loans, or Exchequer bills, to be charged on the firſt aids to be granted in the next ſeſſion of parliament.

The whole proviſion made by the committee of ways and means, amounted to ſixteen millions one hundred thirty thouſand five hundred and ſixty-one pounds nine ſhillings and eight-pence, exceeding the grant for the ſervice of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty, in the ſum of ſix hundred twenty-ſix thouſand nine hundred and ninety-ſeven pounds thirteen ſhillings and ten-pence halfpenny. This exceſs, however, will not appear extraordinary, when we conſider that it was deſtined to make good the premium of two hundred and forty thouſand pounds to the ſubſcribers upon the eight million loan, as well as the deficiencies in the other grants, which never fail to make a conſiderable article in the ſupply of every ſeſſion.

It will not be neceſſary to enumerate all the acts that were founded upon the reſolutions touching the ſupply. It may be proper, however, to obſerve, that in the act for the land-tax, and in the act for the malt-tax, there was a clauſe of credit, impowering the commiſſioners of the Treaſury to raiſe the money, which they produced by loans of

Exchequer bills, bearing an intereſt of four per cent. per annum, that is, one per cent. higher than the intereſt uſually granted in time of peace. While the houſe of commons deliberated on the bill for granting to his majeſty ſeveral duties upon malt, and for raiſing a certain ſum of money to be charged on the ſaid duties, a petition was preſented by the maltſters of Ipſwich and parts adjacent, againſt an additional duty on the ſtock of malt in hand: but no regard was paid to this remonſtrance, and the bill, with ſeveral new amendments, paſſed through both houſes, under the title of "An act for granting to his majeſty ſeveral duties upon malt, and for raiſing the ſum of eight millions by way of annuities and a lottery, to be charged on the ſaid duties; and to prevent the fraudulent obtaining of allowances in the gauging of corn making into malt; and for making four duplicates of Exchequer bills, tickets, certificates, receipts, annuity orders, and other orders loſt, burned, or otherwiſe deſtroyed."

The other three bills, that turned wholly on the ſupply, were paſſed in common courſe, without the leaſt oppoſition in either houſe, and received the royal aſſent by commiſſion at the end of the ſeſſion. The firſt of theſe, intitled, A bill for enabling his majeſty to raiſe a certain ſum of money for the uſes and purpoſes therein mentioned, contained a clauſe of appropriation, added to it by inſtruction; and the bank was enabled to lend the million, which the commiſſioners of the Treaſury were empowered by the act to borrow, at the intereſt of four pounds per cent. The ſecond, granting to his majeſty a certain ſum of money out of the ſinking fund for the ſervice of the year 1760, comprehended a clauſe of credit for borrowing the money thereby granted; and another clauſe empowering the bank to lend it without any limitation of intereſt. And the third, enabling his majeſty to raiſe a certain ſum of money towards diſcharging the debt of the navy, and for naval ſervices during the enſuing year, enacted, that the Exchequer bills thereby to be iſſued, ſhould not be received, or paſs to any receiver or collector of the public revenue, or at the receipt of the Exchequer, before the twenty-ſixth day of March in the year 1761.

As the act of the preceding ſeſſion, prohibiting the malt diſtillery, was to expire at Chriſtmas, the commons, thinking it neceſſary to conſider of effectual methods for laying this branch of buſineſs under proper reſtrictions, began as early as the month of November to deliberate on the matter; and after ſome conſideration determined to continue the prohibition of the malt diſtillery till the twenty-fourth day of December in the year 1760, unleſs ſuch continuation ſhould be abridged by any other act to be paſſed in the preſent ſeſſion.

A bill for preventing the exceſſive uſe of ſpirituous liquors, by laying additional duties thereon; for ſhortening the prohibition for making low wines and ſpirits from wheat; for encouraging the exportation of Britiſh made ſpirits, and preventing the fraudulent relanding or importation thereof, alſo acquired the royal ſanction.

They alſo, for a time limited, the act of the laſt ſeſſion, permitting the importation of ſalted beef from Ireland. This permiſſion was accordingly extended to the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year 1761. It were to be wiſhed indeed that a free trade between Great Britain and Ireland could be allowed always to ſubſiſt with equal advantage to both kingdoms, but though this be impoſſible, it ought certainly to be granted, whenever the price of proviſions in England are carried to an immoderate heighth.

As ſeveral lieutenants of counties had, for various reaſons, ſuſpended all proceedings in the execution of the laws relating to the militia for limited times; which ſuſpenſions were deemed inconſiſtent with the intent of the legiſlature, a bill was now brought in to enable his majeſty's lieutenants of the ſeveral counties of England and Wales to proceed in the execution of the militia laws, notwithſtanding any adjournments.

It was enacted, that as the ſpeedy execution of the laws for regulating the militia was moſt eſſentially neceſſary at this juncture to the peace and ſecurity of the kingdom, every lieutenant of the place where ſuch ſuſpenſion had happened, ſhould within one month after the paſſing of this act, proceed as if there had been no ſuch ſuſpenſion, and ſummon a meeting for the ſame purpoſe once in every ſucceeding month, until a ſufficient number of officers, qualified and willing to ſerve, ſhould be found, or until the expiration of the act for the better ordering of the militia forces.

The inſtitution of the militia, though certainly laudable and neceſſary, was attended with ſo many unforeſeen difficulties, that every ſeſſion of parliament, ſince it was firſt eſtabliſhed, has produced new acts for its better regulation. In April leave was given to prepare a bill for limiting, confining, and better regulating the payment of the weekly allowances made by act of parliament, for the maintenance of families unable to ſupport themſelves during the abſence of militia men embodied and ordered into actual ſervice; as well as for amending and improving the eſtabliſhment of the militia, and leſſening the number of officers entitled to pay, within that part of Great Britain called England.

While this bill was under conſideration, the houſe received a petition from the mayor, aldermen, town-clerk, ſheriffs, gentlemen, merchants, clergy, tradeſmen, and others, inhabitants of the ancient city of Lincoln, importing, That by an act paſſed relating to the militia, it was provided, that when any militia men ſhould be ordered out into actual ſervice, leaving families unable to ſupport themſelves during their abſence, the overſeers of the pariſh where ſuch families reſide ſhould allow them ſuch weekly ſupport as ſhould be preſcribed by any one juſtice of the peace; which allowance ſhould be reimburſed out of the county ſtock. They repreſented, that a conſiderable number of men, inhabitants of the ſaid city, had entered themſelves to ſerve in the militia of the county of Lincoln, as volunteers, for ſeveral pariſhes and perſons; yet their families were, nevertheleſs, ſupported by the county ſtock of the city of Lincoln. They took notice of the bill under deliberation, and prayed, that if it ſhould paſs into a law, they might have ſuch relief in the premiſes, as to the houſe ſhould ſeem proper. Regard was had to this petition

in the amendments to the bill, which paſſed through both houſes, and received the royal aſſent by commiſſion.

By this law it was enacted, that if any militia man, who ſhall have been accepted and enrolled as a ſubſtitute, hired man, or volunteer, before the paſſing of the act, or who ſhall have been choſen by lot, whether before or after the paſſing of the act, ſhall, when embodied, or called out into actual ſervice, and ordered to march, leave a family unable to ſupport themſelves, the overſeers ſhall, by order of ſome one juſtice of the peace, pay, out of the poor's rates of ſuch pariſh, a weekly allowance to ſuch family, according to the uſual and ordinary price of labour and huſbandry there, viz. for one child under the age of ten years, the price of one day's labour; for two children under the age aforeſaid, the price of two days labour; for three or four children under the age aforeſaid, the price of three days labour; for five or more children under the age aforeſaid, the price of four days labour; and for the wife of ſuch militia man, the price of one day's labour; but that the families of ſuch men only as ſhall be choſen by lot, and of the ſubſtitutes, hired men, and volunteers, already accepted and enrolled, ſhall, after the paſſing of this act, receive any ſuch weekly allowance. For removing the grievance complained of in the above petition, it is enacted, that where treaſurers ſhall reimburſe to overſeers any money, in purſuance of this act, on account of the weekly allowance to the family of any militia man, ſerving in the militia of any county or place, other than that wherein ſuch family ſhall dwell, they are to tranſmit an account thereof, ſigned by ſome juſtice, for the place where ſuch family ſhall dwell, to the treaſurer of the county, &c. in the militia whereof ſuch militia man ſhall ſerve, who is thereupon to pay him the ſums ſo reimburſed to ſuch overſeers, and the ſame to be allowed in his accounts.

During the dependence of this bill, another was brought in to explain ſo much of the militia act paſſed in the thirty-firſt year of his majeſty's reign, as related to the money to be given to private militia men, upon their being ordered out into actual ſervice. By this law it was enacted, that the guinea which, by the former act was due to every private man of every regiment or company of militia, when ordered out into actual ſervice, ſhould be paid to every man that ſhall afterwards be inrolled into ſuch regiment or company whilſt in actual ſervice: that no man ſhould be intitled to his cloaths for his own uſe, until he ſhould have ſerved three years, if unembodied, or one year if embodied, after the delivery of the cloaths: and that the full pay of the militia ſhould commence from the date of his majeſty's warrant for drawing them out.

The next law I ſhall mention was intended to be one of the moſt important that ever fell under the cognizance of the legiſlature: it was a law that affected the freedom, dignity, and independency of parliaments. By an act paſſed in the ninth year of the reign of queen Anne, it was provided, that no perſon ſhould be choſen a member of parliament who did not poſſeſs, in England or Wales, an eſtate, freehold or copyhold, for life, according to the following qualifications: for every knight of a ſhire, ſix hundred pounds per annum, over and above what will ſatisfy all incumbrances; and three hundred pounds per annum for every citizen, burgeſs, and baron of the cinque-port. It was alſo decreed, that the return of any perſon not thus qualified ſhould be void; and that every candidate ſhould, at the reaſonable requeſt of any other candidate at the time of election, or by two or more perſons who had a right to vote, take an oath preſcribed to eſtabliſh his qualifications. This reſtraint was by no means effectual. So many oaths of different kinds had of late been preſcribed, that they began to loſe their due influence on the minds of men; and in particular, political perjury grew ſo common, that it was no longer conſidered as a crime. Subterfuges were diſcovered, by means of which this law relating to the qualification of candidates was effectually eluded. Thoſe who were not actually poſſeſſed of ſuch eſtates procured temporary conveyances from their friends and patrons, on condition of their being reſtored and cancelled after the election. By this ſcandalous fraud, the intention of the legiſlature was fruſtrated; the dignity of parliament proſtituted; the example of perjury and corruption extended; the morals of the people depraved; and the conſtitution expoſed to the moſt imminent danger.

In order to remedy theſe alarming evils, a few gentlemen, warmed with the real love of their country, preſented a bill to the houſe, importing, that every perſon who ſhall be elected a member of the houſe of commons, ſhould, before he preſumed to take his ſeat, deliver to the clerk of the houſe at the table, while the commons are ſitting, and the ſpeaker in the chair, a paper or ſchedule ſigned by himſelf, containing a rental or particular of the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, whereby he makes out his qualification, ſpecifying the nature of his eſtate, whether meſſuage, land, rent, tythe, or what elſe; and if ſuch eſtate conſiſts of meſſuages, lands, or tythes, then ſpecifying in whoſe occupation they are; and if in rent, then ſpecifying the names of the owners or poſſeſſors of the lands and tenements out of which ſuch rent is iſſuing; and alſo ſpecifying the pariſh, townſhip, or precinct and county, in which the ſaid eſtate lies, and the value thereof; and every ſuch perſon ſhall, at the ſame time alſo, take and ſubſcribe the following oath, to be fairly written at the bottom of the paper or ſchedule: I, A. B. do ſwear, that the above is a true rental; and that I truly, and *bona fide*, have ſuch an eſtate in law or equity, to and for my own uſe and benefit, of and in the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, above deſcribed, over and above what will ſatisfy and clear all incumbrances that may affect the ſame; and that ſuch eſtate hath not been granted or made over to me fraudulently, on purpoſe to qualify me to be a member of this houſe. So help me God.

It was provided that the ſaid paper or ſchedule, with the oath aforeſaid, ſhould be carefully kept by the clerk, to be inſpected by the members of the houſe of commons, without fee or reward: that if any perſon elected to ſerve in any future parliament, ſhould preſume to ſit or vote as a member of the houſe of commons, before he has delivered in ſuch a paper or ſchedule, and taken the oath aforeſaid, or ſhould not be qualified according to the true intent or meaning of this act, his election ſhould be void; and every perſon ſo ſitting and voting ſhould forfeit a certain ſum, to

be recovered by ſuch perſon as ſhould ſue for the ſame by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, whereon no eſſoign, privilege, protection, or wager of law, ſhould be allowed, and only one imparlance: that if any perſon ſhould have delivered in, and ſworn to his qualification as aforeſaid, and taken his ſeat in the houſe of commons; yet at any time after ſhould, during the continuance of ſuch parliament, ſell, diſpoſe of, alien, or any other ways encumber the eſtate, or any part thereof comprized in the ſchedule, ſo as to leſſen or reduce the ſame under the value of the qualification by law directed; every ſuch perſon, under a certain penalty, muſt deliver in a new or further qualification, according to the true intent and meaning of this act, and ſwear to the ſame, in manner before directed, before he ſhall again preſume to ſit or vote as a member of the houſe of commons: that in caſe any action, ſuit, or information, ſhall be brought, in purſuance of this act, againſt any member of the houſe of commons, the clerk of the houſe ſhall, upon demand, forthwith deliver a true and atteſted copy of the paper or ſchedule ſo delivered in to him as aforeſaid by ſuch member, to the plaintiff or proſecutor, or his attorney or agent, paying a certain ſum for the ſame; which being proved a true copy, ſhall be admitted to be given in evidence upon the trial of any iſſue, in any ſuch action. Provided always, that nothing contained in this act ſhall extend to the eldeſt ſon or heir-apparent of any peer or lord of parliament, or of any perſon qualified to ſerve as knight of the ſhire, or to the members for either of the univerſities, in that part of Great Britain called England, or to the members for that part of Great Britain called Scotland.

Such was the ſubſtance of the bill, as originally preſented to the houſe of commons; but it was altered and amended in ſuch a manner as will perhaps render it in a great meaſure ineffectual. It ran thus:

Clauſe 1. "Whereas by an act paſſed in the ninth year of the reign of her late majeſty queen Anne, intitled, "An act for ſecuring the freedom of parliaments, by the further qualifying the members to ſit in the houſe of commons," it was enacted, That no perſon ſhould be capable to ſit or vote as a member of the houſe of commons, for any county, city, borough, or cinque-port, within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, who ſhould not have an eſtate, freehold or copyhold, for his own life, or for ſome greater eſtate, either in law or equity, to and for his own uſe and benefit, of or in lands, tenements, or hereditaments, over and above what will clear all incumbrances that might affect the ſame, lying or being within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, of the reſpective annual value therein limited, viz. the annual value of ſix hundred pounds above reprizes for every knight of a ſhire, and the annual value of three hundred pounds above reprizes for every citizen, burgeſs, or baron of the cinque-ports.

2. "Now, in order to enforce and render the ſaid act more effectual, be it enacted, by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, That, from and after the determination of this preſent parliament, every perſon, except as is herein after excepted, who ſhall be elected a member of the houſe of commons, ſhall, before he preſumes to vote in the houſe of commons, or ſit there during any debate in the ſaid houſe of commons, after their ſpeaker is choſen, produce and deliver in to the clerk of the ſaid houſe, at the table in the middle of the ſaid houſe, and whilſt the houſe of commons is there duly ſitting, with their ſpeaker in the chair of the ſaid houſe, a paper or account, ſigned by every ſuch member, containing the name or names of the pariſh, townſhip, or precinct, or of the ſeveral pariſhes, townſhips, or precincts, and alſo of the county, or of the ſeveral counties in which the lands, tenements, or hereditaments do lie, whereby he makes out his qualification, declaring the ſame to be of the annual value of ſix hundred pounds above reprizes, if a knight of a ſhire; and of the annual value of three hundred pounds above reprizes, if a citizen, burgeſs, or baron of the cinque-ports; and ſhall alſo at the ſame time take and ſubſcribe the following oath, viz.

"I A. B. do ſwear, that I truly and *bona fide* have ſuch an eſtate, in law or equity, and of ſuch value, to and for my own uſe and benefit, of or in the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, over and above what will ſatisfy and clear all incumbrances that may affect the ſame, as doth qualify me to be elected and returned to ſerve as a member for the place I am returned for, according to the tenor and good meaning of the acts of parliament in that behalf; and that ſuch lands, tenements, or hereditaments do lie, as deſcribed in the paper or account ſigned by me, and now delivered to the clerk of the houſe of commons. So help me God.

"And the ſaid houſe of commons is hereby impowered and required to adminiſter the ſaid oath and ſubſcription according to the directions of this act, as occaſion ſhall be, from time to time, to every perſon duly demanding the ſame, immediately after ſuch perſon ſhall have taken the oaths of allegiance, ſupremacy, and abjuration, at the ſaid table; and the ſaid oaths and ſubſcription, herein before directed to be taken and made, ſhall be entered into a parchment roll, to be provided for that purpoſe by the clerk of the houſe of commons; and the ſaid papers or accounts ſo ſigned and delivered in to the ſaid clerk as aforeſaid, ſhall be filed and carefully kept by him.

3. "And be it further enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, That if any perſon who ſhall be elected to ſerve in any future parliament, as knight of a ſhire, or as a citizen, burgeſs, or baron of the cinque-port, ſhall preſume to ſit or vote, as aforeſaid, as a member of the houſe of commons, before he has delivered in ſuch paper or account, and taken and ſubſcribed ſuch oath, as aforeſaid; or ſhall not be qualified according to the true intent and meaning of the ſaid recited act, and of this act, his election ſhall be, and is hereby declared to be, void, and a new writ ſhall be iſſued to elect another member in the ſaid perſon's room.

4. "Provided always, that nothing in this act contained ſhall extend to the eldeſt ſon or heir-apparent of any peer or lord of parliament, or of any perſon qualified to ſerve as knight of a ſhire,

or

or to the members for either of the univerſities, in that part of Great Britain called England, or to the members of that part of Great Britain called Scotland."

The houſe having examined an account of the produce of the fund eſtabliſhed for paying annuities granted in the year 1759, with the charge on that fund, on the fifth day of January in the ſucceeding year, it appeared that there had been a conſiderable deficiency in the ſaid fund on the fifth day of July preceding; and this had been made good out of the ſinking fund, by a reſolution of the ſeventh of February, which we have already ſpecified. They therefore inſtructed the committee of ways and means, to conſider ſo much of the annuity and lottery act paſſed in the preceding ſeſſion as related to the three per cent. annuities, amounting to the ſum of ſeven millions five hundred and ninety thouſand pounds, granted in the year 1759; and alſo to conſider ſo much of the ſaid act as related to the ſubſidy of poundage upon certain goods and merchandizes to be imported into this kingdom, and the additional inland duty on coffee and chocolate.

The committee having taken theſe points into deliberation, agreed to the two reſolutions we have already mentioned, with reſpect to the conſolidation; and a bill was brought in for adding thoſe annuities granted in the year 1759, to the joint ſtock of three per cent. annuities, conſolidated by the acts of the twenty-fifth, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirty-ſecond year of his majeſty's reign; and for ſeveral duties therein mentioned, to the ſinking fund. The committee was afterwards empowered to inſert a clauſe for cancelling ſuch lottery tickets as were made forth in an act paſſed in the thirtieth year of his majeſty's reign, and were not then diſpoſed of; a clauſe for this purpoſe was accordingly added to the bill, which paſſed through both houſes without oppoſition, and received the royal aſſent at the end of the ſeſſion.

Towards the end of April admiral Townſhend preſented a bill for the more effectual ſecuring the payment of ſuch prize and bounty monies as were appropriated to the uſe of Greenwich hoſpital, by an act paſſed in the twenty-ninth year of his majeſty's reign. As by that law no time was limited, or particular method preſcribed for giving notifications of the day appointed for the payment of the ſhares of the prizes and bounty-money; and as many agents had neglected to ſpecify in the notification given in the London Gazette, for payment of ſhares of prizes condemned in the courts of admiralty in Great Britain, the particular day or time when ſuch payments were to commence, whereby it was rendered difficult, if not impoſſible, to aſcertain the time when the hoſpital at Greenwich became intitled to the unclaimed ſhares; of conſequence could not enjoy the full benefit of the act. The bill now prepared imported, that from and after the firſt day of September, in the preſent year, all notifications of the payment of the ſhares of prizes taken by any of his majeſty's ſhips of war, and condemned in Great Britain, and from and after the firſt day of February, in the year 1761, all notifications of the payment of the ſhares of prizes taken and condemned in any other of his majeſty's dominions in Europe, or in any of the Britiſh plantations in America; and from and after the twenty-fifth day of December, in the year 1761, all notifications of the payment of the ſhares of prizes taken and condemned in any other of his majeſty's dominions, ſhall be reſpectively given and publiſhed in the following manner: If the prize be condemned in any court of admiralty in Great Britain, ſuch notification, under the agent's hand, ſhall be publiſhed in the London Gazette; and if condemned in any court of admiralty, in any other of his majeſty's dominions, ſuch notifications ſhall be publiſhed in like manner in the Gazette, or other news-paper of public authority, of the iſland or place where the prize is condemned; and if there ſhall be no Gazette or ſuch news-paper publiſhed there, then in ſome one of the public news-papers of the place; and ſuch agents ſhall deliver to the collector, cuſtomer, or ſearcher, or his lawful deputy; and if there ſhall be no ſuch office, then to the principal officer or officers of the place where the prize is condemned, or to the lawful deputy of ſuch principal officer, two of the Gazettes or other news-papers in which ſuch notifications are inſerted; and if there ſhall not be any public news-papers in any ſuch iſland or place, the agent ſhall give two ſuch notifications in writing, under his hand; and every ſuch collector or other officer as aforeſaid, ſhall ſubſcribe his name on both the ſaid Gazettes, news-papers, or written notifications, and by the firſt ſhip which ſhall ſail from thence to any port of Great Britain, ſhall tranſmit to the treaſurer or deputy treaſurers of the ſaid royal hoſpital, one of the ſaid notifications with his name ſo ſubſcribed, to be there regiſtered, and ſhall faithfully preſerve and keep the other, with his name thereon ſubſcribed, in his own cuſtody; and in every notification as aforeſaid, the agent ſhall ſpecify his place of abode, and the preciſe day of the month and year appointed for the payment of the reſpective ſhares to the captors; and all notifications with reſpect to prizes condemned in Great Britain ſhall be publiſhed in the London Gazette, three days at leaſt before any ſhare of ſuce prizes ſhall be paid; and with reſpect to prizes condemned in any other part of his majeſty's dominions, ſuch notification ſhall be delivered to the ſaid collector or other officers aforeſaid, three days at leaſt before any ſhare of ſuch prizes ſhall be paid. It was likewiſe enacted, that the agents of the diſtribution of bounty bills ſhould inſert, and publiſh under their hands, in the London Gazette, three days at leaſt before payment, public notifications of the day and year appointed for ſuch payment, and alſo inſert therein their reſpective places of abode.

A committee having been appointed to enquire into the original ſtandards of weights and meaſures in the kingdom of England, to conſider the laws relating thereto, and to report their obſervations thereupon, together with their opinion of the moſt effectual means for aſcertaining and enforcing uniform and certain ſtandards of weights and meaſures, the prepared copies, models, patterns, and multiples, and preſented them to the houſe: then they were locked up by the clerk of the houſe; and the lord Caryſfort preſented a bill, according to order, for enforcing uniformity of weights and meaſures to the ſtandards by law to be eſtabliſhed: but this meaſure, which had been ſo long in dependence,

pendence, was not yet fully diſcuſſed, and the ſtandards and weights were reſerved to another occaſion.

Theſe and a good number of other bills of leſs importance, both private and public, were paſſed into laws by commiſſion, on the twenty-ſecond day of May, when the lord-keeper of the great ſeal cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech to both houſes. He declared in his majeſty's name, that the king looked back on their proceedings with entire ſatisfaction: that the duty and affection which they had expreſſed for the king's perſon and government, the zeal and unanimity they had ſhewed in maintaining the true intereſt of their country, could only be equalled by what his majeſty had formerly experienced from this parliament: that it would have given his majeſty the moſt ſenſible pleaſure, had he been able to aſſure them that his endeavours to promote a general peace, had met with more ſuitable returns: that his majeſty, in conjunction with his good brother and ally the king of Pruſſia, had choſen to give their enemies proof of this equitable diſpoſition, in the midſt of a ſeries of glorious victories; an opportunity the moſt proper to take ſuch a ſtep with dignity, and to manifeſt to all Europe the purity and moderation of his views: that after ſuch a conduct, the king had the comfort to reflect, that the further continuance of the calamities of war could not be imputed to him or his allies: that he truſted in the bleſſing of heaven, upon the juſtice of his arms, and upon thoſe ample means which the zeal of the parliament, in ſo good a cauſe, had wiſely put into his hands, that his future ſucceſſes in carrying on the war would not fall ſhort of the paſt; and that, in the event, the public tranquillity would be reſtored on ſolid and durable foundations: that his majeſty had taken the moſt effectual care to augment the combined army in Germany; and at the ſame time to keep up ſuch a force at home as might fruſtrate any attempts of the enemy to invade theſe kingdoms; ſuch attempts as had hitherto ended only in their own confuſion: that the royal navy was never in a more flouriſhing and reſpectable condition; and the ſignal victory obtained laſt winter over the French fleet, on their own coaſts, had given luſtre to his majeſty's arms, freſh ſpirit to his maritime forces, and reduced the naval ſtrength of France to a very low ebb: that his majeſty had diſpoſed his ſquadrons in ſuch a manner as might beſt conduce to the annoyance of his enemies; to the defence of his own dominions, both in Europe and America; to the preſerving and purſuing his conqueſts, as well as to the protection of the trade of his ſubjects, which he had extremely at heart: that nothing could relieve his majeſty's royal mind, under the anxiety he felt for the burthens of his faithful ſubjects, but the public-ſpirited chearfulneſs with which the commons had granted him ſuch large ſupplies, and his conviction that they were neceſſary for the ſecurity and eſſential intereſts of his kingdoms: he therefore returned them his hearty thanks for theſe ſupplies, and aſſured them they ſhould be duly applied to the purpoſes for which they had been given. Finally, he recommended to both houſes the continuance of that union and good harmony which he had obſerved with ſo much pleaſure, and from which they had derived ſuch important advantages. He deſired they would ſtudy to promote theſe deſirable objects, to ſupport the king's government, and the good order of their reſpective countries, and conſult their own real happineſs and proſperity.

The advances towards an accommodation which had been made in the preceding year by the kings of England and Pruſſia, in their manifeſto publiſhed at the Hague by prince Lewis of Brunſwic, ſeemed to be regarded by neutral powers as a certain proof of their pacific diſpoſition. We have already ſeen that the king of Spain offered his beſt offices in quality of mediator. When a congreſs was propoſed, the States-general made an offer of Breda, as a place proper for the negociation. The king of Great Britain, by the mouth of his ambaſſador, thanked their High Mightineſſes for the ſincere deſire they expreſſed to put an end to the ravages of war, which had extended deſolation over the face of Europe; he readily cloſed with their gracious offer, and, in conſequence of his high regard and invariable friendſhip for their High Mightineſſes, wiſhed earneſtly that it might be acceptable to the other powers at war. The French king returned an anſwer nearly of the ſame import. His ambaſſador declared, That his moſt Chriſtian majeſty was highly ſenſible of the offer they had made of Breda for the holding the congreſs; that, in order to give a freſh proof of his ſincere deſire to encreaſe the good harmony that ſubſiſted between him and the States-general, he accepted their offer with pleaſure: but as he could take no ſtep without the concurrence of his high allies, he was obliged to wait for their anſwer, which could not fail to be favourable, if nothing remained to be ſettled but the place for holding the congreſs.

King Staniſlaus having written a letter to his Britannic majeſty, offering the city of Nancy for the ſame purpoſe, he received a civil anſwer, expreſſing the king of England's ſenſe of his obliging offer, which however he declined, as a place not conveniently ſituated for all the powers intereſted in the great work of pacification. Civilities of the ſame nature likewiſe paſſed between the ſovereign of Lorraine and the king of Pruſſia. As the propoſals for a peace made by the king of England and his allies might have left an unfavourable impreſſion of their adverſaries, had they been flatly rejected, the court of Vienna was prevailed upon to concur with her allies in a declaration, profeſſing their pacific ſentiments; which declaration was delivered on the third day of April, by the Auſtrian miniſter reſiding at the Hague, to his ſerene highneſs prince Lewis of Brunſwic; and a paper of the ſame nature was alſo delivered to him ſeparately by the French and Ruſſian miniſters. Theſe profeſſions, however, did not interrupt the military operations.

Though the French army under the mareſchal duke de Broglio remained in cantonment in the neighbourhood of Friedberg, and prince Ferdinand had retired from Corſdorff to Marpurg, where, in the beginning of January, he fixed his head quarters, yet was not the winter altogether inactive. As far back as the twenty-fifth day of December, the duke de Broglio, having called in his detachments, attempted to ſurpriſe the allied army by a forced march to Klein-linnes; but finding that his ſcheme

had been previouſly diſcovered, nothing but a cannonade enſued, and he retreated to his former quarters. On the twenty-ninth colonel Luckner, at the head of the Hanoverian hunters, fell in with a detachment of the enemy, conſiſting of four hundred men, under the command of count Muret. Theſe he attacked with ſuch fury, that the count was made priſoner, and all his party either killed or taken, except two and twenty who eſcaped. On the third day of January the marquis de Vogue attacked the town of Herborn, which he carried, and took a ſmall detachment of the allies who were there poſted. At the ſame time the marquis Dauvet ſurprized the town of Dillemburg, the garriſon of the allied troops being obliged to retire into the caſtle, where they were cloſely beſieged. Prince Ferdinand was no ſooner informed of their ſituation than he began his march with a ſtrong detachment for their relief, on the ſeventh day of the month, when he attacked and totally defeated the beſiegers, took ſeven hundred priſoners, including forty officers, with ſeven pair of colours and two pieces of cannon.

On that very day the Highlanders, under major Keith, ſupported by the huſſars of Luckner, who commanded the whole detachment, attacked the village of Eybach, where Beaufremont's regiment of dragoons was poſted on the ſide of Dillemburg, and routed them with great ſlaughter. The greater part of the regiment was killed, and many priſoners were taken, together with two hundred horſes, and all their baggage. The Highlanders diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion by their intrepidity, which was the more remarkable, as they were no other than raw recruits juſt arrived from their own country, and altogether unacquainted with diſcipline. On the eighth day of January Mr. de St. Germain advanced on the left of the allies, with the grenadiers of the French army, ſuſtained by eight battalions and a body of dragoons: but he was oppoſed by the duke of Holſtein, at the head of a ſtrong detachment in the neighbourhood of Erſdorff, who, by dint of a furious cannonade, compelled him to retreat with precipitation

After this attempt the French parties were recalled, and their army retired into winter quarters in and about Franckfort on the Maine; while prince Ferdinand quartered the allies at Caſſel, Paderborn, Munſter, and Oſnabrug, this laſt place being allotted to the Britiſh troops, as being the neareſt to Embden, where the reinforcements from Britain were to be landed. In the beginning of February the hereditary prince of Brunſwic, with the detachment of the allied army under his command, began his march from Chemnitz in Saxony for Weſtphalia, where he ſafely arrived, after having aſſiſted at a long conference in Hamelen, with his father the reigning duke, his uncle prince Ferdinand, and ſome principal members of the regency of Hanover.

The French general continued to detach ſtrong parties to beat up the quarters of the allies, and lay their towns under contribution. In the beginning of March the marquis de Blaiſel advanced at the head of two thouſand four hundred men from Gieſſen, where he commanded, to Marpurg, forced the gates of the town, and conſtrained the garriſon of the allies to take ſhelter in the caſtle. As he could not pretend to undertake the ſiege of the fortreſs, by the fire of which he was exceedingly galled, he demanded of the town a contribution of one hundred thouſand florins, and carried ſome of the magiſtrates along with him as hoſtages for the payment of this impoſition. He afterwards appeared at Hombourg, Alsfeldt, and Hartzberg, the frontier poſts of the allies; but did not think proper to attack either, becauſe he perceived he would meet with an obſtinate reſiſtance.

The French have long laid claim to the character of the moſt polite and civilized nation in Europe; notwithſtanding which, they are ſometimes found as brutal and rapacious as the moſt barbarous enemy. On pretence of taking umbrage at the town of Hanau Muntzenberg, for having, without their permiſſion, acknowleged the regency of the landgraviate of Heſſe Caſſel, they, in the month of February, ordered the magiſtrates of that place to pay, within the term of twenty-four hours, the ſum of ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand livres, on pain of being ſubjected to military execution. This order was ſignified by the prince de Robecq, to whom the magiſtrates repreſented the impoſſibility of raiſing ſuch a ſum, as the country was totally exhauſted, and their credit abſolutely deſtroyed, in conſequence of their inability to pay the intereſt of the capitals negociated in the courſe of the preceding year. He ſtill inſiſting upon finding the money before night, they offered to pay eighty thouſand florins, which they raiſed with the utmoſt difficulty, and begged the payment of the reſt might be poſtponed for a few weeks; but their requeſt was rejected with diſdain. The garriſon was reinforced by two battalions, and four ſquadrons diſperſed in the principal ſquares and markets in the city, and the gates were ſhut. They even planted cannon in the ſtreet, and tarred matches were fixed to many houſes, in order to intimidate the inhabitants. Theſe expedients proving ineffectual, detachments of grenadiers entered the houſes of the principal magiſtrates and merchants, from whence they removed all their beſt effects to the town-hall, where they were kept in depoſit, until they were redeemed with all the money that could poſſibly be raiſed. This exaction, ſo little conſiſtent with the character of a civilized nation, the French miniſter declared to the diet at Ratiſbon was agreeable to the inſtructions of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty.

By way of retaliation for the cruelty practiſed at Hanau, a detachment of the allied army under general Luckner was ſent to raiſe contributions in Fulda, and actually carried off hoſtages from that city; but retired before a ſtrong body of the enemy, who took poſſeſſion of the place. From hence the French marched, in their turn, to plunder the town of Hirchfeldt and Vacha. Accordingly they appeared at Vacha, ſituated on the frontiers of Heſſe, and forming the head of the chain of cantonments which the allies had on the Werra. This place was attacked with ſuch vigour that colonel Freytag, who commanded the poſt, was obliged to abandon the town; but he maintained himſelf on a riſing ground in the neighbourhood, where he amuſed the enemy, until two battalions of grenadiers came to his aſſiſtance. Thus reinforced, he repulſed the French, purſued them

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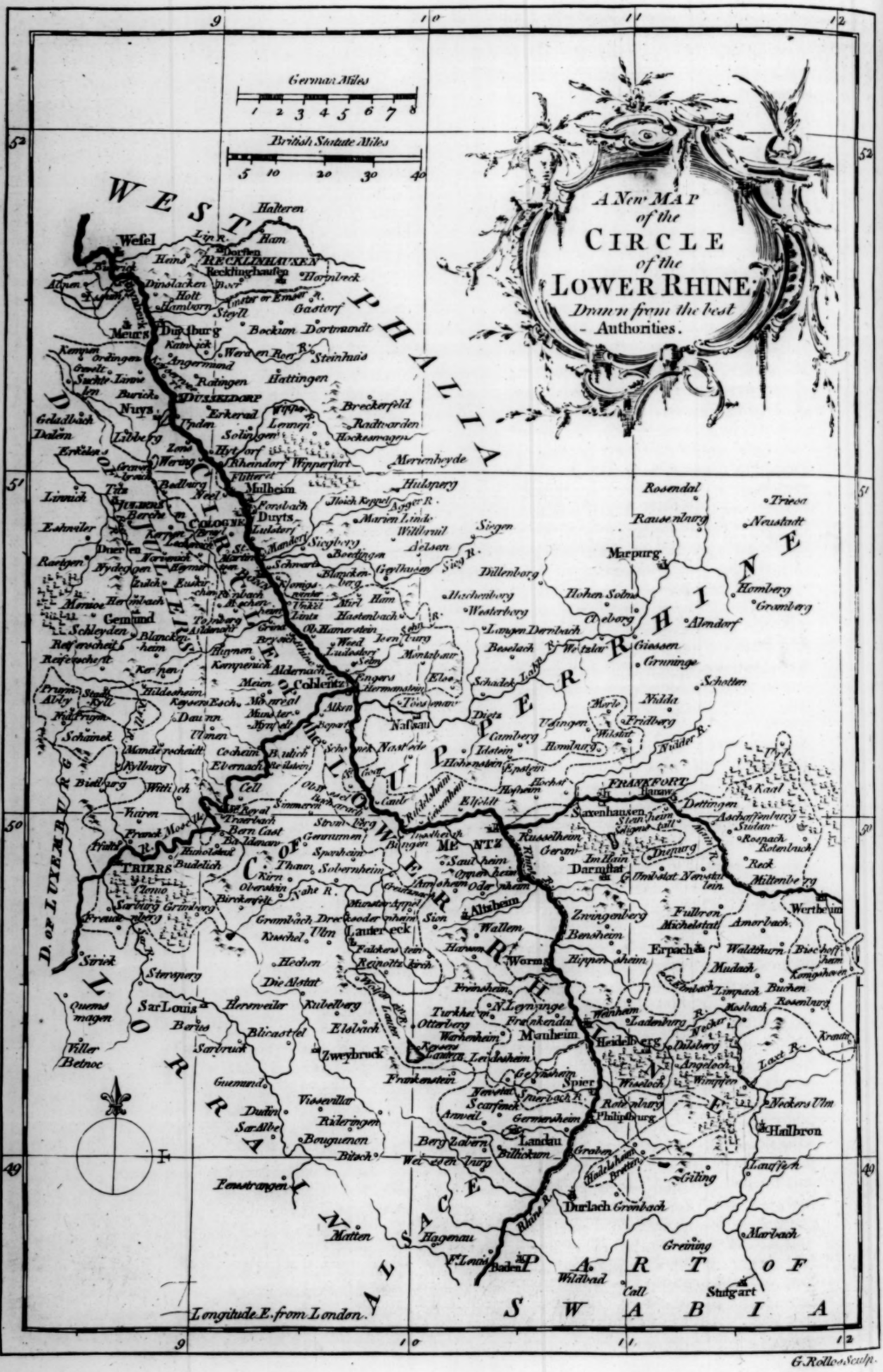
A New MAP of the CIRCLE of the LOWER RHINE. Drawn from the best Authorities.
German Miles
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
British Statute Miles
5 10 20 30 40
WESTPHALIA
DUCHY OF JULIERS
ELECTORATE OF COLOGNE
DUCHY OF LUXEMBURG & LORRAINE
ELECTORATE OF TRIERS
ELECTORATE OF PALATINE
LOWER RHINE
UPPER RHINE
ALSACE
PART OF SWABIA
Wesel
Halteren
RECKLINHAUSEN
Dorsten
Ham
Lippe R.
Recklinghausen
Hornbeck
Dinslacken
Holt
Hamborn
Meurs
Duysburg
Steyll
Beckum
Dortmundt
Gastorf
Kempen
Ordingen
Gruelt
Sarlte
Linne
Ien
Burick
Kamp
Werden
Roer R.
Steinhaus
Angermund
Ratingen
Hattingen
DUSSELDORP
Nuys
Erkerad
Ipden
Lennep
Breckerfeld
Radtworden
Hockesragen
Geladbach
Dalen
Libberg
Zons
Hytorf
Rhendorf
Wipperfurt
Merienheyde
Erkelenz
Wering
Flittert
Mulheim
Hulspery
Rosendal
Triesa
Neustandt
Rausenburg
Forsbach
Duyts
Luistorf
Marien Linde
Willbruil
Siegen
Siegberg
Beelingen
Aelsen
Sieg R.
Marpurg
Hombergh
Gromberg
Dillenburg
Hohen Solms
Alendorf
Giessen
Grunninge
Schotten
Nidda
Fridberg
Wetzlar
Lahn R.
Limpurg
Diez
Nassau
Usingen
Wilstat
Homburg
Idstein
Hohenstein
Epstein
Hochst
Hofheim
Elfeldt
Rudelsheim
Eltvill
Caub
Coblentz
Hermanstein
Ehrenbreitstein
Alken
Andernach
Meien
Mayen
Munster
Myrtfelt
Bopart
Linz
Hasenbach
Neuwied
Isenburg
Altenkirchen
Hachenburg
Westerburg
Limpurg
Dernbach
Braubach
Ems
Nassau
Schaden
Lahn R.
Wetzlar
Giessen
Grunninge
Schotten
Nidda
Fridberg
Wilstat
Homburg
Idstein
Hohenstein
Epstein
Hochst
Hofheim
Elfeldt
Rudelsheim
Eltvill
Caub
FRANKFORT
Hanau
Kayl
Dettingen
Aschaffenburg
Stolan
Rospach
Rotenbuch
Reck
Miltenberg
Wertheim
Amorbach
Fullren
Michelstat
Walldhurn
Bischoffsheim
Komgshoven
Buchen
Rosenlaug
Mosbach
Neckar R.
Krentz
Dilsberg
Angeloch
Wimpfen
Nockers Ulm
Hailbron
Giling
Lauffen
Durlach
Grunbach
Marbach
Greining
Stutgart
Call
Wildbad
Baden
Rhine R.
Philipsburg
Germersheim
Anweil
Landau
Graben
Billickum
Weyer
Berg Zabern
Hatlenheim
Bretten
Frankendal
Mannheim
Heidelberg
Ladenburg
Neckar R.
Dilsberg
Angeloch
Wimpfen
Laxt R.
Krentz
Nockers Ulm
Hailbron
Darmstat
Umbstat
Nerostein
Zwingenberg
Benesheim
Erpach
Mudach
Limpach
Buchen
Rosenlaug
Mosbach
Ladenburg
Heidelberg
Dilsberg
Angeloch
Wimpfen
Nockers Ulm
Hailbron
Worms
Hippenheim
Wallem
Lauterecken
Falkenstein
Reinoltskirch
Hornum
Frienshem
N. Leyningen
Turkheim
Ottarberg
Frankendal
Mannheim
Heidelberg
Ladenburg
Neckar R.
Dilsberg
Angeloch
Wimpfen
Nockers Ulm
Hailbron
Spier
Wiseloch
Rotenburg
Philipsburg
Germersheim
Anweil
Landau
Graben
Billickum
Weyer
Berg Zabern
Hatlenheim
Bretten
Giling
Lauffen
Durlach
Grunbach
Marbach
Greining
Stutgart
Call
Wildbad
Baden
Rhine R.
Matten
Hagenau
Fort Louis
Penestrangen
Bitsch
Bergzabern
Weyer
Billickum
Graben
Landau
Germersheim
Anweil
Philipsburg
Rotenburg
Spier
Wiseloch
Frankenstein
Neuvelet
Scarfmick
Sauerbach R.
Guemund
Visserville
Dudin
Sar Albe
Rideringen
Bougnenon
Bitsch
Zweybruck
Elslach
Otterberg
Warhenheim
Kayserslautern
Leimersheim
Gersheim
Sarbruck
Blicastel
Berius
Sar Louis
Herrweiler
Kubelberg
Turkheim
Frankendal
Mannheim
Heidelberg
Ladenburg
Neckar R.
Dilsberg
Angeloch
Wimpfen
Nockers Ulm
Hailbron
Sirick
Stirpery
Hechen
Die Alstat
Ulm
Lauterecken
Falkenstein
Reinoltskirch
Hornum
Frienshem
N. Leyningen
Turkheim
Ottarberg
Frankendal
Mannheim
Heidelberg
Ladenburg
Neckar R.
Dilsberg
Angeloch
Wimpfen
Nockers Ulm
Hailbron
Worms
Hippenheim
Wallem
Zwingenberg
Benesheim
Erpach
Mudach
Limpach
Buchen
Rosenlaug
Mosbach
Ladenburg
Heidelberg
Dilsberg
Angeloch
Wimpfen
Nockers Ulm
Hailbron
Darmstat
Umbstat
Nerostein
Russelheim
Gerau
Im Rhein
Dreyeich
Rosbach
Rotenbuch
Reck
Miltenberg
Aschaffenburg
Stolan
Seligenstadt
Steinheim
Hanau
Kayl
Dettingen
Saxenhausen
Frankfort
Hochst
Hofheim
Elfeldt
Rudelsheim
Eltvill
Caub
Limpurg
Diez
Nassau
Usingen
Wilstat
Homburg
Idstein
Hohenstein
Epstein
Hochst
Hofheim
Elfeldt
Rudelsheim
Eltvill
Caub
Coblentz
Hermanstein
Ehrenbreitstein
Alken
Andernach
Meien
Mayen
Munster
Myrtfelt
Bopart
Linz
Hasenbach
Neuwied
Isenburg
Altenkirchen
Hachenburg
Westerburg
Limpurg
Dernbach
Braubach
Ems
Nassau
Schaden
Lahn R.
Wetzlar
Giessen
Grunninge
Schotten
Nidda
Fridberg
Wilstat
Homburg
Idstein
Hohenstein
Epstein
Hochst
Hofheim
Elfeldt
Rudelsheim
Eltvill
Caub
Longitude E. from London.
G. Rollos Sculp.

them for three leagues, and drove them with a conſiderable loſs from Giſſa, where they had reſolved to fix their quarters. Theſe ſkirmiſhes happened in the beginning of May, when the grand armies were juſt in motion to begin the campaign.

By this time the forces under the mareſchal duke de Broglio were augmented to one hundred thouſand; while the count de St. Germain commanded a ſeparate army on the Rhine, conſiſting of thirty thouſand men, aſſembled from the quarters of Duſſeldorp, Cologn, Cleves, and Weſel. This ſecond corps was intended to divide the allied army, which, by ſuch a diviſion, would be conſiderably weakened; and the French court threatened to form a third army, under the prince de Soubiſe; but this was never aſſembled. The duke de Broglio was in ſuch favour with the French miniſtry at this juncture, that he was promoted over the heads of many old generals, who now demanded and obtained their diſmiſſion; and every ſtep was taken to render the campaign glorious to this ſpirited commander: but, notwithſtanding all their care, and his own activity, he found it impoſſible to take the field early enough in the ſpring, from want of forage for his cavalry. While his quarters were eſtabliſhed at Frankfort, his troops were plentifully ſupplied with all ſorts of proviſion from the Upper Rhine; but this convenience depended upon his being maſter of the courſe of the river: nor could he move from this poſition without forfeiting the advantage, and providing magazines for the uſe of his forces; ſo that he was obliged to lie inactive until he could have the benefit of green forage in his march.

The ſame inconveniencies lay more heavy on prince Ferdinand, who, being in an exhauſted country, was obliged to fall back as far as Paderborn, and draw his ſupplies from Hamburgh and Bremen on the Elbe and the Weſer. By this time, however, he had received a reinforcement of Britiſh troops from Embden, under the command of major-general Griffin; and before the end of the campaign the forces of that nation in Germany were augmented to five and twenty thouſand. The allied army marched from their cantonments on the fifth day of May, and proceeded by the way of Paderborn to Fritzlar, where, on the twentieth, they encamped; but part of the troops left in the biſhopric of Munſter, under general Sporcken, were ordered to form a camp at Dulmen, to make head againſt the French corps commanded by the count de St. Germain.

General Imhoff was ſent with a detachment to Kirchayn on the Orme; and general Gilſoe, with another corps, advanced to the neighbourhood of Hirchfield on the Fulda. The former of theſe having ordered colonel Luckner to ſcour the country with a body of huſſars, that officer, on the twenty-fourth day of May, fell in with a French patrole, which gave the alarm at Butzcach, when the garriſon of that place, amounting to five hundred picquets, under general Waldener, fled with great precipitation. Being, however, purſued and overtaken near a wood, they were routed and diſperſed. Colonel Luckner, entering Butzbach, found a conſiderable quantity of forage, flour, wine, and equipage, belonging to the fugitives. What he could not carry off, he diſtributed among the poor inhabitants, and returned to general Imhoff's camp at Ameneburg, with above an hundred priſoners. This excurſion alarmed the enemy to ſuch a degree, that their whole army was put in motion; and the duke de Broglio, in perſon, advanced with a large body of troops as far as Friedberg: but underſtanding the allies had not quitted their camp at Fritzlar, he returned to Frankfort, after having cantoned that part of his army in the Wetteraw.

This alarm was not ſo mortifying as the ſeceſſion of the Wirtemberg troops, amounting to ten thouſand men, commanded by their duke in perſon, who left the French army in diſguſt, and returned to his own country. The Imperial army, under the prince de Deuxponts, quartered at Bamberg, began their march to Naumberg on the twentieth of May; but one of their detachments of cavalry having received a check from a body of Pruſſians near Lutzen, they fell back; and on the fourth day of June encamped at Lichtenſels upon the Maine. The ſmall detachments of the grand armies, as well as thoſe belonging to the bodies commanded by general Sporcken and the count de St. Germain in the neighbourhood of Duſſeldorp, ſkirmiſhed with various ſucceſs. The hereditary prince of Brunſwic being detached from the allied army, with ſome battalions of grenadiers and two regiments of Engliſh dragoons, advanced to the county of Fulda, where he was joined by the troops under general Gilſoe, and performed ſome inconſiderable exploits, particularly at Hoſenfeldt and Zietbach, where he ſurpriſed and took divers parties of the enemy.

By the twenty-fourth of June prince Ferdinand, quitting his camp at Fritzlar, advanced to Frillendorf, and took poſt on the hills between Zigenheim and Freyſa, general Imhoff commanding at a ſmall diſtance on the right, and the hereditary prince, now returned from Fulda, being ſtationed on the left of the army. In the mean time, the duke de Broglio, aſſembling his forces between Merlau and Laubach, advanced to Neuſtadt, where he encamped on the twenty-eighth day of the month, and at the ſame time occupied a ſtrong poſt at Waſſemburg. His intention was to penetrate through the country of Heſſe into Hanover, and make himſelf entirely maſter of that electorate. With this view he reſolved to effect a junction with the count de St. Germain, whom he ordered to advance towards Brilau and Corbach; while he himſelf decamping from Neuſtadt on the eighth day of July, advanced by the way of Frankenberg. Prince Ferdinand, having received intelligence that the count de St. Germain was in motion, began his march from Ziegenheim, and on the ninth day of July reached the heights of Brunau, in the neighbourhood of Wildungen.

The hereditary prince, at the head of the advanced corps, reinforced with ſome battalions and ſquadrons under major-general Griffin, was ſent forwards to Saxenhauſen, whither the army followed the next morning. The hereditary prince, continuing to advance, found the enemy already formed at Corbach; but ſuppoſing their whole force did not exceed ten thouſand infantry and ſeventeen ſquadrons, and being impelled by the ardour of his own courage, he reſolved to give them battle. He accordingly attacked them about two in the afternoon, and the action became very warm

warm and obſtinate: but the enemy being continually reinforced with freſh battalions, and having the advantage of a numerous artillery, all the prince's efforts were ineffectual. Prince Ferdinand, being at too great a diſtance to ſupport him, ſent him an order to rejoin the army, which was by this time formed at Saxenhauſen. He forthwith made diſpoſitions for a retreat, which, however, was attended with great confuſion. The enemy perceiving the diſorder of the allied troops, plied their artillery with redoubled vigour; while a powerful body of their cavalry charged with irreſiſtible fury. In all likelihood, the whole infantry of the allies would have been cut off, had not the hereditary prince made a diverſion in their favour, by charging in perſon at the head of the Britiſh dragoons, who acted with their uſual gallantry and ſpirit. This reſpite furniſhed them with an opportunity of effecting their retreat to Saxenhauſen; but they loſt above five hundred men, and fifteen pieces of cannon. General count Keilmanſegge, major-general Griffin, and major Hill of Bland's dragoons, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their conduct and intrepidity on this occaſion.

The hereditary prince expoſed his life in the hotteſt part of the action, and received a ſlight wound in the ſhoulder, which gave him far leſs uneaſineſs than he felt from the chagrin and mortification produced by his defeat.

Many days, however, did not paſs, before he found an opportunity of retrieving his honour. Prince Ferdinand, receiving intelligence that a body of the enemy, commanded by major-general Glaubitz, had advanced on the left of the allies to Ziegenheim, detached the hereditary prince to oppoſe them, at the head of ſix battalions of Hanoverians and Heſſians, with Elliot's regiment of light horſe, Luckner's huſſars, and two brigades of Chaſſeurs. On the ſixteenth day of the month, he attacked the enemy near the village of Exdorff, and a very warm action enſued, in which Elliot's regiment performed feats of the moſt undaunted valour. Though this was the firſt time they had appeared in the field, they out-did in courage the moſt experienced veterans. They charged five different times, and broke through the enemy at every charge: but theſe exploits they did not atchieve without ſuſtaining a heavy loſs in officers, men, and horſes. At length victory declared for the allies. Five batralions of the enemy, including the commander in chief, and the prince of Anhalt Cothen, were taken, with ſix pieces of cannon, and all their arms, baggage, and artillery.

During theſe tranſactions, the mareſchal duke de Broglio remained encamped on the heights of Corbach. He had, in advancing from Frankfort, left detachments to reduce the caſtles of Marpurg and Dillemburg, which were occupied by the allies; and they fell into his hands, the garriſons of both being obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. Theſe were but inconſiderable conqueſts; nor did the progreſs of the French general equal the idea which had been formed of his talents and activity. The count de St. Germain, who was his ſenior officer, and believed by many to be at leaſt his equal in capacity, having now joined his corps to the grand army, and conceiving diſguſt at his being obliged to ſerve under the duke de Broglio, threw up his command, in which he was ſucceeded by the chevalier de Muy. At the ſame time, the marquis de Voyer, and the count de Luc, two generals of experience and reputation, quitted the army, and returned to France, actuated by the ſame motives.

The allied army having advanced from Saxenhauſen to the village of Halle, near Caſſel, remained in that ſituation till the thirtieth day of July, when the troops were again put in motion. The chevalier de Muy, having croſſed the Dymel at Stadtbergen, with the reſerve of the French army, amounting to thirty-five thouſand men, and extending theſe troops down the banks of the river, in order to cut off the communication of the allies with Weſtphalia; while the duke de Broglio marched up with his main body to their camp at Kalle, and prince Xavier of Saxony, who commanded their reſerve on the left, advanced towards Caſſel; prince Ferdinand, leaving general Kielmanſegge with a body of forces for the defence of that city, decamped in the night of the thirtieth, and paſſed the Dymel without loſs, between Liebenau and Dringleberg. The hereditary prince, who had the preceding day croſſed the ſame river, in order to reinforce general Sporcken, who was poſted near Corbeke, now reconnoitred the poſition of the enemy, and found them poſſeſſed of a very advantageous camp between Warbourg and Ochſendorff. Prince Ferdinand, having reſolved to attack them, ordered the hereditary prince and Mr. Sporcken to turn their left, while he himſelf advanced againſt their front, with the main body of his army.

The enemy was accordingly attacked, almoſt at the ſame inſtant, both in flank and in rear, with equal impetuoſity and ſucceſs. As the infantry of the allied army could not march faſt enough to charge at the ſame time, the marquis of Granby was ordered to advance with the cavalry of the right; and the brigade of Engliſh artillery, commanded by captain Philips, made ſuch expedition, that they were up in time to ſecond the attack in a moſt ſurprizing manner. All the French cavalry, except three ſquadrons, fled with precipitation at the approach of the marquis; and theſe were entirely broke at the very firſt charge. Then the Engliſh horſe fell upon the enemy's infantry, which ſuffered greatly, while the town of Warbourg was aſſaulted by the Britannic legion. The French being hard preſſed on both flanks, as well as in front and rear, betook themſelves to flight, with conſiderable damage, occaſioned chiefly by the Britiſh cannon and dragoons, and many were drowned in attempting to ford the Dymel. The battalion of Maxwell, and a brigade under general Beckwith, compoſed of grenadiers and Highlanders, diſtinguiſhed themſelves remarkably on this occaſion. The enemy left about fifteen hundred men, killed or wounded, in the field of battle, with ſome colours, and ten pieces of cannon, and about the ſame number were taken priſoners. Monſieur de Muy lay all night under arms, on the heights of Volk-Miſſen, from whence he retired to Wolfshagen. On the evening of the battle, the marquis of Granby received orders to paſs the river in purſuit of them, with twelve Britiſh battalions, and ten ſquadrons, and encamped at Wilda, about four miles from Warbourg, the heights of which were occupied by the enemy's grand army.

By this ſucceſs, prince Ferdinand was enabled to maintain his communication with Weſtphalia, and keep

keep the enemy at a diſtance from the heart of Hanover; but to theſe objects he was obliged to ſacrifice the country of Caſſel; for prince Xavier of Saxony, at the head of a detached body, much more numerous than that which was left under general Kielmanſegge, advanced towards Caſſel, and made himſelf maſter of that city; then he reduced Munden, Gottingen, and Elmbeck, in the electorate of Hanover. All that prince Ferdinand could do, conſidering how much he was out-numbered by the French, was to ſecure poſts and paſſes with a view to retard their progreſs, and employ detachments to harraſs and ſurpriſe their advanced parties.

In a few days after the action at Warbourg, general Luckner repulſed a French detachment which had advanced as far as Elmbeck, and ſurpriſed another at Nordheim. About the ſame time colonel Donap, with a body of the allied army, attacked a French corps of two thouſand men, poſted in the wood of Sababourg, to maintain the communication between their grand army and their troops on the other ſide of the Weſer; and, notwithſtanding the ſtrength of their ſituation, drove them from their poſt, with the loſs of five hundred men, either killed or made priſoners: but this advantage was more than counterbalanced by the reduction of Ziegenhain, garriſoned by ſeven hundred men of the allied army, who, after a vigorous reſiſtance, were forced to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. On the fifth day of Auguſt, prince Ferdinand being encamped at Buhne, received intimation that a conſiderable body of the enemy, amounting to upwards of twenty thouſand men, were preparing to make a general forage in the neighbourhood of Geiſmar. He immediately formed a reſolution to defeat their intention. With this view he paſſed the Dymel early in the morning, with a body of troops and ſome artillery, and poſted them in ſuch an advantageous manner as to oblige the enemy to abandon their purpoſe.

On the ſame morning the hereditary prince ſet out on an expedition to beat up the quarters of a French detachment. Being informed that a body of their horſe and foot, amounting to upwards of two thouſand men, were cantoned at Zierenberg, at a ſmall diſtance from the French camp at Dierenberg, and paſſed their time in the moſt careleſs ſecurity, he advanced towards them from his camp at Warbourg. About a league on the other ſide of the Dymel, at the village of Witzen, they were joined by the light troops under major Bulow; and now the diſpoſition was made, both for entering the town, and ſecuring a retreat, in caſe of being repulſed.

When they had arrived within two miles, they divided into three bodies, which took three different routes, by which the place was completely ſurrounded. At eight in the evening they ſet out from Warbourg, and came before this place at two the following morning. Notwithſtanding the precautions taken, the trampling of the troops over the gardens gave the alarm to a guard of the enemy's dragoons, who immediately began to fire. Strict orders had been given to proceed with as little noiſe as poſſible, and to reſerve their fire; and ſuch was the deliberate courage, ſuch the perfect diſcipline of the Britiſh forces, that they ſuſtained the enemy's fire, puſhed on with their bayonets, drove back the French piquets, killed the guard at the gate, and entered the towns along with the fugitives, without the leaſt noiſe, hurry, or confuſion. Never was ſurprize more complete.

The column of the Britiſh forces having forced the gate, advanced regularly with their bayonets fixed, and without firing a muſquet, through the two ſtreets that led to their church-yard (which, being the only open part of the town, ſerved the French as a place of arms) killing or taking a great number of thoſe who ran from the houſes towards this place of rendezvous; and thus they advanced with the greateſt order and the moſt profound ſilence, until they reached the church-yard. The night was ſo dark, that they formed by the ſide of the French, who for a while took them to be their own piquets that had aſſembled: but they were ſoon undeceived: a fierce encounter with bayonets enſued, in which the French were quickly obliged to give way. Two regiments of the enemy's dragoons endeavoured to fly to their camp; but they found it occupied by four hundred grenadiers, who drove them back with their bayonets. Forced from hence, they fled to another gate; but there they were repulſed with a ſharp fire of ſmall arms. Then they were compelled to ſeparate; and flying at random as fortune and the night directed, made their eſcape at the ſeveral breaches of the wall. The prince was maſter of the place in about an hour; but the nearneſs of the French camp and the approach of day, prevented ſo long a continuance in the town as he wiſhed for reaping the full fruits of his victory: therefore about three o'clock he began his retreat, carrying off two pieces of cannon, thirty-ſix officers, and about five hundred private men. The ſlaughter alſo of the enemy was conſiderable. The prince reached his camp without the leaſt moleſtation in his retreat.

If we conſider the difficulty of this attempt, very few have been bolder; if we examine the diſpoſitions, none could be conducted with greater wiſdom; if we attend to the behaviour of the troops we ſhall no where find an example of more exact obedience, diſcipline, and courage. To attack ſo large a body of the enemy ſo ſtrongly poſted, within little more than a league of their grand camp; to march ſo far in that critical ſituation, and in a very dark night; to divide into ſo many parts, yet to act with ſo much order and ſo entire a concert, was certainly an exploit of the very firſt rank; and, though not of any great importance in its conſequences, is ſo admirable in its conduct and execution, that it well deſerves to be particularly narrated. This added greatly to the reputation of the Engliſh as ſoldiers, and no leſs to their honour as men, by the humanity they ſhewed to their priſoners, and the generous ſentiments of the common ſort with regard to money, as there were ſeveral noble inſtances that night of their refuſing to take any thing from their priſoners, who had offered them their purſes. They loſt but ten men.

From this period the operations of the two armies, which for a time ſeemed to languiſh, were renewed with freſh vigour. Prince Ferdinand perceived, that whilſt the enemy's communication with the Rhine, and with Frankfort on the Maine, continued open, it would be to very little purpoſe to attempt any thing either for the relief of

Gottingen or Caſſel. Their progreſs indeed into Hanover had been checked; but whilſt they ſtill continued in ſo advanced a poſition, it was evidently impoſſible to prevent their making very ruinous inroads into that country. To force them to a battle againſt their inclination, would be difficult, and the attempt itſelf dangerous. There remained but one method, which was to make frequent and ſtrong detachments into the ſouthern parts of Heſſe and Wetteravia, and thus render precarious the enemy's communication with the Rhine and Maine, from whence they drew the greateſt part of their ſupplies of all kinds.

With this view he detached major Bulow at the head of a ſtrong corps, who puſhed forward toward Marpurg, ſurpriſed the town, deſtroyed the French ovens, and brought off a conſiderable quantity of ſtores and baggage, with ſome priſoners. He met with the ſame ſucceſs at Butzbach, where he ſurprized and took two companies belonging to the regiment of Raugrave, and retired with his body to Frankenberg, where he joined colonel Forſen. On the twelfth day of September they made a movement towards Frankenau; and M. de Stainville, who was poſted with a body of French troops at Merdenhagen, advanced to check their progreſs. He came up with their rear in the neighbourhood of Munden, and attacked them in paſſing the river Orck with ſuch vigour, that Forſen, with ſome of his cavalry, was taken, and Bulow obliged to abandon ſome pieces of cannon.

The action was juſt determined when this laſt was reinforced by the hereditary prince of Brunſwic, who had made a forced march of five German miles, which had fatigued the troops to ſuch a degree, that he deferred his attack till next morning; but in the mean time, M. de Stainville retired towards Frankenberg. The Hanoverian general Wangenheim, at the head of four battalions and ſix ſquadrons, had driven the enemy from the defiles of Soheite, and encamped at Lawenthagen; but, being attacked by a ſuperior number, he was obliged in his turn to give way, and his retreat was not effected without the loſs of two hundred men, and ſome pieces of artillery. When the enemy retired, general Wangenheim repaſſed the Weſer, and occupied his former ſituation at Uſſar. Mean while, general Luckner gained an advantage over a detachment of French cavalry near Norten. Prince Ferdinand, when mareſchal Broglio quitted his camp at Immenhauſen, made a motion of his troops, and eſtabliſhed his head quarters at Geiſmarwells, the reſidence of the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel: from thence, however, he transferred them about the latter end of September to Ovilgune, on the Weſtphalian ſide of the Dymel.

Such was the poſition of the two oppoſite grand armies, when the world was ſurpriſed by an expedition to the Lower Rhine, made by the hereditary prince of Brunſwic. Whether this excurſion was intended to hinder the French from reinforcing their army in Weſtphalia, or to co-operate in the Low Countries with the armament now ready equipped in the ports of England; or to gratify the ambition of a young prince, overboiling with courage, and glowing with the deſire of conqueſt, certain it is, the Auſtrian Netherlands were at this juncture entirely deſtitute of troops, except the French garriſons of Oſtend and Nieuport, which were weak and inconſiderable. Had ten thouſand Engliſh troops been landed on the coaſt of Blankenburg, they might have taken poſſeſſion of Bruges, Ghent, Bruſſels, and Antwerp, without reſiſtance, and joined the hereditary prince in the heart of the country: in that caſe, he would have found himſelf at the head of thirty thouſand men, and might have made ſuch a diverſion in favour of Hanover, as to transfer the ſeat of war from Weſtphalia into Flanders. The empreſs-queen might indeed have complained of this invaſion, as the formality of declaring war againſt her had not been obſerved by Great Britain; but, conſidering that ſhe was the declared enemy of Hanover, and had violated the barrier-treaty, in eſtabliſhing which the kingdom of Great Britain had laviſhed ſo much blood and treaſure; a ſtep of this kind, it was thought, might have been taken without any imputation of perfidy or injuſtice.

Whatever were the motives for the prince's expedition, he certainly quitted the grand army of the allies in the month of September, and traverſing Weſtphalia with twenty battalions and ten ſquadrons, appeared on the Lower Rhine, marching by Schermbeck and Duſſeldorp. On the twenty-ninth day of the month he ſent a large detachment over the river at Rocroot, which ſurpriſed part of the French partizan Fiſcher's corps at Rhynberg, and ſcoured the country. Next day, other parties croſſing at Rees and Emerick, took poſſeſſion of ſome redoubts which the French had raiſed along the bank of the river; and here they found a number of boats ſufficient to tranſport the reſt of the forces. Then the prince advanced to Cleves, and at his approach the French garriſon, conſiſting of five hundred men, under the command of M. de Barrel, retired into the caſtle, which however they did not long defend; for on the third day of October they capitulated, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, after having in vain endeavoured to obtain more favourable conditions.

A more important object was Weſel, which the prince inveſted, and began to beſiege in form. The approaches were made on the right of the Rhine, while the prince in perſon remained on the left to cover the ſiege; and preſerved his communication open with the other ſide, by a bridge above and another below the place. He had hoped to carry it by a vigorous aſſault, without the formality of a regular ſiege; but he met with a warmer reception than he expected; and his operations were retarded by heavy rains, which, by ſwelling the river, endangered his bridges, and laid his trenches under water. The difficulties and delays occaſioned by this circumſtance entirely diſappointed his deſign. The French being informed of his motions, were not ſlow in taking meaſures to anticipate his ſucceſs. M. de Caſtres was detached after him with thirty battalions and thirty-eight ſquadrons; and by forced marches arrived, on the fourteenth day of October, at Rhynberg, where the prince's light troops were poſted. Theſe he attacked immediately, and compelled to abandon the poſt, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the prince, who commanded in perſon, and appeared in the warmeſt part of this ſhort but ſanguinary affair. The enemy, leaving five battalions with ſome ſquadrons at Rhynberg, proceeded by the left, and encamped behind the convent of Campen.

The

The prince having received intimation that M. de Caſtries was not yet joined by ſome reinforcements that were on the march, determined to be before-hand with them, and attempt that very night to ſurpriſe him in his camp. For this purpoſe he began his march at ten in the evening, after having left four battalions and five ſquadrons under general Bock, with inſtructions to obſerve Rhynberg, and attack that poſt in caſe the attempt on Campen ſhould ſucceed. Before the allied forces could reach the enemy's camp, they were under the neceſſity of overpowering Fiſcher's corps of irregulars, which occupied the convent of Campen, at the diſtance of half a league in their front. This ſervice occaſioned ſome firing, the noiſe of which alarmed the French army. Their commander formed them with great expedition, and poſted them in a wood, where they were immediately attacked, and at firſt obliged to give ground; but they ſoon found means to recover their ranks, and ſuſtained, without flinching, an unceaſing fire of muſquetry, from five in the morning till nine at night, when they reaped the fruits of their perſeverance. The hereditary prince, whoſe horſe was killed under him, ſeeing no proſpect of ſucceſs in prolonging an action which had already coſt him a conſiderable number of men, thought proper to give orders for a retreat, which was not effected without confuſion, and left the field of battle to the enemy. His loſs on this occaſion did not fall ſhort of ſixteen hundred choice men, killed, wounded, and taken; and this loſs fell chiefly on the troops of Great Britain, who were always found in the hotteſt parts of the battle. All their officers, both of infantry and dragoons, diſtinguiſhed themſelves remarkably, and many were dangerouſly wounded. Among theſe, the nation regretted the loſs of lord Downe, whoſe wounds proved mortal: he was a young nobleman of ſpirit, who had lately embraced a military life, though he was not regularly trained up in the ſervice.

Next day, which was the ſixteenth of October, the enemy attacked an advanced body of the allies, which was poſted in a wood before Elverick, and extended along the Rhine. The firing of cannon and muſquetry was maintained till night. Mean while, a column of the French infantry, commanded by M. de Chabot, marched through Walach, and took poſt among the thickets, at the diſtance of a quarter of a league, in the front of the prince's army. By this time, the Rhine was ſo much ſwelled by the rains, and the banks of it were overflowed in ſuch a manner, that it was neceſſary to repair and move lower down the bridge, which had been thrown over that river. This work was accordingly performed in preſence of the enemy, and the prince, paſſing without moleſtation, proceeded to Bruynen, where he fixed his head-quarters. His paſſing the Rhine ſo eaſily, not only under the eye, but alſo within the graſp of a ſuperior and victorious army, may be reckoned among the fortunate incidents of his life.

In the month of November, while he lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Schermbeck, a body of the enemy attempted to beat up his quarters: having received intimation of their deſign, he immediately called in his advanced poſts, and made a diſpoſition for giving them a proper reception. He abandoned the tents that were in the front of his camp, and poſted his infantry in ambuſcade behind thoſe that were in the rear: at the ſame time he ordered ſome regiments of horſe and huſſars to take a compaſs, and fall upon the back of the enemy. The ſtratagem was crown'd with the deſired ſucceſs. The French detachment, believing the allies had actually abandoned their camp, began to pillage the tents in the utmoſt diſorder: then the infantry ſallied from the place where they were concealed, and fell upon them with irreſiſtible fury; the artillery opened, and the cavalry charged them in flank. In a word, of twelve hundred who marched from Weſel on this expedition, ſcarce two hundred eſcaped.

The duke de Broglio attempted, by ſundry means, to take advantage of the allied army on the other ſide of the Weſer, thus weakened by the abſence of the troops under the hereditary prince; but he found prince Ferdinand too vigilant to be ſurpriſed, and too ſtrongly ſituated to be attacked with any proſpect of ſucceſs. He therefore contented himſelf with waſting the country by detachments: he ſent M. de Stainville with a conſiderable body of forces to penetrate into the heart of Hanover; and on the fifteenth day of September, that officer falling in with a detachment of the allies, commanded by major Bulow, attacked them near the abbey of Schaken. After a warm and obſtinate engagement, they were defeated and purſued to Bulemont, with the loſs of their cannon, baggage, and a good number of men, who fell into the hands of the victors. After this exploit, M. de Stainville advanced to Halberſtadt, and demanded of that capital a contribution of one million five hundred thouſand livres; but the citizens had been ſo exhauſted by former exactions, that they could not raiſe above thirty thouſand: for the remainder the French partizan took hoſtages, with whom he returned to the grand army encamped at Caſſel, from whence they, in a little time, fell back as far as Gottingen.

As the enemy retired, prince Ferdinand advanced as far as Hurſte, where he fixed his head quarters about the latter end of November. While he continued in this poſition, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened in the neighbourhood of Gottingen. Major-general Breidenbach, at the head of two regiments of Hanoverian and Brunſwick guards, with a detachment of cavalry, attacked on the twenty-ninth day of November, the French poſt at Heydemunden, upon the river Worrau. This he carried, together with the town, which the enemy haſtily abandoned. Part of their detachment croſſed the river in boats; the reſt threw themſelves into an intrenchment that covered the paſſage, which the allies endeavoured to force in ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, galled as they were by the fire of the enemy's redoubts on the other ſide of the river. At length M. Breidenbach was obliged to deſiſt and retire into the town, from whence he withdrew at midnight, after having ſuſtained conſiderable damage.

Prince Ferdinand had it very much at heart to drive the French from Gottingen, and accordingly inveſted that city; but the French garriſon, which was numerous and well provided, made ſuch a vigorous reſiſtance, as baffled all the attempts of the allies, who were moreover incommoded by the rainy

rainy weather, which, added to other conſiderations, prevented them from undertaking the ſiege in form. Nevertheleſs, they kept the place blocked up from the twenty-ſecond day of November to the twelfth of the following month, when the garriſon, in a deſperate ſally, took one of their principal poſts, and compelled them to abandon the enterprize. About the middle of December, prince Ferdinand withdrew into winter quarters, he himſelf reſiding at Uſlar, and the Engliſh troops being cantoned in the biſhopric of Paderborn. Thus the enemy were left in poſſeſſion of Heſſe, and the whole country eaſtward of the Weſer to the frontiers of the electorate of Hanover.

The king of Pruſſia, after all his labours, notwithſtanding the great talents he had diſplayed, and the incredible efforts he had made, ſtill found himſelf environed by his enemies, and in danger of being cruſhed, by their cloſing and contracting their circle. Even the Swedes, who had languiſhed ſo long, ſeemed to be rouſed to action in Pomerania, during the ſeverity of the winter-ſeaſon. The Pruſſian general Manteuffel had, on the twentieth day of January, croſſed the river Peene, repulſed the advanced poſts of the enemy at Ziethen, and penetrated as far as the neighbourhood of Grieſſwalde; but finding the Swedes on their guard, he returned to Anclam, where his head quarters were eſtabliſhed. This inſult was ſoon retaliated with intereſt. On the twenty-eighth day of the month, at five in the morning, a body of Swedes attacked the Pruſſian troops poſted in the ſuburbs of Anclam, on the other ſide of the Peene, and drove them into the city, which they entered pell mell. General Manteuffel, being alarmed, endeavoured to rally the troops, but was wounded and taken, with about two hundred men and three pieces of cannon. The victors, having performed this exploit, returned to their own quarters. As for the Ruſſian army, which had wintered on the other ſide of the Viſtula, the ſeaſon was pretty far advanced before it could take the field; though general Tottleben was detached from it about the beginning of June, at the head of ten thouſand Coſſacks, and other light troops, with which he made an inroad into Pomerania, and fixed his head quarters at Belgard.

At the beginning of the campaign the king of Pruſſia's chief aim was to take meaſures for the defence of Sileſia, the conqueſt of which ſeemed to be the principal object which the court of Vienna had in view. While the Auſtrian army under count Daun lay ſtrongly intrenched in the neighbourhood of Dreſden, the king of Pruſſia had attempted, in the month of December, to make him quit that advantageous ſituation, by cutting off his proviſions, and making an incurſion into Bohemia. For theſe purpoſes he had taken poſſeſſion of Dippeſwalde, Maxen, and Pretchendorff, as if he intended to enter Bohemia by the way of Paſsberg; but this ſcheme being found impracticable, he returned to his camp at Freyberg; and in January the Pruſſian and Auſtrian armies were cantoned ſo near each other that daily ſkirmiſhes were fought with various ſucceſs. The head of the Pruſſian camp was occupied by a body of four thouſand men under general Zettwitz, who, upon the twenty-ninth day of January was attacked with ſuch irreſiſtible fury by the Auſtrian general Beck, that he retreated in great confuſion to Torgau, with the loſs of five hundred men, eight pieces of artillery, and a conſiderable quantity of new cloathing, and other baggage.

Another advantage of the ſame nature was gained by the Auſtrians at Newſtadt over a ſmall body of Pruſſians who guarded that city. In the month of march general Laudohn advanced with a ſtrong detachment of horſe and foot, in order to ſurpriſe the Pruſſians, who, in endeavouring to accompliſh a retreat to Steinau, were ſurrounded accordingly, and very roughly handled. General Laudohn ſummoned them twice by ſound of trumpet to lay down their arms; but their commanders, the captains Blumenthal and Zittzwitz, rejecting the propoſal with diſdain, the enemy attacked them on all hands with a great ſuperiority of number. In this emergency the Pruſſian captains formed their troops into a ſquare, and by a cloſe continued fire kept the enemy at bay; until, perceiving that the Croats had taken poſſeſſion of a wood between Siebenhauſen and Steinau, they, in apprehenſion of being intercepted, abandoned their baggage, and forced their way to Steinau, which they reached with great difficulty, having been continually harraſſed by the Auſtrians, who paid dear for this advantage. Several other petty exploits of this kind were atchieved by detachments on both ſides, before the campaign was opened by the grand armies.

Towards the end of April, the king of Pruſſia altered his poſition, and withdrew that part of his chain of cantonments, which extended from the foreſt of Thurundt to the right of the Elbe. He now took poſſeſſion of a very ſtrong camp, between the Elbe and the Mulda, which he intrenched in every part that was acceſſible, and fortified with two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. By theſe precautions he was enabled to keep his ground againſt the army of count Daun, and at the ſame time detach a body of troops as a reinforcement to his brother prince Henry, who collected a ſeparate army near Franckfort upon the Oder, that he might be at hand either to oppoſe the Ruſſians, or march to the relief of Sileſia, which the enemy was bent upon invading. It was for this purpoſe that the Auſtrian general Laudohn advanced with a conſiderable army into Luſatia, about the beginning of May, and general Beck with another body of troops took poſſeſſion of Cotbus. Mean while count Daun continued in his old ſituation on the Elbe; general Lacy commanded a ſmall detached army upon the frontiers of Saxony, to the ſouthward of Dreſden; and the prince de Deux-ponts marched into the ſame neighbourhood with the army of the empire.

Prince Henry of Pruſſia having encamped with his army for ſome time at Sagan in Sileſia, proceeded from thence to Gorlitz in Luſatia, to watch the motions of general Laudohn, encamped at Koningſgratz; from whence, in the beginning of June, he marched into the county of Glatz, and advanced to the neighbourhood of Schweidnitz, which he ſeemed determined to beſiege, having a train of eighty pieces of cannon. In order to diſappoint his deſign, prince Henry reinforced the body of troops under general Fouquet; and at the ſame time ſent a detachment into Pomerania under colonel Leſſow, who defeated the rear-guard of

B A L T I C S E A
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
D: OF HOLSTEIN
Gulf of Lubeck
Femeren I.
German Miles
British Statute Miles
Wismar
to Sweden
D: OF MECKLENBURG
Rostock
Lubeck
Hamburg
Bremen
Ferden
D: OF BREMEN
DUC: OF LUNENBURG
SAXE Lawenburg
Lunenburg
Gyfhorn
Brunswick
HANOVER
WESTPHALIA
SAXONY
Elbe R.
Longit. E. from London
An Accurate MAP of the NORTHERN PART of LOWER SAXONY: Drawn from the best Authorities.

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general Tottleben, and obliged that officer to abandon Pomerania. By this time, however, the mareſchal Soltikoff had arrived from Peterſbourg, and taken the command of the grand Ruſſian army, which paſſed the Viſtula in June, and began its march towards the frontiers of Sileſia.

In the month of June general Laudohn made a fruitleſs attempt to carry Glatz by aſſault; but he was more ſucceſsful in his next enterprize. Underſtanding that general Fouquet, who occupied the poſt at Landſhut, had weakened himſelf by ſending off detachments under the major-generals Ziethen and Grant, he reſolved to attack him with ſuch a ſuperiority of number as he ſhould not be able to withſtand. Accordingly, on the twenty-third day of June, at two in the morning, he began the aſſault with his whole army upon ſome redoubts which Fouquet poſſeſſed; and theſe were carried one after another, though not without a deſperate oppoſition. General Fouquet being ſummoned to ſurrender, refuſed to ſubmit; and having received two wounds, was at length taken priſoner: about three hundred of his men eſcaped to Breſlau; the reſt were killed or taken; but the loſs of the victors conſiderably exceeded that of the vanquiſhed. In July general Laudohn undertook the ſiege of Glatz, which was taken after a very faint reſiſtance; for, on the very day that the batteries were opened againſt the place, the garriſon abandoned part of the fortifications, which the beſiegers immediately occupied. The Pruſſians made repeated efforts to regain the ground they had loſt, but they were repulſed in all their attempts. At length the garriſon laid down their arms, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. In this place the enemy found an immenſe magazine, including above one hundred braſs cannon, a great number of mortars, and a vaſt quantity of ammunition.

Laudohn, encouraged by the reduction of Glatz, advanced immediately to Breſlau, which he began to bombard with great fury; but his chief hopes of ſucceſs conſiſted in carrying the place by a ſudden attack, or intimidating count Tavenzein the governor into an immediate ſurrender; for he knew the Ruſſian army was at a conſiderable diſtance, and judged, from the character of prince Henry of Pruſſia, that he would advance to the relief of the place long before it could be taken according to the uſual forms.

Influenced by theſe conſiderations, when he had inveſted the town, he ſent a letter to the governor, ſpecifying, that his army conſiſted of fifty battalions and fourſcore ſquadrons; that the Ruſſian army, amounting to ſeventy-five thouſand men, was within three days march of Breſlau; that no ſuccour could be expected from the king of Pruſſia, encamped as he was on the other ſide of the Elbe, and overawed by the army of count Daun; that prince Henry, far from being in a condition to bring relief, would not not be able to ſtand his ground againſt the Ruſſians; that Breſlau being an open mercantile town, not a fortreſs, could not be defended without contravening the eſtabliſhed rules of war; and therefore the governor, in caſe of obſtinacy, had no reaſon to expect an honourable capitulation, the benefit of which was now offered. He at the ſame time ſent a memorial to the civil magiſtrates, threatening their town with deſtruction, which could by no other means be prevented than by joining with the inhabitants in perſuading the governor to embrace immediately the terms that were propoſed.

Count Tavenzein, inſtead of being intimidated, was encouraged by theſe menaces, which implied an apprehenſion in Laudohn that the place would be relieved. He therefore replied to the ſummons he had received, that Breſlau was not ſimply a mercantile town, but ought to be conſidered as a place of ſtrength, as being ſurrounded with works and wet ditches: that the Auſtrians themſelves had defended it as ſuch after the battle of Liſſa, in the year 1757; that the king his maſter having commanded him to defend the place to the laſt extremity, he could neither comply with general Laudohn's propoſals, nor pay the leaſt regard to his threats of deſtroying the town, as he had not been intruſted with the care of the houſes, but with the defence of the fortifications. The Auſtrian convinced him that ſame evening that he threatened nothing but what he meaned to perform. He opened his batteries, and poured in upon the town a moſt terrible ſhower of bombs and red hot bullets, which continued till midnight. During this dreadful diſcharge, which filled the place with horror and deſolation, he attempted the out-works by aſſault. The Croats attacked the covered way in different places with their uſual impetuoſity; but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs, by the conduct and reſolution of the governor and garriſon. Theſe proceedings having made no impreſſion upon Tavenzein, the beſieging general had recourſe again to negociation, and offered the moſt flattering articles of capitulation, which were rejected with diſdain. The governor gave him to underſtand, that the deſtruction of the town had made no change in his reſolution, though it was a practice contrary to the law of arms, as well as to the dictates of common humanity, to begin the ſiege of a fortreſs by ruining the inhabitants: finally, he aſſured him he would wait for him upon the ramparts, and defend the place to the utmoſt of his power.

To this extremity, however, he was not obliged to have recourſe. Prince Henry of Pruſſia, one of the moſt accompliſhed generals of the age, having received repeated intelligence that the Ruſſian army intended to join Laudohn at Breſlau, determined to advance, and give them battle before the purpoſed junction. In the latter end of July he ſet out from Gleiſſen, and on the laſt day of that month had arrived at Linden near Slauve, where he learned that Tottleben's detachment only had paſſed through the plains of Polnich-Liſſa, and that the grand Ruſſian army had marched through Koſten and Guſtin. The prince, finding it impoſſible to overtake them by that route, directed his march to Glogau, where he heard that Breſlau was beſieged by general Laudohn, and immediately advanced by forced marches to its relief. With ſuch celerity did he proceed, that in five days he marched above one hundred and twenty Engliſh miles, and at his approach the Auſtrian general relinquiſhed his enterprize. Thus, by his ſpirited and prudent conduct, he not only prevented the junction of the Ruſſian and Auſtrian armies, but alſo ſaved the capital of Sileſia, and ſtreightened Laudohn in ſuch a manner as ſubjected him to a defeat by the Pruſſian monarch, to whoſe motions it is now time to attend.

Whether his design was originally upon Dresden, or he proposed to act in concert with his brother prince Henry in Silesia, which his adversaries seemed to have chosen as the scene of their operations, we shall not pretend to determine: certain it is, in the beginning of July he began his march in two columns through Lusatia; and count Daun being apprised of his march, ordered his army to be put in motion. Committing the defence of Saxony to the army of the empire, and to the body of the troops under Lacy, he proceeded with great expedition towards Silesia, in full persuasion that the Prussian monarch had thither directed his route. On the seventh day of July the king, knowing that Daun was now removed at a distance, repassed the Pulsnitz, which he had crossed but two days before, and advanced with the van of his army towards Lichtenberg, in order to attack the forces of general Lacy, who was there encamped; but the Austrian retired at his approach. Then the army advanced to Marienstern, when the king understood that count Daun was in full march for Lauban, having already gained two marches upon the Prussians. Perhaps it was this intimation that induced the king to alter his plan, and return to the Elbe. On the eighth day of the month he repassed the Sprehe, in the neighbourhood of Bautzen, and proceeded towards Dresden with extraordinary diligence. On the thirteenth his army having passed the Elbe at Kadetz, on a bridge of boats, took post between Pirna and Dresden, which last he determined to besiege, in hope of reducing it before count Daun could return to its relief. In this expectation, however, he had the misfortune to be disappointed. General Macguire the governor being summoned to surrender, replied, that having the honour to be intrusted with the defence of the capital, he would maintain it till the last extremity. Batteries were immediately erected against the town on both sides of the Elbe, and the place overwhelmed with a dreadful bombardment; but this expedient proved altogether ineffectual. Though the suburbs towards the Pirna gate were attacked and carried, this advantage made no impression on general Macguire, who made several vigorous sallies, and took every necessary precaution for the defence of the city; encouraged moreover by the vicinity of Lacy's body and the army of the empire, encamped in an advantageous situation near Gros Seydlitz; and confident that count Daun would hasten to his relief: nor was it long before his expectations were answered. The Austrian general finding himself outwitted by the stratagem of the Prussian monarch, and being informed of his enterprize against Dresden, instantly wheeled about, and marched back with such rapidity, that on the nineteenth day of the month he arrived in the neighbourhood of that capital. In consequence of his approach, the king of Prussia, whose heavy artillery was now come up, redoubled his efforts against the city, so as to reduce to ashes the cathedral church, the new square, several noble streets, some palaces, together with the curious manufactory of porcelaine. These calamities, however, affected neither the fortifications nor the garrison, which count Daun found means to reinforce with sixteen battalions. This supply, and the neighbourhood of three hostile armies, rendered it altogether impossible to prosecute the siege with any prospect of success: the king therefore relinquished the enterprize, withdrew his troops and artillery, and endeavoured to bring Daun to a battle, which that general artfully declined.

The fate of this prince seemed now at its crisis. Notwithstanding all the efforts of his brother prince Henry, the Russians were fast advancing to join Laudohn, who had already blocked up Schweidnitz and Neiss, and their junction seemed to threaten the loss of all Silesia. The king had nothing to oppose to superior numbers, but superior activity, of which he determined to avail himself without delay. Instead of making a feint towards Silesia, he resolved to march thither in earnest; and with that view passing the Elbe, encamped at Dallwitz, on the farther bank of the river, leaving general Hulsen with fifteen thousand men in the intrenched camp at Schlettow, to preserve his footing in Saxony. On the third day of August he began his march for Silesia, followed by count Daun with the grand Austrian army, while the detached body under Lacy took post at Rechenberg, and the imperial army encamped at Xesseldorf. Both the Prussians and Austrians marched at the rate of one hundred miles in five days. On the tenth the king took possession of the camp of Lignitz; and here he seemed in danger of being quite environed by the enemy, who occupied the whole ground between Parchwitz and Cossendau, an extent of thirty miles. Count Daun's army lay in the center of this chain, possessing the Heights of Whalstadt and Hochkirk; general Laudohn covered the ground between Jeschendorf and Coschitz: the rising grounds of Parchwitz were secured by general Nauendorff; and M. de Beck, who formed the left, extended his troops beyond Cossendau.

The king marched, in the night of the eleventh, with a view to turn the enemy, and advance to Jauer: but at break of day he discovered a new camp at Prausnitz, which consisted of Lacy's detachment, just arrived from Lauban. The Prussians immediately crossed the Katzbach to attack this general; but he made such a skilful disposition for a retreat towards the army of count Daun, that he not only baffled the attempts of the king to bring him to action, but, by posting himself on the Heights of Hennersdorff, prevented his march to Jauer. In vain did the Prussian monarch endeavour next day to turn the enemy on the side of the mountain, by Pomsen and Jagersdorff; the roads were found impassable to the ammunition-waggons, and the king returned to the camp at Lignitz.

While he remained in this situation, he received intelligence that twenty-four thousand Russians, under count Czernichew, had formed bridges over the Oder at Auras, where they proposed to pass that river, and he imagined the enemy had conceived a design to close him in, and attack him with their joint forces. Daun had indeed projected a plan for surprising him in the night, and had actually put his army in motion for that purpose; but he was anticipated by the vigilance and good fortune of the Prussian monarch. That prince, reflecting that if he should wait for his adversaries in his camp, he ran the risque of being attacked at the same time by Lacy on his right, by Daun in his front, and by Laudohn on his left, he changed his position, in order to disconcert their operations;

operations; and on the fourteenth day of the month proceeded to the Heights of Pfaffendorff, where he drew up his army in order of battle. Being informed, about two in the morning, that Laudohn was in full march, advancing in columns, by Benowitz, he divided his army into two ſeparate bodies. One of theſe continued on the ground, in order to defend the poſt againſt any attempts that might be made by count Daun to aſſiſt Laudohn; and that this ſervice might be the more effectually performed, the Heights were fortified with batteries, ſo judiciouſly diſpoſed as to check and overawe the whole Auſtrian army.

The king having taken this precaution, wheeled about with ſixteen battalions and thirty ſquadrons, to attack Laudohn as he ſhould advance; but that general knew nothing of his deſign, until he himſelf arrived at the village of Pfaffendorff about three in the morning, when the day dawning, and a thick fog gradually diſperſing, the whole detachment of the Pruſſian army appeared in order of battle, in a well choſen ſituation, ſtrengthened with a numerous train of artillery, placed to the beſt advantage. Laudohn was equally mortified and ſurprized to find himſelf caught in his own ſnare; but he had advanced too far to recede, and therefore making a virtue of neceſſity, determined to ſtand an engagement. With this view he formed his troops as well as the time, place, and circumſtances would permit; and the Pruſſians advancing to the attack, a ſevere action enſued. The king rode along the lines to animate the troops, and ſuperintended every part of the charge, hazarding his life in the moſt dangerous ſcenes of the battle to ſuch a degree, that his horſe was killed under him, and his cloaths were ſhot through in ſeveral places. The Auſtrians maintained the conflict with great obſtinacy until ſix in the morning, when they gave way, and were purſued to the Katzbach, beyond which the king would not allow his troops to proſecute the advantage they had gained, that they might be at hand to ſuccour the right, in caſe mareſchal count Daun ſhould ſucceed in his attempt to advance againſt them from Lignitz. That general had actually begun his march to attack the Pruſſians on one ſide, while Laudohn ſhould charge them on the other; but he was not a little ſurpriſed to find they were decamped; and when he perceived a thick cloud of ſmoke at a diſtance, he immediately comprehended the nature of the king's manœuvre. He then endeavoured to advance by Lignitz; but the troops and artillery which had been left on the Height of Pfaffendorff, to oppoſe his march, were ſo advantageouſly poſted as to render all his attempts ineffectual. Laudohn is ſaid to have loſt in the action about eight thouſand men, killed, wounded, and taken, including eighty-four officers, with twenty-three pair of colours, and eighty-two pieces of cannon; and this loſs was greatly increaſed by the deſertion with which it was followed. The Pruſſians obtained the victory at the expence of one general, with five hundred men killed, and twelve hundred wounded. Immediately after the action the king proceeded to Parchwitz; while Daun detached prince Lowenſtein and general Beck, with the reſerve of his army, to join prince Czernichew, who had paſſed the Oder at Auras; but he was ſo thunderſtruck by the defeat at Lignitz, that he forthwith repaſſed the river, and prince Lowenſtein retreated on the ſide of Jauer. By this bold and well-conducted adventure, the Pruſſian monarch not only eſcaped the moſt imminent hazard of a total defeat from the joint efforts of two ſtrong armies, but alſo prevented the dreadful junction of the Ruſſian and Auſtrian forces.

His buſineſs now was to open the communication with Breſlau and his brother prince Henry, whom he joined at Newmarcke. The prince, after Laudohn was compelled to abandon the ſiege of Breſlau, had narrowly watched the motions of the Ruſſian army, which had advanced into the neighbourhood of that city, and without all doubt would have bombarded it from ſome commanding heights, had not they been prevented by prince Henry, who took poſſeſſion of theſe poſts, and fortified them with redoubts. The king having delivered Breſlau from the neighbourhood of his enemies, and being reinforced by his brother's army, left a conſiderable detachment under the command of general Goltze, to ſecure the country againſt the Ruſſian irregulars, and advanced with his whole force to the relief of Schweidnitz, which was blocked up by the Auſtrian army under the command of the mareſchal count Daun. In his march he attacked a ſeparate body under general Beck, made two battalions of Croats priſoners, and diſperſed ſeveral ſquadrons. This atchievement had ſuch an effect upon the enemy, that they raiſed the blockade, and retreated with ſome precipitation to the mountains of Landſhut.

While the king exerted himſelf with ſo much ſpirit and ſucceſs, in the defence of Sileſia, general Hulſen, who commanded his troops in Saxony, was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. Being informed that the army of the empire had laid a plan for cutting off his communication with Torgau, he inſtantly decamped from Meiſſen, and marched to Strehla. The enemy having divided their forces into two bodies, one of them, on the twentieth day of Auguſt, attacked an advanced poſt of the Pruſſians; while the other was diſpoſed in ſuch a manner as to overawe Hulſen's camp, and prevent him from taking any ſtep for the relief of his battalions, who maintained their ground with difficulty againſt the ſuperior number of the aſſailants. In this emergency the Pruſſian general ordered his cavalry to take a circuit round a riſing ground, and if poſſible attack the enemy in flank. This order was executed with equal vigor and ſucceſs. They ruſhed upon the imperial army with ſuch impetuoſity, as drove their battalions and horſe upon each other in the utmoſt confuſion. A conſiderable number of the enemy were killed, and forty-one officers, with twelve hundred men, made priſoners. By this advantage, which was gained at a very ſmall expence, general Hulſen opened for himſelf a way to Torgau, whither he inſtantly retreated, obſerving that the whole army of the imperialiſts was advancing to cut off his communication with the Elbe; and this retreat furniſhed the enemy with a pretext for claiming the victory.

After all theſe heroic exploits of the Pruſſian monarch and his officers, his affairs continued in ſuch a deſperate ſituation as ſeemed to forebode approaching ruin: for though in perſon he commanded a numerous and gallant army, he found it abſolutely impoſſible to guard againſt the diffe-

rent detachments from the three ſeparate armies of his adverſaries. Bodies of Auſtrian troops ſcoured the country of Luſatia; the Ruſſians traverſed part of Sileſia, and made incurſions even into Brandenburg; the imperial army domineered in Saxony; the Swediſh army meeting with no reſiſtance, advanced into the heart of Pomerania; ſo that the king was not only threatened on every ſide, but all correſpondence between him and his hereditary dominions was at this juncture cut off.

His enemies having been hitherto baffled by his activity and ſpirit, in their deſigns upon Sileſia, now projected a ſcheme, the execution of which he could not but feel in the moſt ſenſible manner. The Ruſſian army being on its retreat from Sileſia, count Czernichew was ſent with a ſtrong detachment into the Marche of Brandenburg, while a numerous body of Auſtrians, under the generals Lacy and Brentano, penetrated into the ſame country from Saxony, with inſtructions to join the Ruſſians at the gates of Berlin. The Pruſſian general Hulſen, finding himſelf unable to cope with the army of the empire in Miſnia, had retired towards this capital, where he was joined by the troops under general Werner, lately returned from Pomerania: but as their forces after this junction did not amount to above fifteen thouſand men, and the allies advancing againſt them conſiſted of no leſs than forty thouſand, they would not pretend to oppoſe the enemy in the open field, nor to defend a city of ſuch extent, and ſo imperfectly fortified. Such an attempt would have not only expoſed their troops to ruin, without being able to ſave the capital; but would have likewiſe ſubjected the place to more ſevere treatment, in conſequence of their oppoſition. They therefore determined to retire, after having repulſed the advanced guard of the Ruſſians under Tottleben, which attacked the gates, and even bombarded the town, before the great armies appeared.

At their approach the Pruſſian generals retreated, leaving three weak battalions in the place, in order to enable it to obtain ſome ſort of conditions from the enemy. Nevertheleſs they made no reſiſtance; but on the firſt ſummons propoſed articles of capitulation, which being rejected, they ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. The foreign miniſters, however, reſiding at Berlin, employed their good offices with ſuch zeal and ſucceſs, that tolerable terms were procured. The inhabitants were indulged with the free exerciſe of their religion, and an immunity from violence to their perſons and effects. The enemy promiſed that the Ruſſian irregulars ſhould not be touched. Theſe articles being ratified, the Auſtrian and Ruſſian troops entered the place, where they totally deſtroyed the magazines, arſenals, and founderies, with an immenſe quantity of military ſtores, and a great number of cannon and ſmall arms: then they demanded the immediate payment of eight hundred thouſand guilders, and afterwards exacted a contribution of one million nine hundred thouſand German crowns. Many outrages were committed by the licentious ſoldiery, in ſpite of all the precautions which the officers could take to preſerve the moſt exact diſcipline. The houſes of the private inhabitants were tolerably ſecured; but the king's palaces were ravaged with the moſt ſhocking barbarity. In the royal palace of Charlottenburg they pillaged and ſpoiled the rich furniture; they defaced and mutilated the valuable pictures and antique ſtatues, collected by cardinal de Polignac, and purchaſed by the family of Brandenburg. The caſtle of Schonhauſen belonging to the queen, and that of Fredericksfeld the property of the margrave Charles, were robbed of effects to an immenſe value. The palace of Potſdam was effectually preſerved by prince Eſterhaſi, who would not ſuffer one article of furniture or ornament to be touched; but deſired leave to take one picture of the king, and two of his German flutes, that he might keep them, he ſaid, as memorials of an illuſtrious prince, whoſe character he admired, whilſt he fought againſt his arms. The Auſtrian and Ruſſian troops entered Berlin on the ninth day of October, and quitted it on the thirteenth, on hearing that the king was advancing with great ſpeed to the relief of his capital. In their retreat, by different routes from Brandenburg, they drove away all the cattle and horſes they could find, ravaged the country, plundered the inhabitants, and committed many brutal outrages, which no pretence of retaliation could juſtify or excuſe.

The body of Ruſſians which entered Berlin, proceeded from thence into Poland, by the way of Furſtenwalde, while the Auſtrians directed their march towards Saxony, from whence they had advanced into Brandenburg. Mean while the town of Wirtemberg, in that electorate, was ſubdued by the duke de Deux Ponts, commander of the imperial army, which, in conjunction with the Auſtrians, reduced likewiſe the towns of Torgau and Leipſic.

The king of Pruſſia, in his way through Luſatia, was ſtill watched by count Daun at the head of his grand army, and both croſſed the Elbe about the latter end of October. His majeſty paſſed the river at Coſwick, where he was joined by the troops under prince Eugene of Wirtemberg and general Hulſen; ſo that his army was now augmented to eighty thouſand fighting men, with whom he determined to ſtrike ſome ſtroke of importance. Indeed he was at this time under a neceſſity of embracing ſome ſuch expedient. General Laudohn, with a conſiderable body of Auſtrians, continued in Sileſia; the Ruſſian army ſtill threatened Breſlau, the capital of that country. The Imperialiſts and Auſtrians had made themſelves maſters of all the great towns in Saxony, and abſolutely commanded on both ſides of the Elbe. In the eaſtern part of Pomerania the Ruſſians had blockaded Colberg by ſea and land, ſeemingly determined to reduce the place, that they might have a ſea-port, by which they could be furniſhed with proviſion, ammunition, neceſſaries, and reinforcements, without the trouble and inconvenience of a long and laborious march from the banks of the Viſtula.

On the weſtern ſide of Pomerania the war, which had hitherto languiſhed, was renewed by the Swedes with uncommon vigour. They croſſed the river Pene without oppoſition; and compelling general Stullerheim to retire, advanced as far as Stranſberg. That officer, however, having received a reinforcement, attacked a Swediſh poſt at Paſſelvalik, killed about five hundred of the enemy, and took an equal number, with ſix pieces of cannon; but he was not ſtrong enough to maintain his ground againſt their whole army.

Thus the Pruſſian monarch ſaw himſelf conſtrained to abandon Sileſia, deprived of all the places he held in Saxony, which had been his beſt reſource; and in danger of being driven into his hereditary country of Brandenburg, which was unable either to ſupport, or even recruit his army.

In this emergency he reſolved to make one deſperate effort againſt the grand Auſtrian army, under count Daun, who had paſſed the Elbe at Torgau, and advanced to Eulenburg, from whence, however, he retreated to his former camp at Torgau, while the king choſe his ſituation between this laſt place and Schilda. His majeſty was fully ſenſible of the ſtrength, the advantageous poſture, and the precautions of mareſchal Daun: he could have no hope of drawing that wary commander from his poſt; and yet he ſaw a neceſſity of fighting him even there. The winter was far advanced. His troops were extremely exhauſted by long and rapid marches; he had no place for their winter-quarters but his own country, already waſted by the enemy's incurſions; and here ſtreightened for ſubſiſtence, cut off from all power of recruiting, he was to expect to be attacked, as it were, in a narrow corner, by the combined force of ſo many powerful and exaſperated enemies.

In theſe circumſtances he was reſolved to come to a battle. He cauſed his army to be informed, that he led them to a moſt deſperate attempt; that his affairs required it; and that he was determined to conquer or die in the enſuing engagement. They unanimouſly anſwered that they would die along with him.

Animated by this declaration, he began his march on the third day of November; and having taken a reſolution as daring as could be dictated by deſpair, he made all the diſpoſitions with as much ſkill and foreſight as could be ſuggeſted by the moſt guarded prudence. He divided his army into three columns. General Hulſen, with one, was to take the poſt that lay on the left of the Auſtrian army, and had orders not to move until he found the reſt of the Pruſſians engaged. General Ziethen was to charge on the right: the great attack in front was to be made by the king in perſon. His majeſty had diſpoſed his force in ſuch a manner, that either his right or left muſt take the enemy in rear, and cloſe them in, ſo as to diſable them from undertaking any thing againſt that part where he intended to effect his principal attack.

M. Daun no ſooner perceived that the king of Pruſſia was ſerious in his reſolution of fighting, than, in order to prevent confuſion, he ſent all his baggage over the Elbe, acroſs which he threw three bridges, to be ready in caſe a retreat ſhould be found neceſſary. At the ſame time he cauſed Torgau to be evacuated; and then extending his left line to a village called Zinne on the left, he ſtretched it to another called Groſwitz on the right, ſupporting the right of his ſecond line upon the Elbe.

In this diſpoſition he was found, when, about two in the afternoon, the king began his attack, and was received with the fire of two hundred pieces of cannon, which were planted along the Auſtrian front. Three times did the Pruſſians advance to the charge with incredible courage and reſolution; and three times were they repulſed and broken with the moſt terrible ſlaughter. The king at length ordered a freſh body of his cavalry to advance, which at firſt compelled the Auſtrians to give way: but as freſh reinforcements were continually poured upon that part, this body was in its turn obliged to fall back; and the battle ſtill remained at leaſt doubtful, if not rather inclined againſt the king of Pruſſia, whoſe troops, as they had made the moſt aſtoniſhing efforts, ſo had they ſuffered beyond all deſcription. But whilſt the Pruſſians ſuſtained themſelves in that quarter with invincible perſeverance, general Ziethen, with the right wing, took the enemy in rear, repulſed them, and poſſeſſed himſelf of ſome eminences, which commanded the whole Auſtrian army. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the Pruſſian infantry once more advanced, forced ſeveral of the enemy's intrenchments, and made way for a new attack of their cavalry, which broke in with irreſiſtible impetuoſity upon the Auſtrians, and threw ſeveral bodies of them into irreparable diſorder. It was now about nine o'clock; the two armies were involved in pitchy darkneſs; yet the fire continued without intermiſſion, and the battalions, with a blind rage, diſcharged at each other, without diſtinguiſhing friend from foe.

M. Daun did every thing in the diſpoſition and the action that could be expected from his high character; but he was obliged to yield to the miraculous fortune of the king of Pruſſia. He received a dangerous wound in the thigh, and was carried from the field; a circumſtance that, in all probability, diſheartened the troops and haſtened the defeat. The command then fell to the count O'Donnel, who finding a great part of his troops in confuſion, the night advanced, and the enemy poſſeſſed of eminences which commanded his camp, and of which it was in vain to think of diſpoſſeſſing them, ordered a retreat, which was conducted in this darkneſs and acroſs the Elbe with wonderful regularity: none were loſt in paſſing the bridges, and far the greater part of their artillery was preſerved. The Pruſſians remained maſters of this well fought and bloody field. The darkneſs hindered them from moleſting the enemy's retreat, or improving their victory, which they bought at the expence of ten thouſand men killed and wounded, and about fifteen hundred priſoners. But, even with this loſs, the advantage was well purchaſed; it was a neceſſary and a glorious victory; it reeſtabliſhed the reputation of their arms; it ſecured their winter-quarters; and put them once more in poſſeſſion of a great part of Saxony.

Of all the king of Pruſſia's battles this was probably the moſt important; and it was that in the conduct of which he diſcovered the greateſt ſkill, intrepidity, and perſeverance. His troops behaved with a firmneſs which would have done honour to thoſe whom he formerly led into Bohemia. In this action, where they were to ſurmount every obſtacle, and encounter every difficulty and danger in order to attack an army of eighty thouſand Auſtrians, under ſuch an accompliſhed commander as M. Daun, their number did not amount to above fifty thouſand men.

The loſs of the Auſtrians was very great, though the number of killed and wounded was never exactly aſcertained. Probably it did not much, if at all, exceed the loſs on the ſide of the victorious army; but the priſoners were far more numerous;

two hundred and ſixteen officers were taken, among whom were four generals, together with eight thouſand of the common men. The king in this battle, in which he every moment expoſed his life to the greateſt dangers, received a ſlight contuſion in his breaſt by a muſket-ſhot.

The Swedes, having advanced a good way into Pomerania, returned again to their winter-quarters at Stralſund; and the Ruſſian generals fell back once more towards the Viſtula: ſo that the confederates gained little elſe in the courſe of this campaign, but the contributions which they levied in Berlin, and the open country of Brandenburg.

The diet of Poland being convoked in the beginning of October, the king confidently expected they would take ſome reſolution in his favour; but the nobles wiſely adhered to their former maxims of a neutrality: and one of the deputies proteſting againſt holding a diet while there were foreign troops in the kingdom, the aſſembly broke up in a tumultuous manner, even before they had choſen a mareſchal.

The diet of Sweden, which met about the ſame period, ſeemed determined to proceed upon buſineſs. They elected count Axel Ferſon their grand mareſchal, in oppoſition to count Horn, by a great majority; which was an unlucky circumſtance for the Pruſſian intereſt at Stockholm, inaſmuch as the ſame majority obſtinately perſiſted in opinion that the war ſhould be carried on in the ſpring with redoubled vigour, and the army in Germany augmented to the number of at leaſt thirty thouſand fighting men.

This unfavourable circumſtance made but little impreſſion upon the Pruſſian monarch, who had maintained his ground with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs ſince the beginning of the campaign, and now enjoyed in proſpect the benefit of winter, which he is ſaid to have termed his beſt auxiliary.

The animoſity which prevailed between the contending parties was not confined to the operations of war; it broke out likewiſe in printed declarations, which the belligerant powers diſperſed all over Europe. In the beginning of the ſeaſon the ſtates of the circle of Weſtphalia had been required by the imperial court to furniſh their contingent of troops againſt the king of Pruſſia, or to commute for this contingent with a ſum of money. In conſequence of this demand, ſome of the Weſtphalian eſtates had ſent deputies to confer with the aſſembly of the circle of Cologne; and to theſe the king ſignified by a declaration dated at Munſter, that as this demand of money, inſtead of troops, was not leſs extraordinary than contrary to the conſtitutions of the empire, ſhould they comply with it, or even continue to aſſiſt his enemies either with troops or money, he would conſider them as having actually taken part in the war againſt him and his allies, and treat them accordingly on all occaſions.

This intimation, however, ſeems to have been but little regarded. The duke of Mecklenbourg adhered to the oppoſite cauſe; and the elector of Cologne co-operated with the French in their deſigns againſt Hanover. By way of retaliation for this partiality, the Pruſſians ravaged the country of Mecklenbourg, and the Hanoverians raiſed contributions in the territories of Cologne. The parties thus aggrieved had recourſe to complaints and remonſtrances. The duke's envoy at Ratiſbon delivered a reſcript to the imperial miniſters, repreſenting, that the Pruſſian troops under general Werner and colonel de Belling had oppreſſed his country in the autumn with grievous extortions; that afterwards prince Eugene of Wirtembourg, in the ſervice of Pruſſia, had demanded an exorbitant quantity of proviſions, with ſome millions of money, and a great number of recruits; or, in lieu of theſe, that the duke's forces ſhould act under the Pruſſian banner. He therefore declared, that as the country of Mecklenbourg was impoveriſhed and almoſt depopulated by theſe oppreſſions, the duke would find himſelf obliged to take meaſures for the future ſecurity of his ſubjects, if not immediately favoured with ſuch aſſiſtance from the court of Vienna as would put a ſtop to thoſe violent proceedings. This declaration was by ſome conſidered as the prelude of his renouncing his engagements with the houſe of Auſtria.

As the imperial court had threatened to put the elector of Hanover under the ban of the empire, on account of the hoſtilities which his troops had committed in the electorate of Cologne, his reſident at Ratiſbon preſented to the miniſters who aſſiſted at the diet, a memorial, importing, that the emperor had no power, ſingly, to ſubject any prince to the ban, or declare him a rebel; and that, by arrogating ſuch a power, he expoſed his authority to the ſame contempt into which the pope's bulls of excommunication were ſo juſtly fallen. With regard to the elector of Cologne, he obſerved, that this prince was the firſt who began hoſtilities, by allowing his troops to act in concert with the French in their invaſions of Hanover, and by celebrating with rejoicings the advantages which they had gained in that electorate: he therefore declared to the ſtates of the empire that the beſt way of protecting their ſubjects from hoſtile treatment, would be a ſtrict obſervation of neutrality in the preſent diſputes of the empire.

This was a ſtrain much more likely to operate upon princes and powers who underſtood and purſued their own intereſt, than was the repetition of complaints, equally pathetic and unavailing, uttered by the unfortunate king of Poland, elector of Saxony. The damage done to his capital by the laſt attempt of the Ruſſians upon that city affected the old king in ſuch a manner, that he publiſhed at Vienna an appeal to all the powers of Europe, againſt the cruel and unprecedented outrages which, he alleged, had been committed by his adverſaries in Saxony. His caſe, it muſt be owned, was truly deplorable; though perhaps, in juſtice, it ought only to be conſidered as the neceſſary conſequence of thoſe dangerous and impolitic engagements which he had originally contracted with the courts of Vienna and Peterſbourg.

With regard to the neutral powers of Europe, they ſtill ſeemed to perſevere in the ſame pacific maxims which they had hitherto purſued. The king of Denmark continued to proſecute thoſe plans which he had ſo wiſely projected for increaſing the wealth, and promoting the happineſs of his ſubjects; nor did he neglect any opportunity of improving natural knowlege, for the benefit of mankind in general. He employed men of ability, at his own expence, to travel into foreign

foreign countries, and collect the most curious productions for the advancement of natural history: he encouraged the liberal and mechanic arts at home, by munificent rewards and peculiar protection: he invited above a thousand foreigners from Germany to become his subjects, and settle in certain districts of Jutland, which had lain waste above three centuries; and they forthwith began to build villages, and cultivate the lands in the dioceses of Wibourg, Arhous, and Ripen: their travelling expences from Altena to their new settlement were defrayed by the king, who moreover maintained them until the produce of the lands could afford a comfortable subsistence. He likewise bestowed upon each colonist a house, a barn, and a stable, with a certain number of horses and cattle. Finally, this generous patriot having visited these new subjects, who received him with unspeakable emotions of joy and affection, he ordered a considerable sum of money to be distributed among them, as an additional mark of his favour. Such conduct in a prince cannot fail to secure the warmest returns of loyalty and attachment from his people; and the execution of such laudable schemes will transmit his name with honour to the latest posterity.

The Dutch, as usual, adhered to their old maxims of prosecuting every branch of commerce, unmoved alike by the insinuations of France or the remonstrances of Great Britain. The violation of the peace by their subjects in Bengal was no sooner known to the court of London than orders were sent to general Yorke, the English ambassador at the Hague, to demand an explanation. He accordingly delivered a memorial to the States-general, importing, that their High Mightinesses must doubtless be greatly astonished to hear, by the public papers, of the irregularities committed by their subjects in the East Indies; but, that they would be much more amazed on perusing the piece annexed to his memorial, containing a minute account, specified with the strictest regard to the truth, of the irregular conduct observed by the Dutch towards the British subjects in the river of Bengal, at a time when the factors and traders of Holland enjoyed all the sweets of peace, and all the advantages of unmolested commerce; at a time when his Britannic majesty, from his great regard to their High Mightinesses, carefully avoided giving the least umbrage to the subjects of the United Provinces: that the king his sovereign was deeply affected by these outrageous doings and mischievous designs of the Dutch in the East Indies, whose aim was to destroy the British settlements in that country; an aim that would have been accomplished, had not the king's victorious arms brought them to reason, and obliged them to sue for an accommodation: that his majesty would willingly believe their High Mightinesses had given no order for proceeding to such extremities, and that the directors of their India company had no share in the transaction; nevertheless he (the ambassador) was ordered to demand signal satisfaction in the name of the king his master; that all who should be found to have shared in the offence, so manifestly tending to the destruction of the English settlements in that country, should be exemplarily punished; and that their High Mightinesses should confirm the stipulations agreed upon, immediately after the action, by the directors of the respective companies; in consideration of which agreement, the Dutch ships were restored, after their commanders acknowleged their fault, in owning themselves the aggressors.

To this remonstrance the States-general replied, that nothing of what was laid to the charge of their subjects, had yet reached their knowlege; but they requested his Britannic majesty to suspend his judgment, until he should be made perfectly acquainted with the grounds of those disputes; and they promised he should have reason to be satisfied with the exemplary punishment that would be inflicted upon all who should be found concerned in violating the peace between the two nations. As a proof of their regard for the king of Great Britain, they at length agreed, after warm disputes, to the proposed match between the princess Caroline, sister to the prince of Orange, and the prince of Nassau Weilbourg, in consequence of which the nuptials were celebrated at the Hague, in the month of March with great magnificence.

Notwithstanding the prospect of a rupture in Italy, no new incident disturbed the tranquility of the southern parts of Europe. The king of Spain, though warmly importuned by the other branch of the house of Bourbon to engage in the war as its ally, refused to interpose in any other way than as a mediator between the courts of London and Versailles. He sent the Conde de Fuentes, a nobleman of high rank and character, in quality of ambassador extraordinary to the king of Great Britain, in order to offer his good offices for effecting a peace; and the Conde, after having conferred with the English ministry, made an excursion to Paris; but his proposal with respect to a cessation of hostilities, if in reality such a proposal was ever made, did not meet with a favourable reception. He found no difficulty, however, in compromising some other differences that subsisted between the two crowns of Great Britain and Spain. His Catholic majesty wisely persisted in the execution of that patriotic plan which he had hitherto pursued with so much steadiness. In the first place, he spared no pains and application to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the state of his kingdom. He remitted to his people all they owed the crown, amounting to threescore millions of reals: he demanded an exact account of his father's debts, that they might be discharged with the utmost punctuality: an order was sent to the treasury, that ten millions of reals should be annually appropriated for this purpose, until the whole should be liquidated; and, to the first year's payment, he added fifty millions, to be divided equally among the legal claimants. He took measures for the vigorous execution of the laws against offenders, encouraged industry, protected commerce, and felt the exquisite pleasure of being beloved as the father of his people. To give importance to his crown, and encrease his influence among the powers of Europe, he fitted out a powerful squadron of ships at Carthagena, and is said to have declared his intention to employ them against Algiers, should the dey refuse to release the slaves of the Spanish nation.

The commotion excited in Portugal by the late conspiracy had not yet entirely subsided. The pope's nuncio was not only forbid the court, but

even ſent under a ſtrong guard to the frontiers: an indignity which induced the pontiff to order the Portugueſe miniſter at Rome to evacuate the eccleſiaſtical dominions. In the mean time, another embarkation of jeſuits was ſent from Civita Vecchia; yet the expulſion of theſe fathers did not reſtore the internal peace of Portugal, or put an end to the practice of plotting; for, even after their departure, ſome perſons of rank were either committed to cloſe priſon, or exiled from the kingdom. The jeſuits were not more fortunate in America; for in the month of October, in the foregoing year, an obſtinate battle was fought between the united forces of Spain and Portugal, and the Indians of Paraguay, who were under the dominion of the jeſuits: victory at length declared in favour of the two crowns; ſo that the vanquiſhed were obliged to capitulate and lay down their arms. As the court of Portugal had made remonſtrances to the Britiſh miniſtry againſt the proceedings of the Engliſh ſquadron under admiral Boſcawen, which had attacked and deſtroyed ſome French ſhips under the Portugueſe fort in the bay of Lagos, his Britannic majeſty thought proper to ſend the earl of Kinnoul as ambaſſador extraordinary to Liſbon, where that nobleman made ſuch excuſes for the inſult of the Engliſh admiral as entirely removed all miſunderſtanding between the two crowns, and could not fail of being agreeable to the Portugueſe monarch, thus reſpected, ſoothed, and deprecated by a mighty nation in the very zenith of power and proſperity. On the ſixth of June, being the birthday of the king of Portugal, the marriage of his brother Don Pedro with the princeſs of Brazil, was celebrated in the chapel of the palace where the king reſides, to the univerſal joy of the people, as this match will prevent all diſputes with reſpect to the ſucceſſion. The nuptials were announced to the public by the diſcharge of cannon, and celebrated with illuminations, and all kinds of rejoicing.

An incident which happened in the Mediterranean had like to have expoſed the knights of the order of Malta to the reſentment and indignation of the Ottoman Porte. A large Turkiſh ſhip of the line, mounted with ſixty-eight braſs cannon, having on board a complement of ſeven hundred men, beſides ſeventy Chriſtian ſlaves, under the immediate command of the Turkiſh admiral, had, in company with two frigates, five gallies, and other ſmaller veſſels, ſailed in June from the Dardanels, cruiſed along the coaſts of Smyrna, Scio, and Trio, and at length anchored in the channel of Stangie, where the admiral with four hundred perſons went on ſhore, on the ninteenth day of September. The Chriſtian ſlaves ſeizing this opportunity, armed themſelves with knives, and fell upon the three hundred that remained with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that a great number of the Turks were inſtantly ſlain: many leaped over board into the ſea, where they periſhed; and the reſt ſued for mercy. The Chriſtians, having thus ſecured poſſeſſion of the ſhip, hoiſted ſail and bore away for Malta; which, though chaced by the two frigates and a Raguſan ſhip, they reached by crouding all their canvas, and brought their prize ſafe into the harbour of Volette, amidſt the acclamations of the people.

The order of Malta, as a recompence for this ſignal act of bravery and reſolution, aſſigned to the captors the whole property of the ſhip and ſlaves, together with all the effects on board, including a ſum of money, which the Turkiſh commander had collected by contribution, amounting to a million and an half of florins. The grand ſignor was ſo enraged at this event, that he diſgraced his admiral, and threatened to take vengeance on the order of Malta, for having detained the ſhip and countenanced the capture.

Such a dangerous ferment aroſe at Conſtantinople, that a revolution was apprehended. Muſtapha, the preſent emperor, had no ſons; but his brother Bajazet, whoſe life he had ſpared, contrary to the cuſtom of Turkiſh policy, produced a ſon by one of the women with whom he was indulged in his confinement; a circumſtance which arouſed the jealouſy of the emperor to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved to diſpatch his brother. The great officers of the Porte oppoſed this deſign, which was ſo diſagreeable to the people, that an inſurrection enſued. Several Turks and Armenians taking it for granted that a revolution was at hand, bought up great quantities of grain, and a dreadful dearth was the conſequence of this monopoly. The ſultan aſſembled the troops, quieted the inſurgents, ordered the engroſſers of corn to be executed, and in a little time the repoſe of the city was re-eſtabliſhed. Let us now return to the affairs of Great Britain.

Great expectations were formed in England this year from the prodigious increaſe of the navy, which at this juncture amounted to one hundred and twenty ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fireſhips, ſloops, bombs, and tenders. Of theſe capital ſhips ſeventeen were ſtationed in the Eaſt Indies, twenty for the defence of the Weſt Indian iſlands, twelve in North America, ten in the Mediterranean, and ſixty-one, either on the coaſt of France, in the harbours of England, or cruiſing in the Engliſh ſeas for the protection of the Britiſh commerce. Notwithſtanding theſe numerous and powerful armaments, the enemy, who had not a ſhip of the line at ſea, were ſo alert with their ſmall privateers and armed veſſels, that in the beginning of this year, from the firſt of March to the tenth of June they had made prize of two hundred veſſels belonging to Great Britain and Ireland. The whole number of Britiſh ſhips taken by them, from the firſt day of June in the year 1756, to the firſt of June in the preſent year, amounted to two thouſand five hundred and thirty-nine; of theſe ſeventy-eight were privateers, three hundred and twenty-one were retaken, and about the ſame number ranſomed. In the ſame ſpace of time the Britiſh cruizers had made captures of nine hundred forty-four veſſels, including two hundred forty-two privateers, many fiſhing boats and ſmall coaſters; the acquiſition of which was not of ſo great conſequence by their intrinſic value, as by depriving the enemy of an additional number of their ſailors. That ſuch a ſmall proportion of ſhips ſhould be taken from the French during this period will not appear ſurpriſing, when we conſider the terrible ſhock their commerce had antecedently ſuſtained, and the great number of their mariners that were previouſly impriſoned in England, and who by this time amounted to little leſs than twenty thouſand.

The preſent year, it muſt be owned, was not ſo fruitful in naval events as the former: nevertheleſs it was diſtinguiſhed by ſome gallant exploits, which reflected great honour on our ſea commanders. I have, in recording the tranſactions of the preceding year, mentioned a ſmall armament equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of M. de Thurot, who, in ſpite of all the vigilance of the Britiſh commander ſtationed in the Downs, found means to eſcape from the harbour in the month of October laſt, and arrived at Gottenburgh in Sweden, from whence he proceeded to Bergen in Norway. His inſtructions were to make occaſional deſcents upon the coaſt of Ireland, and by dividing the troops, and diſtracting the attention of the government in that kingdom, to facilitate the enterprize of M. de Conflans, the fate of which I have already narrated. The original armament of Thurot conſiſted of five ſhips, one of which, called the Mareſchal Belleiſle, was mounted with forty-four guns; the Begon, the Blond, the Terpſichore, had thirty guns each, and the Marante carried twenty-four. The number of ſoldiers put on board this little fleet did not exceed one thouſand two hundred and ſeventy, excluſive of mariners, to the number of ſeven hundred; beſides two hundred of the troops were ſent ſick on ſhore, before the armament ſailed from Dunkirk; and in their voyage between Gottenburgh and Bergen they loſt company of the Begon, during a violent ſtorm. The ſeverity of the weather detained them nineteen days at Bergen, at the expiration of which they ſet ſail for the northern part of Ireland in the latter end of January.

The intention of Thurot was to make a deſcent about Derry; but before this deſign could be executed, the weather growing tempeſtuous, and the wind blowing off ſhore, they were driven out to ſea, and in the night loſt ſight of the Marante, which never joined them in the ſequel. After having been tempeſt beaten for ſome time, and expoſed to a very ſcanty allowance of proviſion, the officers requeſted of Thurot that he would return to France, leſt they ſhould all periſh by famine; but he lent a deaf ear to their propoſal, and frankly told them he could not return to France without having ſtruck ſome ſtroke for the ſervice of his country. Nevertheleſs, in hope of meeting with ſome refreſhment, he ſteered to the iſland of Iſla, where the troops were landed; and here they found black cattle and a ſmall ſupply of oatmeal, for which they paid a reaſonable price; and it muſt be owned Thurot himſelf behaved with great moderation and generoſity.

While this gallant adventurer ſtruggled with theſe numerous difficulties, his arrival in the Britiſh ſeas filled the whole kingdom with alarm. Bodies of regular troops and militia were poſted along the coaſts of Ireland and Scotland; and beſides the ſquadron of commodore Boys, who ſailed to the northward on purpoſe to purſue the enemy, other ſhips of war were ordered to ſcour the Briſtol Channel, and cruize between Scotland and Ireland. The weather no ſooner permitted Thurot to purſue his deſtination, than he ſailed from Iſla to the bay of Carrickfergus in Ireland, and made all the neceſſary preparations for a deſcent, which was accordingly effected, with ſix hundred men, on the twenty-firſt day of February. Lieutenant-colonel Jennings, who commanded four companies of raw undiſciplined men at Carrickfergus, having received information that three ſhips had anchored about two miles and a half from the caſtle, which was ruinous and defenceleſs, immediately detached a party to make obſervations, and ordered the French priſoners there confined to be removed to Belfaſt.

Mean while the enemy landing without oppoſition, advanced towards the town, which they found as well guarded as the nature of the place (which was entirely open) and the circumſtances of the Engliſh commander would admit. A regular attack was carried on, and a ſpirited defence made, until the ammunition of the Engliſh failed; then colonel Jennings retired in order to the caſtle, which however was in all reſpects untenable; for, beſides a breach in the wall near fifty feet wide, they found themſelves deſtitute of proviſion and ammunition. Nevertheleſs, they repulſed the aſſailants in their firſt attack, even after the gate was burſt open, and ſupplied the want of ſhot with ſtones and rubbiſh. At length, the colonel and his troops were obliged to ſurrender, on condition that they ſhould not be ſent priſoners to France, but be ranſomed by ſending thither an equal number of French priſoners from Great Britain or Ireland; that the caſtle ſhould not be demoliſhed, nor the town of Carrickfergus plundered or burned, on condition that the mayor and corporation ſhould furniſh the French troops with neceſſary proviſions.

The enemy, after this exploit, did not venture to advance farther into the country; a ſtep which indeed they could not have taken with any regard to their own ſafety; for by this time a conſiderable body of regular troops was collected, and the people of the country manifeſted a laudable ſpirit of loyalty and reſolution, crowding in great numbers to Belfaſt, to offer their ſervice againſt the invaders. Theſe circumſtances, of which the enemy were fully apprized, and the defeat of Conflans, which they had alſo learned, obliged them to abandon their conqueſt, and reimbark with ſome precipitation, after having laid Carrickfergus under moderate contribution.

The fate they eſcaped on ſhore they ſoon met with at ſea. Captain John Elliot, who commanded three frigates at Kinſale, and had, in the courſe of this war, already ſignalized himſelf by extraordinary acts of valour, was informed by a diſpatch from the duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, that three of the enemy's ſhips lay at anchor in the bay of Carrickfergus, and thither he immediately ſteered his courſe in the ſhip Æolus, accompanied by the Pallas and Brilliant, under the command of the captains Clements and Logie. On the twenty-eighth day of February they diſcovered the enemy, and gave chace, in ſight of the Iſle of Man; and about nine in the morning captain Elliot, in his own ſhip, attacked the Belleiſle, commanded by Thurot, although conſiderably his ſuperior in ſtrength of men, number of guns, and weight of metal. In a few minutes his conſorts were alſo engaged with the other two ſhips of the enemy. After a warm action maintained with great ſpirit on all ſides for an hour and a half, captain Elliot's lieutenant boarded the Belleiſle, and, ſtriking her colours with his own hand, the commander ſubmitted. His example was immediately followed

by the other French captains; and the Engliſh commodore taking poſſeſſion of his prizes, conveyed them to the Iſle of Man that their damage might be repaired.

Though the Belleiſle was very leaky, and had loſt her boltſprit, mizen-maſt, and main-yard, in all probability the victory would not have been ſo eaſily purchaſed, had not the gallant Thurot fallen during the action. The victor had not even the conſolation to perform the laſt offices to his brave enemy; for his body was thrown into the ſea by his own people in the hurry of the engagement. The loſs on the ſide of the Engliſh did not exceed forty men killed and wounded; whereas three hundred of the enemy were ſlain or diſabled.

The ſervice performed on this occaſion was deemed ſo eſſential to the peace and commerce of Ireland, that the thanks of the houſe of commons in that kingdom were voted to the conquerors of Thurot, as well as to lieutenant-colonel Jennings, for his ſpirited behaviour at Carrickfergus: and the freedom of the city of Cork was preſented in ſilver boxes to the captains Elliot, Clements, and Logie. The name of Thurot was become terrible to all the trading ſea-ports of Britain and Ireland; and therefore the defeat and capture of his ſquadron were celebrated with as hearty rejoicings as could have been produced by the moſt important victory.

In the beginning of April another engagement between four frigates, ſtill more equally matched, had a different iſſue, though not leſs honourable to the Britiſh commanders. Captain Skinner of the Biddeford, and captain Kennedy of the Flamborough, both frigates, ſailed on a cruize from Liſbon, and on the fourth day of April came up with two large French frigates, convoy to a fleet of merchant ſhips, which the Engliſh captains immediately reſolved to attack. The enemy did not decline the engagement, which began about half an hour after ſix in the evening, and was continued with great fury till eleven. By this time the Flamborough had loſt ſight of the Biddeford, and the frigate with which captain Kennedy was engaged bore away with all the ſail ſhe could carry. He purſued her till noon the next day, when ſhe had left him ſo far aſtern, that he loſt ſight of her, and returned to Liſbon with the loſs of fifteen men killed and wounded, including the lieutenant of marines, and conſiderable damage in her hull and rigging. In three days he was joined by the Biddeford, which had alſo compelled her antagoniſt to give way, and purſued her till ſhe was out of ſight. In about an hour after the action began, captain Skinner was killed by a cannon-ball; and the command devolved to lieutenant Knollis, ſon to the earl of Banbury †, who maintained the battle with great ſpirit, even after he was wounded, until he received a ſecond ſhot in his body, which proved mortal. Then the maſter aſſuming the direction, continued the engagement with equal reſolution, until the enemy made his eſcape, which he the more eaſily accompliſhed, as the Biddeford was diſabled in her maſts and rigging.

No action of importance was in the courſe of this year performed by the naval forces of Great Britain in the ſeas of Europe. A powerful ſquadron ſtill remained in the bay of Quiberon, in order to amuſe and employ a body of French forces on that part of the coaſt, interrupt the navigation of the enemy, and at the ſame time to watch the motions of thoſe few French ſhips which had run into the river Villaine, after the defeat of Conflans. The fleet employed on this ſervice was alternately commanded by admiral Boſcawen and ſir Edward Hawke; the former of whom took poſſeſſion of a ſmall iſland near the river Vannes, which he cauſed to be cultivated and planted with vegetables for the uſe of the men infected with ſcorbutic diſorders, ariſing from ſalt proviſions, ſea air, and want of proper exerciſe. In the month of September ſir Edward Hawke, who had by this time relieved Mr. Boſcawen, detached the gallant lord Howe in the Magnanime, with the ſhips Prince Frederick and Bedford, to reduce the little iſland of Dumet, about three miles in length and two in breadth, abounding with freſh water. It was defended by a ſmall fort mounted with nine cannon, and garriſoned by one company of the regiment of Bourbon, who ſurrendered in a very ſhort time after the ſhips had begun the attack. By this ſmall conqueſt a conſiderable expence was ſaved to the nation in the article of tranſports employed to carry water for the uſe of the ſquadron.

Admiral Rodney ſtill maintained his former ſtation off the harbour of Havre de Grace, in order to overawe the enemy on that part of the coaſt. In the month of July, while he hovered in this neighbourhood, five large flat-bottomed boats, loaded with cannon and ſhot, ſet ſail from Harfleur in the middle of the day, with their colours flying, as if they had ſet the Engliſh ſquadron at defiance; for the walls of Havre de Grace, and even the adjacent hills, were lined with ſpectators, aſſembled to behold the iſſue of this adventure. Having reached the river of Caen, they ſtood backwards and forwards upon the ſhoals, intending to amuſe Mr. Rodney till night, and then proceed under the cover of darkneſs. He perceived their drift, and gave directions to his ſmall veſſels to be ready, that as ſoon as day-light failed, they ſhould make all the ſail they could for the mouth of the river Orne, with a view to cut off the enemy's retreat, while he himſelf ſtood in with the larger ſhips to the ſteep coaſt of Port Braſſin. The ſcheme ſucceeded to his wiſh. The enemy ſeeing their retreat cut off, ran aſhore at Port Braſſin, where the admiral deſtroyed them, together with the ſmall fort which had been erected for the defence of the harbour. Each of thoſe veſſels was one hundred feet in length, capable of containing four hundred men for a ſhort paſſage. What their deſtination was, we cannot pretend to determine: but the French had provided a great number of theſe tranſports; for ten eſcaped into the river Orne leading to Caen; and in conſequence of this diſaſter, one hundred were unloaded and ſent up again to Rouen.

† Five ſons of this nobleman diſtinguiſhed themſelves remarkably in the courſe of this war. The fourth and fifth were dangerouſly wounded at the battle of Minden; the ſecond was hurt in the reduction of Guadalupe: lord Wallingford, the eldeſt, received a ſhot at Carrickfergus: and the third was ſlain in this engagement.

Nor was this the only damage which the enemy ſuffered on this part of their coaſt. In the month of November captain Ourry, of the Acteon, chaced a large privateer, and drove her on ſhore between Cape Barfleur and La Hogue, where ſhe periſhed. The cutters belonging to Mr. Rodney's ſquadron ſcoured the coaſt towards Dieppe, where a conſiderable fiſhery was carried on, and where they took or deſtroyed near forty veſſels of conſiderable burthen. Though the Engliſh navy ſuffered nothing from the French during this period, it ſuſtained ſome damage from the weather. The Conqueror, a new ſhip of the line, was loſt in the Channel on the iſland of St. Nicholas; but the crew and cannon were ſaved. The Lyme, of twenty guns, foundered in the Cattegate in Norway, and fifty of the men periſhed; and in the Weſt Indies a tender belonging to the Dublin, commanded by commodore ſir James Douglas, was loſt in a gale of wind, with an hundred choſen mariners.

Of the domeſtic tranſactions relating to the war, the moſt important was the fitting out a powerful armament deſtined for ſome ſecret expedition. A numerous body of forces was aſſembled, and a great number of tranſports collected at Portſmouth. Generals were nominated to the command of this enterprize. The troops were actually embarked, with a great train of artillery; and the eyes of the whole nation were attentively fixed upon this armament, which could not have been prepared without incurring a very conſiderable expence. Notwithſtanding theſe preparations, no enterprize of importance was undertaken; and in the latter end of the year the expedition was wholly laid aſide. The people did not fail to clamour againſt the inactivity of the ſummer; and it muſt be owned their complaints were not entirely without foundation: but in all probability the deſign of the armament was either to intimidate the French into propoſals of peace, to make a diverſion from the Rhine, by alarming the coaſt of Bretagne, or to throw over a body of troops into Flanders, to effect a junction with the hereditary prince of Brunſwic, who, at the head of twenty thouſand men, had made an irruption as far as the Lower Rhine, and even croſſed that river.

The only conſiderable damage ſuſtained by the navy of Great Britain ſince the commencement of this year, was the loſs of the Ramillies, a magnificent ſhip of the ſecond rate, belonging to the ſquadron which admiral Boſcawen commanded on the coaſt of France, in order to watch the motions and diſtreſs the commerce of that reſtleſs enterpriſing enemy. In the beginning of February a ſeries of ſtormy weather obliged the admiral to return from the bay of Quiberon to Plymouth, where he arrived with much difficulty; but the Ramillies overſhot the entrance to the Sound, and being embayed near a point called the Bolt-head, about four leagues higher up the Channel, was daſhed in pieces among the rocks, after all her anchors and cables had given way. All her officers and men, amounting to ſeven hundred, periſhed on this occaſion, except one midſhipman and twenty-five mariners, who had the good fortune to ſave themſelves by leaping on the rocks, as the hull was thrown forwards, and raiſed up by the ſucceeding billows.

Having thus given a circumſtantial account of the moſt remarkable events that happened in the Britiſh dominions and the European ſeas in the courſe of this ſummer, we muſt now turn our eyes to the continent of North America, which, as the theatre of war, ſtill maintained its former importance. The French emiſſaries from the province of Louiſiana had exerciſed their arts of inſinuation with ſuch ſucceſs among the Cherokees, a numerous and powerful nation of the Indians, ſettled on the confines of Virginia and Carolina, that they had infringed the peace with the Engliſh towards the latter end of the laſt year, and begun hoſtilities by plundering, maſſacring, and ſcalping ſeveral Britiſh ſubjects of the more ſouthern provinces. Mr. Lyttleton, governor of South Carolina, having received information of theſe outrages, obtained the neceſſary aids from the aſſembly of his province, for maintaining a conſiderable body of forces, which was raiſed with great expedition. He marched in the beginning of October at the head of eight hundred provincials, reinforced with three hundred regular troops, and penetrated into the heart of the country poſſeſſed by the Cherokees, who were ſo much intimidated by his vigour and diſpatch, that they ſent a deputation of their chiefs to ſue for peace, which was re-eſtabliſhed by a new treaty, dictated by the Engliſh governor. They obliged themſelves to renounce the French intereſt; to deliver up all the ſpies and emiſſaries of that nation, then reſident among them; to ſurrender to juſtice thoſe of their own people who had been concerned in murdering and ſcalping the Britiſh ſubjects; and for the performance of theſe articles two and twenty of their head men were put as hoſtages into the hands of the governor.

So entirely regardleſs, however, were theſe treacherous barbarians of this ſolemn accommodation, that Mr. Lyttleton had hardly returned from their country, when they attempted to ſurprize the Engliſh fort at Prince George, near the frontiers of Carolina, by going thither in a body, on pretence of delivering up ſome murderers. This attempt was conducted in the following manner, having doubtleſs been concerted with the two and twenty hoſtages who reſided in the fort. On the ſixteenth day of February two Indian women appearing at Keowee, on the other ſide of the river, Mr. Dogharty, one of the officers of the fort, went out to aſk them what news. While he was engaged in converſation with theſe females, the great Indian warrior Ouconnoſtata joining them, deſired he would call the commanding officer, to whom he ſaid he had ſomething to propoſe. Accordingly, lieutenant Cotymore appearing, accompanied by enſign Bell, Dogharty, and Forſter the interpreter, Ouconnoſtata told him he had ſomething of conſequence to impart to the governor, whom he purpoſed to viſit, and deſired he might be attended by a white man as a ſafeguard. The lieutenant aſſuring him he ſhould have a ſafeguard, the Indian declared he would then go and catch a horſe for him; ſo ſaying, he ſwung a bridle thrice over his head as a ſignal, and immediately twenty-five or thirty muſkets, from different ambuſcades, were diſcharged at the Engliſh officers. Mr. Cotymore received a ſhot in his left breaſt,

and

and in a few days expired; Mr. Bell was wounded in the calf of the leg, and the interpreter in the buttock.

Enſign Milne, who remained in the fort, was no ſooner informed of this treachery than he ordered the ſoldiers to ſhackle the hoſtages; in the execution of which order one man was killed on the ſpot, and another wounded in the forehead with a tomohawk: circumſtances which, added to the murder of the lieutenant, incenſed the garriſon to ſuch a degree, that it was judged abſolutely neceſſary to put the hoſtages to death without farther heſitation. In the evening a party of Indians approaching the fort, and firing two ſignal-pieces, cried aloud in the Cherokee language, "Fight manfully, and you ſhall be aſſiſted." Then they began an attack, and continued firing all night upon the fort, without doing the leaſt execution.

That a deſign was concerted between them and the hoſtages, appeared plainly from the nature of this aſſault; and this ſuppoſition was converted into a certainty next day, when ſome of the garriſon ſearching the apartment in which the hoſtages lay, found a bottle of poiſon, probably deſigned to be emptied into the well, and ſeveral tomohawks buried in the earth; which weapons had been privately conveyed to them by their friends, who were permitted to viſit them without interruption. On the third day of March the fort at Ninety-Six was attacked by two hundred Cherokee Indians, with muſquetry, which had little or no effect; ſo that they were forced to retire with ſome loſs, and revenged themſelves on the open country, burning and ravaging all the houſes and plantations belonging to the Engliſh ſettlers in this part of the country, and all along the frontiers of Virginia. Not contented with pillaging and deſtroying the habitations, they wantoned in the moſt horrible barbarities; and their motions were ſo ſecret and ſudden, that it was impoſſible for the inhabitants to know where the ſtorm would burſt, or take proper precautions for their own defence, ſo that a great number of the back ſettlements were totally abandoned.

The Indians, diſappointed in their deſign upon Fort Prince George, wreaked their vengeance upon the Engliſh ſubjects trading in their country, all of whom they butchered without mercy. Not contented with this barbarous ſacrifice, they made incurſions into the Britiſh ſettlements at the Long Lanes, and the forks of the Broad River, and maſſacred about forty defenceleſs coloniſts, who repoſed themſelves in full ſecurity on the peace ſo lately ratified. As views of intereſt could not have induced them to act in this manner, and their revenge had not been inflamed by any freſh provocation, theſe violences were naturally imputed to the inſtigation of French incendiaries; and too plainly evinced the neceſſity of crowning our American conqueſts with the reduction of Louiſiana, from whence theſe emiſſaries were undoubtedly diſpatched.

The horrible cruelties which the Cherokees committed upon their renewal of hoſtilities, alarmed all the ſouthern colonies of the Engliſh; and application was made for aſſiſtance to Mr. Amherſt, the commander in chief of the king's forces in America. He forthwith detached twelve hundred choſen men to South Carolina, under the command of colonel Montgomery, brother to the earl of Eglinton, an officer of approved conduct and diſtinguiſhed gallantry. Immediately after his arrival at Charles Town, he advanced to Ninety-Six, and proceeded to Twelve Mile River, which he paſſed in the beginning of June without oppoſition. He proſecuted his route by forced marches, until he arrived in the neighbourhood of the Indian town called Keowee, where he encamped in an advantageous ſituation. Having reaſon to believe the enemy were not yet appriſed of his coming, he reſolved to ruſh upon them in the night by ſurprize.

With this view, leaving his tents ſtanding, with a ſufficient guard for the camp and waggons, he marched through the woods towards the Cherokee town of Eſtatoe, at the diſtance of twenty-five miles, and in his route detached a company of light infantry to deſtroy the village of Little Keowee, where they were received with a ſmart fire; but they ruſhed in with their bayonets, and all the men were put to the ſword. The main body proceeded ſtraight to Eſtatoe, which they reached in the morning; but it had been abandoned about half an hour before their arrival. Some few of the Indians who had not time to eſcape were ſlain; and the town, conſiſting of two hundred houſes, well ſtored with proviſion, ammunition, and all the neceſſaries of life, was firſt plundered, and then reduced to aſhes; ſome of the wretched inhabitants who concealed themſelves periſhing in the flames. It was neceſſary to ſtrike a terror into thoſe ſavages by ſome examples of ſeverity; and the ſoldiers became deaf to all the ſuggeſtions of mercy, when they found in one of the Indian towns the body of an Engliſhman, whom they had put to the torture that very morning.

Colonel Montgomery followed his blow with ſurpriſing rapidity. In the ſpace of a few hours he deſtroyed Sugar Town, which was as large as Eſtatoe, and every village and houſe in the lower nation. The Indian villages in this part of the world were agreeably ſituated, generally conſiſting of about one hundred houſes, neatly and commodiouſly built, and well ſupplied with proviſion. They had in particular large magazines of corn, which were conſumed in the flames. All the men that were taken ſuffered immediate death; but the greater part of the nation had eſcaped with the utmoſt precipitation. In many houſes the beds were yet warm, and the tables ſpread with victuals. Many loaded guns went off while the houſes were burning. The ſavages had not time to ſave their moſt valuable effects. The ſoldiers found ſome money, three or four watches, a good quantity of wampum, cloaths, and peltry.

Colonel Montgomery, having thus taken vengeance on the perfidious Cherokees, at the expence of five or ſix men killed or wounded, returned to fort Prince George, with about forty Indian women and children whom he had made priſoners. Two of their warriors were ſet at liberty, and deſired to inform their nation, that though they were now in the power of the Engliſh, they might ſtill, on their ſubmiſſion, enjoy the bleſſing of peace. As the chief, callled Attakullakulla, alias the Little Carpenter, who had ſigned the laſt treaty, diſapproved of the proceedings of his countrymen, and had done many good offices to the Engliſh, ſince the renovation of the war, he was now given to

underſtand, that he might come down with ſome other chiefs to treat of an accommodation, which would be granted to the Cherokees on his account; but that the negociation muſt be begun in a few days, otherwiſe all the towns in the upper nation would be ravaged and reduced to aſhes.

Theſe intimations having produced little or no effect, colonel Montgomery determined to make a ſecond irruption into the middle ſettlements of the Cherokees, and began his march on the twenty-fourth day of June. On the twenty-ſeventh, captain Moriſon, of the advanced party, was killed by a ſhot from a thicket, and the firing became ſo troubleſome that his men gave way. The grenadiers and light infantry detached to ſuſtain them, continued to advance notwithſtanding their fire from the woods, until from a riſing ground they diſcovered a body of the enemy. Theſe they immediately attacked, and obliged to retire into a ſwamp, which, when the reſt of the troops came up, they were, after a ſhort reſiſtance, compelled to abandon: but as the country was difficult, and the path extremely narrow, the forces ſuffered on their march from the fire of ſcattered parties, who concealed themſelves behind trees and buſhes.

At length they arrived at the town of Etchowee, which the inhabitants had forſaken, after having removed every thing of value. Here, while the army encamped on a ſmall plain ſurrounded by hills, it was incommoded by vollies from the enemy, which wounded ſome men, and killed ſeveral horſes. They were even ſo daring as to attack the piquet guard, which repulſed them with difficulty; but, generally ſpeaking, their parties declined an open engagement. Colonel Montgomery ſenſible, that as many horſes were killed or diſabled, he could not proceed farther without leaving his proviſions behind, or abandoning the wounded men to the brutal revenge of a ſavage enemy, reſolved to return, and began his march in the night, that he might be the leſs diſturbed by the Indians. Accordingly he purſued his route for two days without interruption; but afterwards ſuſtained ſome ſtraggling fires from the woods, though the parties of the enemy were put to flight as often as they appeared. In the beginning of July he arrived at Fort Prince George; this expedition having coſt him about ſeventy men killed and wounded, including five officers.

The Cherokees, rather provoked than intimidated by this ſevere chaſtiſement, aſſembled to a conſiderable number, and formed the blockade of Fort Loudoun, a ſmall fortification near the confines of Virginia, defended by an inconſiderable garriſon, ill ſupplied with proviſion and neceſſaries. After having ſuſtained a long ſiege, and being reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, captain Demere, the commander, held a council of war with the other officers, to deliberate upon their preſent ſituation; when it appeared that their proviſions were intirely exhauſted: that they had ſubſiſted a conſiderable time, without bread, upon horſe-fleſh, and ſuch ſupplies of pork and beans as the Indian women could introduce by ſtealth: that the men were ſo weakened with famine and fatigue, that in a little time they would not be able to do duty: that for two nights paſt, conſiderable parties had deſerted, and ſome thrown themſelves upon the mercy of the enemy: that the garriſon in general threatened to abandon their officers, and betake themſelves to the woods: and that there was no proſpect of relief, their communication having been long cut off from all the Britiſh ſettlements. For theſe reaſons they were unanimouſly of opinion, that it was impracticable to prolong their defence; that they ſhould accept of an honourable capitulation; and that captain Stuart ſhould be ſent to treat with the warriors, and the head men of the Cherokees, about the conditions of their ſurrender. This officer, being accordingly diſpatched with full powers, obtained a capitulation of the Indians, by which the garriſon was permitted to retire. The Indians requeſted, that, when they arrived at Keowee, the Cherokee priſoners confined at that place ſhould be releaſed, all hoſtilities ceaſe, a laſting accommodation be re-eſtabliſhed, and a regular trade revived. In conſequence of this treaty the garriſon evacuated the fort, and had marched about fifteen miles on their return to Carolina, when they were ſurrounded and ſurpriſed by a large body of Indians, who maſſacred all the officers, except captain Stuart, and ſlew five-and-twenty of the ſoldiers: the reſt were made priſoners, and diſtributed among the different towns and villages of the nation. Captain Stuart owed his life to the generous interceſſion of the Little Carpenter, who ranſomed him at the price of all he could command, and conducted him ſafe to Holſton River, where he found major Lewes advanced ſo far with a body of Virginians.

In the mean time the Britiſh intereſt and empire were firmly eſtabliſhed on the banks of the Ohio, by the prudent conduct of major-general Stanwix, who had paſſed the winter at Pittſburgh, formerly Duqueſne, and employed that time in the moſt effectual manner for the ſervice of his country. He repaired the fortifications of the place, eſtabliſhed poſts of communication from the Ohio to the Monongahela, mounted the baſtions that cover the iſthmus with artillery, erected caſemates, ſtorehouſes, and barracks for a numerous garriſon, and cultivated with equal diligence and ſucceſs the friendſhip and alliance of the Indians. The happy conſequences of theſe meaſures were ſoon apparent in the production of a conſiderable trade between the natives and the merchants of Pittſburgh, and in the perfect ſecurity of about four thouſand ſettlers, who now returned to the quiet poſſeſſion of the lands, from whence they had been driven by the enemy, on the frontiers of Penſylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.

The ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms was ſtill more remarkable in the northern parts of this great continent. I have already obſerved, that brigadier general Murray was left to command the garriſon of Quebec, amounting to about ſix thouſand men; that a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips was ſtationed at Halifax in Nova Scotia, under the direction of lord Colvil, an able and experienced officer, who had inſtructions to reviſit Quebec in the beginning of ſummer, as ſoon as the river St. Laurence ſhould be navigable; and that general Amherſt, the commander in chief of the forces in America, wintered in New York, that he might be at hand to aſſemble his troops in the ſpring, and recommence his operations for the entire reduction of Canada.

General Murray neglected no ſtep that could be taken by the moſt vigilant officer for maintaining the important conqueſt of Quebec, and ſubduing all the Lower Canada. He repaired, during the winter, about five hundred houſes which had been damaged by the Engliſh cannon, built eight redoubts of wood, raiſed foot-banks along the ramparts, opened embrazures, mounted artillery, blocked up all the avenues of the ſuburbs with a ſtockade, removed eleven months proviſions into the higheſt part of the city, and formed a magazine of four thouſand faſcines. Two hundred men were poſted at St. Foix, and twice the number at Lorette. Several hundred men marched to St. Auguſtin, brought off the enemy's advanced guard, with a great number of cattle, and diſarmed the inhabitants. By theſe precautions the motions of the French were obſerved, the avenues of Quebec were covered, and the Britiſh dominion ſecured over eleven pariſhes, which furniſhed them with ſome freſh proviſion and other neceſſaries for ſubſiſtence. Sixteen thouſand cords of wood being wanted for the hoſpitals, guards, and quarters, and the method of tranſporting it from the iſle of Orleans being found ſlow and difficult, on account of the floating ice in the river, a ſufficient number of hand ſledges was made, and two hundred woodfellers ſet at work in the foreſt of St. Foix, where plenty of fuel was obtained, and brought into the ſeveral regiments by the men that were not upon duty. A detachment of two hundred men being ſent to the other ſide of the river, diſarmed the inhabitants, and compelled them to take the oath of allegiance. By this ſtep the Engliſh became maſters of the ſouthern ſide of the river St. Laurence, and were ſupplied with good quantities of freſh proviſion.

The advanced poſts of the enemy were eſtabliſhed at Point Au Tremble, St. Auguſtin, and Le Calvaire: the main body of their army quartered between Trois Rivieres and Jaques Quartier. Their general having formed the deſign of attacking Quebec in the winter, began to provide ſnow ſhoes or rackets, ſcaling-ladders, and faſcines, and make all the neceſſary preparations for that enterprize. He took poſſeſſion of Point Levi, where he formed a magazine of proviſions, great part of which, however, fell into the hands of the Engliſh; for as ſoon as the river was froze over, brigadier Murray diſpatched thither two hundred men, at whoſe approach the enemy abandoned their magazine, and retreated with great precipitation. Here the detachment took poſt in a church, until they could build two wooden redoubts, and mount them with artillery. In the mean time, the enemy returning with a greater force to recover the poſt, ſome battalions, with the light infantry, marched over the ice, in order to cut off their communication: but they fled in great confuſion, and afterwards took poſt at St. Michael, at a conſiderable diſtance farther down the river. They now reſolved to poſtpone the ſiege of Quebec, that they might carry it on in a more regular manner. They began to rigg their ſhips, repair their ſmall craft, build gallies, caſt bombs and bullets, and prepare faſcines and gabions; while brigadier Murray employed his men in making preparations for a vigorous defence. He ſent out a detachment, who ſurpriſed the enemy's poſts at St. Auguſtin, Maiſon Brulee, and Le Calvaire, where they took ninety priſoners. He afterwards ordered the light infantry to poſſeſs and fortify Cape Rouge, to prevent the enemy's landing at that place, as well as to be nearer at hand to obſerve their motions; but when the froſt broke up, ſo that their ſhips could fall down the river, they landed at St. Auguſtin, and the Engliſh poſts were abandoned one after another, the detachments retiring without loſs into the city.

Mean while the garriſon within the walls of Quebec ſuffered greatly from the exceſſive cold in the winter, and the want of vegetables and freſh proviſion, inſomuch that, before the end of April, one thouſand ſoldiers were dead of the ſcurvy, and twice that number rendered unfit for ſervice. Such was the ſituation of the garriſon, when Mr. Murray received undoubted intelligence that the French commander, the chevalier de Levy, was employed in aſſembling his army, which had been cantoned in the neighbourhood of Montreal; that from the inhabitants of the country he had completed his eight battalions, regimented forty companies of the coloniſts, and determined to undertake the ſiege of Quebec, whenever the river St. Laurence ſhould be ſo clear of ice that he could uſe his four frigates, and other veſſels, by means of which he would be entirely maſter of the river.

The brigadier, perceiving that the city of Quebec was no other than a ſtrong cantonment, had projected a plan of defence, by extending lines, and intrenching his troops on the Heights of Abraham, which, at the diſtance of eight hundred paces, entirely command the ramparts of the city, and might have been defended by a ſmall force againſt a formidable army. Faſcines, and every other neceſſary for this work, had been provided, and in the month of April the men were ſet at work upon the projected lines; but the earth was ſo hardened by the froſt, that it was found impracticable to proceed. Being informed, on the night of the twenty-ſixth, that the enemy had landed at Point au Tremble, to the number of ten thouſand men, with five hundred ſavages, he ordered all the bridges over the river Caprouge to be broke down, ſecured the landing-places at Sylleri and the Foulon; and next day, marching in perſon with a ſtrong detachment and two field-pieces, took poſſeſſion of an advantageous ſituation, and thus defeated the ſcheme which the French commander had laid for cutting off the poſts which the Engliſh had eſtabliſhed. Theſe being all withdrawn, the brigadier that ſame afternoon marched back to Quebec with little or no loſs, although his rear was harraſſed by the enemy. Here he formed a reſolution, which hath been cenſured by ſome critics in war as a meaſure that favoured more of youthful impatience and overboiling courage, than of that military diſcretion which ought to diſtinguiſh a commander in ſuch a delicate ſituation: but it is more eaſy to blame with an appearance of reaſon than to act in ſuch circumſtances with any certainty of ſucceſs.

Mr. Murray, in his letter to the ſecretary of ſtate, declared, that although the enemy were greatly ſuperior to him in number, yet, when he conſidered that the Engliſh forces were habituated to victory; that they were provided with a fine train of field artillery; that, in ſhutting them up at once

once within the walls, he ſhould have riſqued his whole ſtake on the ſingle chance of defending a wretched fortification; a chance which could not be much leſſened by an action in the field, though ſuch an action would double the chance of ſucceſs: for theſe reaſons he had determined to hazard a battle: ſhould the event prove unproſperous, he reſolved to hold out the place to the laſt extremity; then to retreat to the iſle of Orleans or Coudres with the remainder of the garriſon, and there wait for a reinforcement.

In purſuance of theſe reſolutions he gave the neceſſary orders over night, and on the twenty-eighth day of April, at half an hour after ſix in the morning, marched out with his little army of three thouſand men, which he formed on the heights in order of battle. The right brigade, commanded by colonel Burton, conſiſted of the regiments of Amherſt, Anſtruther, Webb, and the ſecond battalion of royal Americans: the left, under colonel Fraſer, was formed of the regiments of Kennedy, Laſcelles, Townſhend, and the Highlanders. Otway's regiment, and the third battalion of royal Americans, conſtituted the corps de reſerve. Major Dalling's corps of light infantry covered the right flank; the left was ſecured by captain Huzzen's company of rangers, and one hundred volunteers, under the command of captain Macdonald; and each battalion was ſupplied with two field-pieces.

Brigadier Murray having reconnoitred the enemy, perceived their van had taken poſſeſſion of the riſing grounds about three quarters of a mile in his front; but that their army was on the march in one column. Thinking this was the critical moment to attack them before they were formed, he advanced towards them with equal order and expedition. They were ſoon driven from the Heights, though not without a warm diſpute; during which the body of their army advanced at a round pace, and formed in columns. Their van conſiſted of ten companies of grenadiers, two of volunteers, and four hundred ſavages: eight battalions, formed in four columns, with ſome bodies of Canadians in the intervals, conſtituted their main body: their rear was compoſed of two battalions and ſome Canadians in the flanks; and two thouſand Canadians formed the reſerve. Their whole army amounted to about thirteen thouſand men.

Major Dalling, with great gallantry, diſpoſſeſſed their grenadiers of a houſe and windmill, which they occupied, in order to cover the left flank; and in this attack the major and ſome of his officers were wounded: nevertheleſs, the light infantry purſued the fugitives to a corps which was formed to ſuſtain them; then the purſuers halted, and diſperſed along the front of the right: a circumſtance, which prevented that wing from taking advantage of the firſt impreſſion they had made on the left of the enemy. The light infantry being ordered to regain the flank, were, in attempting this motion, furiouſly charged and thrown into diſorder; then they retired to the rear in ſuch a ſhattered condition, that they could never again be brought up during the whole action. Otway's regiment was inſtantly ordered to advance from the body of reſerve, and ſuſtain the right wing, which the enemy twice in vain attempted to penetrate. Mean while the left brigade of the Britiſh forces did not remain inactive: they had diſpoſſeſſed the French of two redoubts, and ſuſtained with undaunted reſolution the whole efforts of the enemy's right, until they were fairly fought down, overpowered by numbers, and reduced to an handful, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance they received from the third battalion of Royal Americans, which had been ſtationed with the body of reſerve, as well as from Kennedy's regiment poſted in the center. The French attacked with great impetuoſity; and, at length, a freſh column of the regiment de Rouſillon, penetrating the left wing of the Britiſh army, it gave way: the diſorder was ſoon communicated to the right, ſo that, after a very obſtinate diſpute, which laſted an hour and three quarters, brigadier Murray was obliged to abandon the field, with the loſs of one thouſand men killed or wounded, and the greater part of his artiliery. The enemy loſt twice the number of men, and reaped no eſſential advantage from their victory.

Mr. Murray, far from being diſpirited by this defeat, was only thereby animated to a more vigorous defence of the place which had been intruſted to his care. He reſolved to proſecute the fortifications of Quebec, which had been interrupted by the ſeverity of the winter; and the ſoldiers exerted themſelves with incredible activity, not only in labouring at the works, but alſo in the defence of the town, before which the enemy had opened trenches on the very evening of the battle. Three ſhips anchored at a ſmall diſtance below their camp; and for ſeveral days they were employed in landing their cannon, mortars, and ammunition. Mean while they worked inceſſantly at their trenches before the town; and, on the eleventh day of May, opened one bomb battery, and three batteries of cannon. Brigadier Murray made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for holding out the place to the laſt extremity: he raiſed two cavaliers, contrived ſome outworks, and planted the ramparts with one hundred and thirty-two pieces of artillery, dragged thither moſtly by the ſoldiery. Though the enemy cannonaded the place with great vivacity the firſt day, their fire ſoon ſlackened, and their batteries were, in a manner, ſilenced by the ſuperior fire of the garriſon; nevertheleſs Quebec would, in all probability, have fallen into their hands, had a French fleet from Europe got the ſtart of an Engliſh ſquadron in ſailing up the river.

Lord Colville had departed from Halifax, with the fleet under his command, on the twenty-ſecond day of April; but was retarded in his paſſage by thick fogs, contrary winds, and great ſhoals of ice floating down the river. Commodore Swanton, who had ſailed from England with a ſmall reinforcement, arrived about the beginning of May at the iſle of Bec, in the river St. Laurence, where, with two ſhips, he purpoſed to wait for the reſt of his ſquadron, which had ſeparated from him in the paſſage: but one of theſe, the Loweſtoffe, commanded by captain Deane, had entered the harbour of Quebec on the ninth day of May, and communicated to the governor the joyful news that the ſquadron was arrived in the river. Commodore Swanton no ſooner received intimation that Quebec was beſieged, than he ſailed up the river with all poſſible expedition, and on the

fifteenth in the evening anchored above Point Levi. General Murray expreſſing an earneſt deſire, that the French ſquadron above the town might be removed, the commodore ordered captain Schomberg of the Diana and captain Deane of the Loweſtoffe, to ſlip their cables early next morning, and attack the enemy's fleet, conſiſting of two frigates, two armed ſhips, and a good number of ſmaller veſſels. They were no ſooner in motion than the French ſhips fled in the utmoſt diſorder. One of their frigates was driven on the rocks above Cape Diamond; the other ran aſhore, and was burned at Point au Tremble about ten leagues above the town; and all the other veſſels were taken or deſtroyed.

The enemy were ſo thunderſtruck by this unexpected diſaſter, and the certain intelligence that a ſtrong Engliſh fleet was already arrived in the river of St. Laurence, that in the following night they raiſed the ſiege of Quebec, and retreated with great precipitation, leaving their proviſions, implements, and artillery, to governor Murray, who had intended to make a vigorous ſally in the morning, and attempt to penetrate into the camp of the beſiegers, which, from the information of priſoners and deſerters, he conceived to be a very practicable ſcheme. For this purpoſe he had ſelected a body of troops, who were already under arms, when a lieutenant whom he had ſent out with a detachment to amuſe the enemy, came and aſſured him that their trenches were abandoned. He inſtantly marched out of Quebec at the head of his forces, in hope of overtaking, and making an impreſſion on their rear, that he might have ample revenge for his late diſcomfiture; but they had paſſed the river Caprouge before he could come up with their army; however, he took ſome priſoners, and a great quantity of baggage, including their tents, ſtores, magazines of proviſion and ammunition, with thirty-four pieces of battering cannon, ten field-pieces, ſix mortars, four petards, a great number of ſcaling ladders, intrenching tools, and every other implement of a ſiege. They retired to Jaques quartier, where their ammunition beginning to fail, and finding themſelves deſerted by great part of the Canadians, they reſigned all hope of ſucceeding againſt Qubec, and began to take meaſures for the preſervation of Montreal, againſt which the force under general Amherſt was directed.

There Mr. de Vaudreuil had fixed his headquarters, and there he propoſed to make his laſt ſtand againſt the efforts of the Britiſh general. He not only levied forces, collected magazines, and erected new fortifications in the iſland of Montreal, but he had even recourſe to feigned intelligence, and other arts of deluſion, to ſupport the ſpirit of the Canadians and their Indian allies, which had begun to flag, in conſequence of their being obliged to abandon the ſiege of Quebec. It muſt be owned he acted with all the ſpirit and vigilance of an experienced general, determined to exert himſelf for the preſervation of the colony, even tho' he could entertain but very little hopes of ſucceſs. Theſe, however ſlender they were, depended upon the natural ſtrength of the country, rendered almoſt inacceſſible by woods, mountains, and moraſſes, which might have retarded the progreſs of the Engliſh, and protracted the war, until a general pacification could be effected.

In the mean time major general Amherſt was diligently employed in taking meaſures for the execution of the plan he had concerted, in order to complete the conqueſt of Canada. He tranſmitted inſtructions to general Murray, directing him to advance by water towards Montreal, with all the troops that could be ſpared from the garriſon of Quebec. He detached colonel Haviland with a body of troops from Crown-point to take poſſeſſion of the iſle au Noix, in Lake-Champlain, and from thence penetrate the ſhorteſt way to the bank of the river St. Laurence; while he himſelf, with the main body of the army, amounting to above ten thouſand men, including Indians, ſhould proceed from the frontiers of New York, by the rivers of the Mohawks and Oneidas, to the lake Ontario, and ſail down the river St. Laurence to the iſland of Montreal. Thus, on the ſuppoſition that all theſe particulars could be executed, the enemy muſt have been at laſt hemmed in, and entirely ſurrounded. In purſuance of this plan, general Amherſt had provided two armed ſloops to cruiſe on the lake Ontario, under the command of captain Loring; as well as a great number of batteaus, or ſmaller veſſels for the tranſportation of the troops, artillery, and ammunition, implements, and baggage. Several regiments were ordered to advance from Albany to Oſwego; and the general, taking his departure from Schenectady, with the reſt of the forces, in the latter end of June, arrived at the ſame place on the ninth day of July.

Having received advice, that two French veſſels had appeared off Oſwego, he diſpatched ſome batteaus to Niagara with intelligence to captain Loring, who immediately ſet ſail in queſt of them; but they eſcaped his purſuit, though they had twice appeared in the neighbourhood of Oſwego ſince the arrival of the general, who endeavoured to amuſe them by detaching batteaus to different parts of the lake. The army being aſſembled, and reinforced by a conſiderable body of Indians under the command of Sir William Johnſon, the general detached colonel Haldemand with the light infantry, the grenadiers, and one battalion of Highlanders, to take poſt at the bottom of the lake, and to aſſiſt the armed veſſels in finding a paſſage to La Galette. On the tenth day of Auguſt the army embarked on board the batteaus and whale boats, and proceeded on the lake towards the mouth of the river St. Laurence. Hearing that one of the enemy's veſſels had run aground and was diſabled, and that the other lay off La Galette, he determined to make the beſt of his way down the river to Swegatchie, and attack the French fort at Iſle Royale, one of the moſt important poſts on the river St. Laurence, the ſource of which it in a great meaſure commands. On the ſeventeenth the rowgallies fell in with the French ſloop commanded by Mr. de la Broquerie, who ſurrendered after a warm engagement. Mr. Amherſt having detached ſome engineers to reconnoitre the coaſts and iſlands in the neighbourhood of Iſle Royale, he made a diſpoſition for the attack of that fortreſs, which was accordingly inveſted, after he had taken poſſeſſion of the iſlands. Some of theſe the enemy had abandoned with ſuch precipitation, as to leave behind a few ſcalps they had taken on the Mohawk river, a number of tools and utenſils, two ſwivels, ſome barrels of pitch, and a large

quantity of iron. The Indians were ſo incenſed at ſight of the ſcalps, that they burned a chapel, and all the houſes of the enemy. Batteries being raiſed on the neareſt iſlands, the fort was cannonaded not only by them, but likewiſe by the armed ſloops; and a diſpoſition was made for giving the aſſault, when Mr. Pouchaut thought proper to beat a parley, and ſurrender on capitulation. The general, having taken poſſeſſion of the fort, found it ſo well ſituated for commanding the lake Ontario, and the Mohawk river, that he reſolved to maintain it with a garriſon, and employed ſome days in repairing the fortifications.

From this place his navigation down the river St. Laurence was rendered extremely difficult and dangerous, by a great number of violent riffs, or rapides, and falls; among which he loſt above fourſcore men, forty-ſix batteaus, ſeventeen whale-boats, one row-galley, with ſome artillery, ſtores, and ammunition. On the ſixth day of September the troops were debarked on the iſland of Montreal without any oppoſition, except from ſome flying parties, which exchanged a few ſhot, and then fled with precipitation. That ſame day he repaired a bridge which they had broke down in their retreat, and, after a march of two leagues, drew up his army on a plain before Montreal, where they lay all night on their arms. Montreal is, in point of importance, the ſecond place in Canada, ſituated in an iſland of the river St. Laurence, at an equal diſtance from Quebec and the lake Ontario. Its central ſituation rendered it the ſtaple of the Indian trade; yet the fortifications of it were inconſiderable, not at all adequate to the value of the place.

General Amherſt ordered ſome pieces of artillery to be brought up immediately from the landing-place at La Chine, where he had left ſome regiments for the ſecurity of the boats, and determined to undertake the ſiege in form; but in the morning of the ſeventh he received a letter from the marquis de Vaudreuil by two officers, demanding a capitulation: which, after ſome letters had paſſed between the two generals, was granted upon as favourable terms as the French had reaſon to expect, conſidering that general Murray, with the troops from Quebec, had, by this time, landed on the iſland; and colonel Haviland, with the body under his command, had juſt arrived on the ſouth-ſide of the river oppoſite to Montreal: circumſtances equally favourable and ſurpriſing, if we reflect upon the different routes they purſued, thro' an enemy's country, where they had no intelligence of each other's motions. Had any accident retarded the progreſs of general Amherſt, the reduction of Montreal would have been attempted by general Murray, who embarked with his troops at Quebec on board of a great number of ſmall veſſels, under the command of captain Deane in the Diana. This gentleman, with uncommon ability, ſurmounted the difficulties of an unknown, dangerous, and intricate navigation; and conducted the voyage with ſuch ſucceſs, that not a ſingle veſſel was loſt in the expedition. Mr. de Levis, at the head of his forces, obſerved the motions of general Murray, who, in ſailing up the river, diſtributed manifeſtoes among the Canadians, which produced all the effect he could deſire. Almoſt all the pariſhes on the ſouth-ſhore, as far as the river Sorel, ſubmitted and took an oath of neutrality; and lord Rollo diſarmed the inhabitants of the north ſhore as far as Trois Rivieres, which, though the capital of a diſtrict, being no other than an open village, was taken without reſiſtance. In a word, general Amherſt took poſſeſſion of Montreal; and thus finiſhed the conqueſt of all Canada: a conqueſt the moſt important that ever the Britiſh arms atchieved, whether we conſider the ſafety of the Engliſh colonies in North America, now ſecured from invaſion and incroachment; the extent and fertility of the country ſubdued; or the whole Indian commerce thus transferred to the traders of Great Britain.

The French miniſtry had endeavoured to ſuccour Montreal, by equipping a conſiderable number of ſtoreſhips, and ſending them out in the ſpring under convoy of a frigate; but as their officers underſtood that the Britiſh ſquadron had ſailed up the river St. Laurence before them, they took ſhelter in the bay of Chaleurs on the coaſt of Acadia, where they did not long remain unmoleſted. Captain Byron, who commanded the ſhips of war that were left at Louiſbourg, having received information of their arrival from brigadier-general Whitmore, ſailed thither with a ſquadron, and found them at anchor. The whole fleet conſiſted of one frigate, two large ſtore-ſhips, and nineteen ſail of ſmaller veſſels, the greater part of which had been taken from the merchants of Great Britain: all theſe were deſtroyed, together with two batteries which had been raiſed for their protection. The French town, conſiſting of two hundred houſes, was demoliſhed, and the ſettlement totally ruined.

All the French ſubjects inhabiting the territories from the bay of Fundy to the banks of the river St. Laurence, and all the Indians through that tract of country, were now ſubdued, and ſubjected to the Engliſh government. In the month of December, of the preceding year, the French coloniſts of Miramichi, Rickebuctou, and other places lying along the gulf of St. Laurence, made their ſubmiſſion by deputies to colonel Frye, who commanded in Fort Cumberland at Chignecto. They afterwards renewed this ſubmiſſion, in the moſt ſolemn manner, by ſubſcribing articles; by which they obliged themſelves, and the people they repreſented, to repair in the ſpring to Bay Verte, with all their effects and ſhipping, to be diſpoſed of according to the direction of colonel Laurence, governor of Halifax in Nova Scotia. They were attended by two Indian chiefs of the nation of the Mickmacks, a powerful and numerous people, now become entirely dependent upon his Britannic majeſty. In a word, by the conqueſt of Canada, the Indian fur-trade, in its full extent, was transferred into the hands of the Engliſh. The French intereſt among the ſavage tribes inhabiting an immenſe tract of country, was totally annihilated; and their American poſſeſſions ſhrunk within the limits of Louiſiana, an infant colony on the ſouth of the Miſſiſſippi, which the Britiſh arms could at any time eaſily ſubdue.

The conqueſt of Canada being finiſhed, nothing now remained to be done in North America, except the demolition of the fortifications of Louisbourg on the iſland of Cape Breton; for which purpoſe, ſome able engineers had been diſpatched from England with the ſhips commanded by captain

tain Byron. By means of mines artfully diſpoſed and well conſtructed, the fortifications were reduced to a heap of rubbiſh; the glacis was levelled, and the ditches were filled. All the artillery, ammunition, and implements of war, were tranſported to Halifax: but the barracks were repaired ſo as to accommodate three hundred men occaſionally; and the hoſpital, with the private houſes, were left ſtanding.

The French ſtill retained poſſeſſion of the fertile country lying on each ſide of the great river Miſſiſſippi, which empties itſelf into the Gulph of Florida; but the colony was ſo thinly peopled and ſo ill provided, that, far from being able to endanger the Engliſh ſettlements, it ſcarce could have ſubſiſted, unleſs the Britiſh traders had been baſe and treacherous enough to ſupply it from time to time with proviſions and neceſſaries. The ſame infamous commerce was carried on with ſeveral French plantations in the Weſt-Indies; inſomuch that the governors of provinces, and commanders of ſquadrons ſtationed in thoſe ſeas, made formal complaints of it to the miniſtry. In conſequence of theſe repreſentations, Mr. Pitt ſent a letter to the ſeveral governors and councils in North America, importing, that the commanders of his majeſty's forces and fleets in North America and the Weſt-Indies, had tranſmitted certain and repeated intelligences, of an illegal and moſt pernicious trade carried on by the king's ſubjects in North-America, and the Weſt Indies; as well to the French iſlands, as to the French ſettlements on the continent of America; and particularly to the rivers Mobile and Miſſiſſippi; by which the enemies, to the great reproach and detriment of government, were ſupplied with proviſions and other neceſſaries; whereby they were principally, if not alone, enabled to ſuſtain and protract this long and expenſive war: and that it further appearing that large ſums of bullion were ſent by the king's ſubjects to the above places, in return whereof commodities were taken, which interfered with the product of the Britiſh colonies themſelves, in open contempt of the authority of the mother-country, as well as the moſt manifeſt prejudice of the manufactures and trade of Great-Britain: in order to put the moſt ſpeedy and effectual ſtop to ſuch flagitious practices, ſo utterly ſubverſive of all laws, and ſo highly repugnant to the well-being of this kingdom; it was his majeſty's expreſs will and pleaſure, that they ſhould forthwith make the ſtricteſt and moſt diligent enquiry into the ſtate of this dangerous and ignominious trade: and that they ſhould uſe every means in their power to detect and diſcover perſons concerned either as principals or acceſſaries therein: that they ſhould take every ſtep, authoriſed by law, to bring ſuch heinous offenders to the moſt exemplary and condign puniſhment: that as ſoon as may be, and from time to time, they ſhould tranſmit to him, for the king's information, full and particular accounts of the progreſs they ſhould have made in the execution of this his majeſty's command; to the which the king expected they ſhould pay the moſt exact obedience: and that they were further to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to trace out and inveſtigate the various artifices and evaſions, by which the dealers in this iniquitous intercourſe found means to cover their criminal proceedings, and elude the law; in order that from ſuch lights due and timely conſiderations might be had, what farther proviſion might be neceſſary to reſtrain an evil of ſuch extenſive and pernicious conſequences.

Notwithſtanding this peremptory intimation, the temptation of extraordinary profit excited the merchants not only to aſſiſt the enemies of their country, but alſo to run all riſques in eluding the vigilance of the legiſlature. The inhabitants of Martinique found a plentiful market of proviſion furniſhed by the Britiſh ſubjects at the Dutch iſlands of St. Euſtatia and Curacoa; and thoſe that were ſettled on the iſland of Hiſpaniola were ſupplied in the ſame manner at the Spaniſh ſettlement of Monte Chriſto.

While the Britiſh arms triumphed and proſpered in almoſt every quarter of the univerſe, the coloniſts of Jamaica ran the moſt imminent hazard of being extirpated by a domeſtic enemy. The negro ſlaves of that iſland, grown inſolent in the contemplation of their own formidable numbers, or by obſerving the ſupine indolence of their maſters, or ſtimulated by that appetite for liberty, ſo natural to the mind of man, began, in the courſe of this year, to entertain thoughts of ſhaking off the yoke by means of a general inſurrection. Aſſemblies were held, and plans projected for this purpoſe. At length they concerted a ſcheme for riſing in arms all at once in different parts of the iſland, in order to maſſacre all the white men, and take poſſeſſion of the government. They reſolved, that this deſign ſhould be put in execution immediately after the departure of the fleet for Europe: but their plan was defeated by their own ignorance and impatience. Thoſe of the conſpirators, that belonged to captain Forreſt's eſtate, being impelled by the fumes of intoxication, fell ſuddenly upon the overſeer while he ſat at ſupper with ſome friends, and butchered the whole company. Being immediately joined by ſome of their confederates, they attacked the neighbouring plantations, where they repeated the ſame barbarities, and ſeizing all the arms and ammunition that fell in their way, began to grow formidable to the colony.

The governor was no ſooner informed of this diſturbance, than he iſſued a proclamation, ſubjecting the coloniſts to martial law. All other buſineſs was interrupted, and every man took to his arms. The regular troops, joined by the militia and a conſiderable number of volunteers, marched from Spaniſh Town to St. Mary's, where the inſurrection began, and ſkirmiſhed with the inſurgents; but as they declined ſtanding any regular engagement, and truſted chiefly to buſh-fighting, the governor employed againſt them the free blacks, commonly known by the name of the Wild Negroes, now peaceably ſettled under the protection of the government. Theſe auxiliaries, in conſideration of a price ſet upon the heads of the rebels, attacked them in their own way, ſlew them by ſurprize, until their ſtrength was broken, and numbers made away with themſelves, in deſpair; ſo that the inſurrection was ſuppoſed to be quelled about the beginning of May: but in June it broke out again with redoubled fury, and the rebels were reinforced to a very conſiderable number. The regular troops and the militia,

tia, joined by a body of ſailors, formed a camp under the command of colonel Spragge, who ſent out detachments againſt the negroes, a good number of whom were killed and ſome taken; but the reſt, inſtead of ſubmitting, took ſhelter in the woods and mountains. The priſoners being tried, and found guilty of rebellion, were put to death by a variety of tortures. Some were hanged; ſome beheaded; ſome burned; and ſome fixed alive upon gibets. One of theſe laſt lived eight days and eighteen hours, ſuſpended under a vertical ſun, without being refreſhed by one drop of water, or receiving any manner of ſuſtenance.

In order to prevent ſuch inſurrections for the future, the juſtices aſſembled at the ſeſſions of the peace, ordained by a public decree, that no negro-ſlave ſhould be allowed to quit his plantation without a white conductor, or a ticket of leave: that every negro playing at any ſort of game ſhould be ſcourged through the public ſtreets: that every publican ſuffering ſuch gaming in his houſe ſhould forfeit forty ſhillings: that every proprietor ſuffering his negroes to beat a drum, blow a horn, or make any other noiſe in his plantation, ſhould be fined in ten pounds; and every overſeer allowing theſe irregularities, ſhould pay half that ſum, to be demanded, or diſtrained for, by any civil or military officer: that every free negro, or mulatto, ſhould wear a blue croſs on his right ſhoulder, on pain of impriſonment; that no mulatto, Indian, or negro, ſhould hawk or ſell any thing, except freſh fiſh and milk, on pain of being ſcourged: that rum and punch houſes ſhould be ſhut during divine ſervice on Sundays, under the penalty of twenty ſhillings; and that thoſe who had petit licences ſhould ſhut up their houſes on other nights at nine o' clock. Notwithſtanding theſe examples and regulations, a body of rebellious negroes ſtill ſubſiſted in places that were deemed inacceſſible to regular forces, and from theſe they made nocturnal irruptions into the neareſt plantations, where they acted with all the wantonneſs of barbarity; ſo that the people of Jamaica were obliged to conduct themſelves with the utmoſt vigilance and circumſpection, while rear-admiral Holmes, who commanded at ſea, took every precaution to ſecure the iſland from inſult or invaſion.

Nor did he confine his ſole attention to the ſecurity of Jamaica: he likewiſe contrived and executed ſchemes for annoying the enemy at open ſea. Having, in the month of October, received intimation that five French frigates were lying at Cape Francois on the iſland of Hiſpaniola, in order to convoy a fleet of merchant ſhips to Europe, he ſtationed the ſhips under his command, in ſuch a manner as was moſt likely to intercept this fleet; and his diſpoſition was attended with ſucceſs. The enemy ſailed from the Cape, to the number of eight ſail, on the ſixteenth, and next day they were chaced by the king's ſhips the Hampſhire, Lively, and Boreas, which however could not overtake them, as there was little wind, and that variable. In the evening the breeze freſhened, and about midnight the Boreas came up with the Sirenne, commanded by commodore Mac Cartie. They engaged with great vivacity for about twenty-five minutes, when the Sirenne ſhot a-head, and made the beſt of her way. The Boreas was ſo damaged in her rigging, that ſhe could not cloſe with the enemy again till next day at two in the afternoon, when the action was renewed off the eaſt end of Cuba, and maintained till forty minutes paſt four, when Mr. Mac Cartie ſtruck.

In the mean time, the Hampſhire and Lively gave chace to the other four French frigates, which ſteered ſouthward with all the ſail they could carry, in order to reach the weſt end of Tortuga, and take refuge in Port au Prince. On the eighteenth the Lively, by the help of her oars, came up with the Valeur at half an hour paſt ſeven in the morning; and after a hot action that continued an hour and an half, compelled the enemy to ſubmit. The Hampſhire ſtood after the other three, and, about four in the afternoon, ran up between the duke de Choiſeul and the Prince Edward. Theſe he engaged at the ſame time; but the firſt, having the advantage of the wind, made her retreat into Port au Paix: the other ran aſhore about two leagues to leeward, and ſtruck her colours; but, at the approach of the Hampſhire, the enemy ſet her on fire, and ſhe blew up. This was alſo the fate of the Fleur de Lis, which had run into Freſh-water bay, a little farther to leeward of Port au Prince. Thus, by the prudent diſpoſition of admiral Holmes, and the gallantry of his three captains, Norbury, Uvedale, and Maitland, two large frigates of the enemy were taken, and three deſtroyed.

The ſpirit of the captains was happily ſeconded by an extraordinary exertion of courage in the inferior officers and common men. Immediately after the capture of the French frigates, eight of the enemy's privateers were deſtroyed or brought into Jamaica. Two of theſe, namely the Vainqueur of ten guns, ſixteen ſwivels, and ninety men, and the Mackau of ſix ſwivels, and fifteen men, had run into ſhoal-water in Cumberland harbour, on the iſland of Cuba. The boats of the Trent and Boreas were manned under the direction of the lieutenants Millar and Stuart, who being rowed up to the Vainqueur, boarded and took poſſeſſion under a cloſe fire, after having ſurmounted many other difficulties. The Mackau was taken, without any reſiſtance; then the boats proceeded againſt the Gueſpe of eight guns and eighty-five men, which lay at anchor farther up in the Lagune; but before they came up, the enemy had ſet her on fire, and ſhe was deſtroyed.

The ſame activity and reſolution diſtinguiſhed the captains and officers of the ſquadron commanded by Sir James Douglas off the Leeward iſlands. In the month of September, the captains Obrien and Taylor, of the ſhips Temple and Griffin, being on a joint cruiſe off the iſlands Grenadas, received intelligence that the Virgin, formerly a Britiſh ſloop of war, which had been taken by the enemy, then lay at anchor, together with three privateers, under protection of three forts on the iſland. They accordingly ſailed thither in order to attack them; and their enterprize was happily crowned with ſucceſs. After a warm engagement, that laſted ſeveral hours, the enemies batteries were ſilenced, and indeed demoliſhed, and the Engliſh captains took poſſeſſion of the four prizes. They afterwards entered another harbour of that iſland, having firſt demoliſhed another fort; and there

there lay four days umoleſted, at the expiration of which they carried off three other prizes. In their return to Antigua, they fell in with thirteen ſhips, bound to Martinique with proviſions, and took them all without reſiſtance. About the ſame time, eight or nine privateers were taken by the ſhips which commodore Sir James Douglas employed in cruiſing round the iſland of Guadaloupe; ſo that the Britiſh commerce in thoſe ſeas flouriſhed under his care and protection.

Having thus given a particular account of all the military tranſactions that diſtinguiſhed this year in Europe, America, and the Weſt Indies, we muſt now turn our eyes to the progreſs of the Britiſh arms in the Eaſt Indies, where they were no leſs ſucceſsful than in the Weſt Indies. After the reduction of Arcot, the garriſons of Permacoil and Allumparva ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war in the beginning of May. The Falmouth compelled the Haarlem, a French ſhip from Merguy, to run aſhore to the northward of Pondicherry. The important ſettlement of Carical was reduced by the ſea and land forces commanded by rear-admiral Corniſh and major Monſon, and the French garriſon made priſoners of war.

Colonel Coote, after having defeated the French general Lally in the field, and ſubdued ſeveral of the enemy's ſettlements on the coaſt of Coromandel, at length ſhut them up within the walls of Pondicherry, the principal ſeat of the French Eaſt India company, large, populous, well fortified, and defended by a numerous garriſon, under the immediate command of their general. In the month of October admiral Stevens departed from Trincamaley with all his ſquadron, in order to its being repaired, except five ſail of the line, which he left under the command of captain Haldane to block up Pondicherry by ſea, while Mr. Coote ſhould carry on the ſiege by land. By this diſpoſition, and the activity of the Britiſh officers, the place was ſo ſtreightened for want of proviſions as to be almoſt reduced to a ſtarving condition, even before the ſiege could be undertaken in form; for the rainy ſeaſon rendered all regular approaches impracticable. Theſe rains being abated by the twenty-ſixth day of November, colonel Coote directed the engineers to pitch upon proper places for erecting batteries, that ſhould enfilade or flank the works of the fortreſs, without expoſing their own men to any ſevere fire from the enemy. Accordingly four batteries were conſtructed in different places, ſo as to anſwer theſe purpoſes, and opened all at once on the eighth day of December at mid-night. Though placed at a conſiderable diſtance, they were plied with good effect, and the beſieged returned the fire with great vivacity. This mutual cannonading continued until the twenty-ninth day of the month, when the engineers were employed in raiſing another battery near enough to effect a breach in the north-weſt counter-guard and curtain. Though the approaches were retarded ſome days by a violent ſtorm, which almoſt ruined the works, the damage was ſoon repaired; a conſiderable poſt was taken from the enemy by aſſault, and afterwards regained by the French grenadiers, through the timidity of the Sipoys, by whom it was defended. By the fifteenth of January, a ſecond battery being raiſed within point-blank, a breach was made in the curtain; the weſt face and flank of the north-weſt baſtion were ruined, and the guns of the enemy intirely ſilenced.

The garriſon and inhabitants of Pondicherry being now in danger of periſhing with hunger, the principal of the Jeſuits, accompanied by two civilians, came out, and offered terms of capitulation. The governor, preſerving all his haughtineſs, which neither his errors nor his misfortunes could abate, declined to offer any terms: he ſent out a paper full of invectives againſt the Engliſh, for the breach of treaties relative to India. He alledged, that theſe breaches rendered him incapable of propoſing any conditions; and, in conſequence, he rather ſuffered the Engliſh troops to take poſſeſſion of the place, than formally ſurrendered it. As the governor refuſed to capitulate, the propoſals of the inhabitants were little regarded; and the city of Pondicherry, with a garriſon of about fourteen hundred European ſoldiers, a vaſt quantity of military ſtores, and great riches, was given up at diſcretion to the victorious arms of the Engliſh.

Nothing can be ſaid too highly of the conduct, courage, and perſeverance of the officers and ſoldiers during a tedious ſiege and a blockade of eight months, in a climate ſo unfavourable to all military operations. Colonel Coote gave the final blow to the French power in India: he was now undiſputed maſter of the rich coaſt of Coromandel; the French power was wholly annihilated; the neutral nations were contemptible; the princes of the country regarded us with awe and veneration; and nothing but a little French ſettlement on the coaſt of Malabar, called Mahie (and which was ſoon after reduced) hindered our commanding the whole trade of the vaſt peninſula of India, from the Ganges to the Indies, the moſt extenſive and profitable ſphere of commerce in the world.

It muſt be obſerved, likewiſe, for the honour of the ſervice, that, during the whole expedition, the moſt perfect harmony prevailed between the land and ſea officers, who vied with each other in contributing their efforts towards the ſucceſs of the enterprize. On the twenty-fifth day of December rear-admiral Stevens arrived with four ſhips of the line, having parted with rear-admiral Corniſh and his diviſion in ſtormy weather: but he joined them at Pondicherry before the place was taken. On the firſt day of January a violent tempeſt obliged admiral Stevens to ſlip his cables and put to ſea, where he was ſeparated from the reſt of his ſquadron; and when in three days he returned to the road of Pondicherry, he had the mortification to find that his diviſion had ſuffered ſeverely from the ſtorm. The ſhips of war, called the Duke Acquitaine and the Sunderland, foundered in the ſtorm, and their crews periſhed. The Newcaſtle, the Queenborough, and Protector fireſhip, were driven on ſhore and deſtroyed; but the men were ſaved, together with the cannon, ſtores, and proviſions. Many other ſhips ſuſtained conſiderable damage, which, however, was ſoon repaired. Mr. Stevens, having intercepted a letter from general Lally to Mr. Ramond, the French preſident at Pullicat, in which he informed him of the intire deſtruction of the Engliſh fleet, and ſollicited immediate

assistance; the British admiral dispatched letters to the Dutch and Danish settlements on that coast, intimating, that, notwithstanding the insinuations of general Lally, he had eleven sail of the line, with two frigates, under his command, all fit for service, in the road of Pondicherry, which was closely invested and blockaded both by sea and land. He therefore declared, that as in that case it was contrary to the law of nations for any neutral power to relieve or succour the besieged, he was determined to seize any vessel that should attempt to throw provisions into the place.

While the arms of Great Britain were thus successful in almost every quarter of the globe, an event happened, which, for a moment, obscured the splendor of her triumphs, and damped the joy which these occasioned. On the twenty-fifth day of October, early in the morning, king George the second was, without any previous disorder, suddenly seized with the agony of death, at the palace at Kensington. He had risen at his usual hour, called his page, drank his chocolate, and inquired about the wind, as anxious for the arrival of the foreign mails; then he opened a window of his apartment, and observing the weather was serene, signified his intention to walk in the garden. In a few minutes after this intimation, while he remained alone in his chamber, he fell down upon the floor: the noise of his fall brought his attendants into the room, who lifted him on the bed, where he desired in a faint voice, that the princess Amelia might be called; but, before she could reach the apartment, he had expired. An attempt was made to bleed him, but without effect; and indeed his malady was far beyond the reach of art; for, when the cavity of the thorax or chest was opened, and inspected by the serjeant surgeons, they found the right ventricle of the heart actually ruptured, and a great quantity of blood discharged through the aperture into the surrounding pericardium; so that he must have died instantaneously in consequence of the effusion.

Such was the unexpected, though not premature death of George the second, king of Great Britain, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign. He was in his person rather lower than the middle size, well-shaped, erect, with eyes remarkably prominent, a high nose, and fair complexion. In his temper he is said to have been sudden and violent; but this, though it influenced his private behaviour, made no impression on his public conduct, which was always sufficiently deliberate and attentive to his own interest, and that of his subjects.

Sincere and honest in his intentions, he was never known to be guilty of deceit: true to his word, he was never seen to violate his promise: steady in his favour and protection to his servants, he never changed them willingly; and those who attended more immediately on his person, were scarce ever removed, but grew old along with him, or died in their places. But having been in a manner compelled, by a violent faction, to relinquish a minister, for whom he had a great affection, and in whom he reposed an unlimited confidence, it afterwards became a matter of more indifference to him by whom he was served in the affairs of his government.

His parts were not lively or brilliant; but the whole of his conduct demonstrates, that he had a judgment both solid and comprehensive. He understood the interests of the several sovereigns of Europe; and was particularly skilled in all the intricacies of that political labyrinth, the system of Germany; of the liberties of which he was, through his whole life, a most zealous assertor. In the last war but one he took up arms, and even risqued his own person, when, by the projected dismemberment of the house of Austria, they were in danger of falling a sacrifice to a French faction. In the war which succeeded, when the liberties of the empire were threatened by the Austrian family, he resisted with equal firmness, that very house which he had formerly exposed his life to defend.

He lived entirely to extinguish party and the spirit of party in his own dominions: it was not till the close of his reign, that his family might have been considered as firmly and immoveably seated on the throne; but he, having baffled all the private machinations of his enemies policy, subdued at length the utmost efforts of their force: and though, on that menacing occasion, he experienced, in the fullest measure, the affection of his people, yet the completion of this great service to his family he owed chiefly to the capacity and bravery of his own son.

Placed in the highest and most exalted station, he lived with his queen in that kind of harmony and confidence that is seen between the best suited couple in private life. He had a numerous issue, in which he had great cause of satisfaction, and very little of disquiet, except what was the almost necessary consequence of a life protracted to a late period. He survived several of his children. He had the satisfaction to see in his successor, what is very rare, the most dutiful obedience, the most perfect acquiescence in his will; and, what is no less rare, contrary to the fortune of most old kings, he never possessed more fully the love of his subjects than in the last year of his life. And he died at that very period, when the terror of his arms, the power of his kingdoms, and the wisdom of his government, were all raised to almost as high a pitch as they could possibly reach: they were indeed carried to such a height of glory and prosperity, as had never been exceeded, and hardly ever equalled in the reign of the most fortunate of his predecessors. Arriving in England at a riper age, and, of consequence, having never been able to attain a perfect knowledge of the force and beauties of the English language; he never shewed a sufficient regard to the British literature, which in his reign did not flourish; and this may be considered as the greatest, or rather the only blemish that lay upon his government. Though frequently censured, and perhaps not unjustly, as a little too attentive to money in some minute particulars, yet this disposition never discovered itself in one rapacious act, nor ever influenced his conduct on any important occasion; for it is now well known, that he shewed no improper parsimony, when the late war broke out. In fact, he expended so much in that interesting emergence, that, on his decease, his private wealth was found to be greatly inferior to what had been commonly imagined.

It has been often alleged, that during his whole life, he ſhewed a remarkable affection to his Hanoverian ſubjects: but the laſt act of it demonſtrated that they were far from engroſſing the whole of his regard; and that in reality his German poſſeſſions held no other place in his eſtimation than what their relative importance to the reſt of his dominions naturally demanded: for when that truly ſevere trial came, in which the intereſts of England and Hanover were ſeparated; when a war was begun for an object wholly foreign to this laſt country; a war, in which Hanover muſt ſuffer much, and could hope for nothing; even then his majeſty did not heſitate a moment to expoſe his German dominions to almoſt inevitable ruin, rather than make, or even propoſe, the ſmalleſt abatement from the immenſity of the Engliſh rights in America: a conduct that more than wipes off every ſuſpicion of an improper partiality, and which ſurely ought never to be mentioned without the higheſt gratitude to the memory of that magnanimous prince.

Were we to ranſack the whole ſtores of ancient and modern hiſtory, it would perhaps be impoſſible to exhibit a more pleaſing or inſtructive picture, than what might be formed by taking a juſt view of his late majeſty's conduct to theſe two ſo differently conſtituted parts of his dominions. His virtue was proved by two of the greateſt trials to which the nature of man is ſubject; the truſt of abſolute and unlimited power, and the moſt exalted ſtation, circumſcribed by the ſtricteſt laws. For theſe two ſo very different ſituations, very different and almoſt oppoſite tempers and talents have been always thought neceſſary. But George II. had a mind perfectly adapted to both: for whilſt in England, he kept the liberties of his people inviolate, and, like a wiſe magiſtrate, was pleaſed to make his authority co-operate with law, and his will freely ſubſervient to the wiſdom of ages; in Hanover, like an indulgent father, acting only from the ſentiments of a paternal heart, his affection and his equity ſupplied the want of law and conſtitution. He left, indeed, to his illuſtrious ſucceſſor, an admirable example, which he has hitherto not only followed, but in many reſpects exceeded: and his ſubjects take the greater intereſt in his virtues, as they look upon them as more peculiarly their own; and they now boaſt a prince who neither has, nor can have, any partiality but the beſt, and who is in birth as well as in inclination a Briton †.

I ſhall cloſe my account of this reign with particulariſing the principal domeſtic occurrences that engroſſed the attention of the public during the courſe of this year.

In the month of December, 1759, William Horne, a gentleman of ſome fortune in Derbyſhire, was executed at Nottingham, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, for the murder of an infant born of his own ſiſter, in the year 1724. On the third day after the birth, this brutal ruffian thruſt the child into a linen bag, and, accompanied by his own brother on horſeback, conveyed it to Anneſley in Nottinghamſhire, where it was next day found dead under a hay-ſtack. Though this unnatural monſter knew how much he lay at the mercy of his brother, whom he had made privy to this affair, far from endeavouring to engage his ſecrecy by offices of kindneſs and marks of affection, he treated him as an alien to his blood; not barely with indifference, but even with the moſt barbarous rigour. He not only defrauded him of his right, but exacted of him the loweſt menial ſervices; beheld him ſtarving in a cottage, while he lived himſelf in affluence; and refuſed to relieve, with a morſel of bread, the children of his own brother begging at his gate.

It was the reſentment of this pride and barbarity which, in all likelihood, firſt impelled the other to revenge. He pretended qualms of conſcience, and diſcloſed the tranſaction of the child to ſeveral individuals. As the brother was univerſally hated for the inſolence and brutality of his diſpoſition, information was given againſt him, and a reſolution formed to bring him to condign puniſhment. Being appriſed of this deſign, he tampered with his brother, and deſired that he would retract, upon the trial, the evidence he had given before the juſtice. Though the brother rejected this ſcheme of perjury, he offered to withdraw himſelf from the kingdom, if he might have five pounds to defray the expence of his voyage. So ſordidly avaricious was the other, that he refuſed to advance this miſerable pittance, though he knew his own life depended upon his compliance. He was accordingly apprehended, tried, and convicted on his brother's evidence; and then he confeſſed the particulars of expoſing the infant. He denied, indeed that he had any thought the child would periſh, and declared he intended it as a preſent to the late Mr. Chaworth of Anneſley, at whoſe gate it was laid: but as he appeared to be a hardened wretch, devoid of humanity, ſtained with the complicated crimes of tyranny, fraud, rapine, inceſt, and murder, very little credit is due to his declaration.

But no ſubject ſo much engaged the attention of the public, as did the caſe of lord George Sackville, who had by this time reſigned his command in Germany, and returned to England, where his character was repreſented in the moſt odious and deteſtable colours. With the firſt news of the battle of Minden, arrived the defamation of this officer. He was accuſed of having diſobeyed orders, and of having been guilty of the moſt ſhameful cowardice. Theſe were the ſuggeſtions of a vague report, which no perſon could trace to its origin; yet this report immediately gave birth to one of the moſt inflammatory pamphlets that ever was exhibited to the public. The firſt charge had alarmed the people of England, jealous in honour, ſudden and raſh in their reſentments, and obſtinately adhering to the prejudices they have eſpouſed. The implied accuſation in the orders of prince Ferdinand, and the combuſtible matter ſuperadded by the pamphlet-writer, kindled up ſuch a blaze of indignation in the minds of the people, as admitted of no temperament or con-

† George II. had, by his queen Caroline, two ſons and five daughters, who attained the age of maturity; Frederic prince of Wales, father to his preſent majeſty George III. William, late duke of Cumberland; Anne, the princeſs-royal, married to the late prince of Orange, and mother to the preſent ſtadtholder; Mary, landgravine of Heſſe-Caſſel; Louiſa, late queen of Denmark; Amelia, and Caroline, who never married.

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troul. An abhorrence and deteſtation of lord George Sackville, as a coward and a traitor, became the univerſal paſſion, which acted by contagion, infecting all degrees of people from the higheſt to the loweſt; and no individual, who had the leaſt regard for his own character and quiet, would venture to preach up moderation, or even adviſe a ſuſpenſion of belief, until more certain information could be procured. Freſh fuel was continually thrown in by obſcure authors of pamphlets and news-papers, who ſtigmatized and inſulted with ſuch a ſpirit of virulence, that one would have imagined they were actuated by perſonal motives, not retained by mercenary booksellers, againſt that unfortunate nobleman. Not ſatisfied with inventing circumſtances to his diſhonour, in his conduct on the laſt occaſion, they pretended to take a retroſpective view of his character, and produced a number of anecdotes to his prejudice, which had never before ſeen the light, and but for this occaſion had probably never been known. Not that all the writings, which appeared on this ſubject, contained freſh matter of aggravation againſt lord George Sackville. Some writers, either encouraged by the hope of reward, or hired to betray the cauſe which they undertook to defend, entered the liſts as profeſſed champions of the accuſed, aſſumed the pen in his behalf, devoid of ſenſe, unfurniſhed with materials, and produced performances, which could not fail to injure his character among all thoſe, who believed, that he countenanced their endeavours, and ſupplied them with the facts and arguments of his defence.

Such preciſely was the ſtate of the diſpute, when lord George Sackville arrived in London. He was now made acquainted with the particulars of this imputed guilt, which he had before indiſtinctly learned. He was accuſed of having diſobeyed three ſucceſſive orders he had received from the general, during the action at Minden, to advance with the cavalry of the right wing, which he commanded, and ſuſtain the infantry that were engaged; and after the cavalry were put in motion, of having halted them unneceſſarily, and marched ſo ſlow, that they could not reach the place of action in time to be of any ſervice; by which conduct the opportunity was loſt of attacking the enemy when they gave way, and rendering the victory more glorious and deciſive.

The firſt ſtep which lord George took towards the vindication of his own character, was in preſenting to the public the following addreſs: "The various reports, ſaid he, that have been propagated to my diſadvantage, and the many falſhoods which have been aſſerted to ruin my character, lay me under the neceſſity of remaining not entirely ſilent, though I am debarred at preſent from ſtating my caſe to the public, as I ſhould have done, had I not aſſurances of obtaining a court-martial for my trial; the only legal and effectual method of convincing the world how little foundation there has been for the torrent of calumny and abuſe, which has been ſo maliciouſly thrown out againſt me.

"I had rather, upon this occaſion, ſubmit myſelf to all the inconveniencies that may ariſe from the want of ſtile, than borrow aſſiſtance from the pens of others, as I can have no hopes of eſtabliſhing my character, but from the force of truth. I ſhall, therefore, as plainly and diſtinctly as poſſible, relate a few circumſtances, which will at leaſt ſhew that no body could be more deſirous than I am to bring truth to light, and ſubject my conduct to the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny.

"The inſtant I found by the implied cenſure given out in orders the ſecond of Auguſt, that my conduct had appeared in an unfavourable light to prince Ferdinand, on the day of action, I endeavoured to inform myſelf what particular I had either failed in or neglected my duty; I heard in general of diſobedience of orders, but I could fix no certain period of time to my ſuppoſed crime, till colonel Fitzroy acquainted me with what had paſſed between his ſerene highneſs and him upon my ſubject, in regard to the orders delivered to me by him (colonel Fitzroy) that day. Whenever my trial comes, I ſhall endeavour to clear up that point to the ſatisfaction of the public: my own aſſertions may have little weight, but the oaths of witneſſes, whoſe veracity cannot be called in queſtion, will, I truſt, prove my innocence beyond the poſſibility of doubt.

"Under theſe circumſtances, I immediately applied for his majeſty's permiſſion to return to England, that I might anſwer any accuſation that ſhould be brought againſt me; for, as commander in chief of the Britiſh forces in Germany, no perſon there could order a court-martial for my trial, had there been an accuſation laid; the power of ſummoning courts-martial and approving their ſentences, was veſted in me by my commiſſion, and no Britiſh officer or ſoldier could be tried by any other authority.

"As ſoon as I arrived in London, on Friday-evening the ſeventh, I inſtantly wrote the following letter to the ſecretary of ſtate.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour of acquainting your lordſhip with my arrival in England, in purſuance of his majeſty's permiſſion, ſent to me, at my requeſt, by your lordſhip.

"I thought myſelf much injured abroad, by an implied cenſure upon my conduct; I find I am ſtill more unfortunate at home, by being publickly repreſented as having neglected my duty in the ſtrongeſt manner, by diſobeying the poſitive orders of his ſerene highneſs prince Ferdinand: as I am conſcious of neither neglect, nor diſobedience of orders; as I am certain I did my duty to the utmoſt of my abilities; and as I am perſuaded that the prince himſelf would have found, that he had no juſt cauſe of complaint againſt me, had he condeſcended to have inquired into my conduct, before he had expreſſed his diſapprobation of it, from the partial repreſentation of others: I therefore moſt humbly requeſt, that I may at laſt have a public opportunity given me of attempting to juſtify myſelf to his majeſty, and to my country, by a court-martial being appointed; that if I am guilty, I may ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as I may have deſerved; and, if innocent, that I may ſtand acquitted in the opinion of the world: but it is really too ſevere to have been cenſured unheard; to have

have been condemned before I was tried; and to be informed neither of my crime, nor of my accuſers. I am, my Lord, &c. &c.

GEORGE SACKVILLE."

"I received an anſwer to this letter on Monday the tenth, in which I was aſſured that a court-martial, upon my application, would be granted, as ſoon as the officers, capable of giving evidence, could leave their poſts; but previouſly to the receipt of that letter, I was diſmiſſed from all my military employments; notwithſtanding which diſmiſſion, I ſtill hope, and am informed, that I may have the advantage of a legal trial.

"In the mean time, the only indulgence I have to aſk is, that the public will ſuſpend its judgment till ſuch facts can be produced, from which alone the truth can appear; but if plans of a battle are to be referred to, which can give no juſt idea of it; if diſpoſitions of the cavalry and infantry are ſuppoſed, which never exiſted; if orders for attacks and purſuits are quoted, which never were delivered; and if diſobedience to thoſe imaginary orders are aſſerted as a crime, what can an injured officer, under ſuch circumſtances, have recourſe to, but claiming that juſtice, which is due to every Engliſhman, of being heard before he is condemned: the ſooner that happens, the happier I ſhall be, as I am conſcious my innocence muſt appear, when real facts are truly ſtated and fully proved.

GEORGE SACKVILLE."

This addreſs, however, though extremely well approved by every man of ſenſe and reflection, was not able to ſtem the torrent of popular prejudice, which flowed againſt him with irreſiſtible impetuoſity. He might, therefore, have retired in quiet and ſafety, and left it to ebb at leiſure. This would have been generally deemed a prudential ſtep, by all thoſe who conſidered the unfavourable medium through which every particular of his conduct muſt have been viewed at that juncture, even by men who cheriſhed the moſt candid intentions; when they reflected upon the power, influence, and popularity of his accuſer; the danger of aggravating the reſentment of the people, already too conſpicuous, and the riſque of hazarding his life on the honour and integrity of witneſſes, who might think their fortunes depended upon the nature of the evidence they ſhould give. Notwithſtanding thoſe ſuggeſtions, lord George, ſeemingly impatient of the imputation under which his character laboured, inſiſted upon the privilege of a legal trial, which was granted accordingly, after the judges had given it as their opinion, that he might be tried by a court-martial, though he no longer retained any commiſſion in the ſervice. A court of general officers being appointed and aſſembled to enquire into his conduct, the judge-advocate informed the court, that lord George was charged with having diſobeyed the orders of prince Ferdinand, relative to the battle of Minden.

In order to give the reader a more diſtinct view of the charge, it is neceſſary to remind him that lord George Sackville commanded the cavalry of the right wing, conſiſting of Hanoverian and Britiſh horſe, diſpoſed in two lines, the Britiſh being at the extremity on the right, extending to the village of Hartum; the Hanoverian cavalry forming the left, that reached almoſt to an open wood or grove, which divided the horſe from the line of infantry, particularly from that part of the line of infantry conſiſting of two brigades of Britiſh foot, the Hanoverian guards, and Hardenberg's regiment. This was the body of troops which ſuſtained the brunt of the battle with the moſt incredible courage and perſeverance. They, of their own accord, advanced to attack the left of the enemy's cavalry, through a moſt dreadful fire of artillery and ſmall-arms, to which they were expoſed in front and flank; they withſtood the repeated attacks of the whole French gendarmerie, whom, at length, they totally routed, together with a body of Saxon troops on their left; and to their valour the victory was chiefly owng. The ground from which theſe troops advanced was a kind of heath or plain which opened a conſiderable way to the left, where the reſt of the army was formed in order of battle; but on the right it was bounded by the wood, on the other ſide of which the cavalry of the right wing was poſted, having in front the village of Halen, from whence the French had been driven by the piquets in the army there poſted, and in front of them a windmill, ſituated in the middle ſpace between them and a battery placed on the left of the enemy.

Early in the morning captain Malhorti had, by order of prince Ferdinand, poſted the cavalry of the right wing in the ſituation we have juſt deſcribed, the village of Hartum with incloſures on the right, a narrow wood on the left, the village of Halen in their front, and a windmill in the middle of an open plain, which led directly to the enemy. In this poſition lord George Sackville was directed to remain until he ſhould receive further orders; and here it was thoſe orders were given which he was ſaid to have diſobeyed. Indeed, he was previouſly charged with having neglected the orders of the preceding evening, which imported, that the horſes ſhould be ſaddled at one in the morning, though the tents were not to be ſtruck, nor the troops under arms, until they ſhould receive further orders. He was accuſed of having diſobeyed theſe orders, and of having come late into the field, after the cavalry was formed.

Captain Winchingrode, aid-du-camp to prince Ferdinand, declared upon oath, that while the infantry of the right wing were advancing towards the enemy for the ſecond time, he was ſent with orders to lord George Sackville to advance with the cavalry of the right wing, and ſuſtain the infantry, which was going to engage, by forming the horſe under his command, upon the heath, in a third line behind the regiments: that he delivered theſe orders to lord George Sackville, giving him to underſtand, that he ſhould march the cavalry through the wood or trees on his left, to the heath where they were to be formed: that, on his return to the heath, he met colonel Fitzroy at full gallop towards lord George; and that he (Winchingrode) followed him back in order to haſten the march of the cavalry.

Colonel Ligonier, another of the prince's aids-du-camp, depoſed, that he carried orders from the general to lord George to advance with the cavalry, in order to take advantage of the diſorder which

which appeared in the enemy's cavalry: that lord George made no anſwer to theſe orders, but turning to the troops, commanded them to draw their ſwords and march: that the colonel ſeeing them advance a few paces on the right forwards, told his lordſhip that he ſhould march to the left: that, in the mean time, colonel Fitzroy arriving with orders for the Britiſh cavalry only to advance, lord George ſaid the orders were contradictory, and colonel Ligonier replied they differed only in numbers; but the deſtination of his march was the ſame, to the left.

Colonel Fitzroy, the third aid du camp to prince Ferdinand, gave evidence, that when he told lord George it was the prince's order for the Britiſh cavalry to advance towards the left, his lordſhip obſerved, that it was different from the order brought by colonel Ligonier, and he could not think the prince intended to break the line: that he aſked which way the cavalry was to march, and who was to be their guide: that when he (the aid du camp) offered to lead the column through the wood on the left, his lordſhip ſeemed ſtill diſſatisfied with the order, ſaying it did not agree with the order brought by colonel Ligonier, and deſired to be conducted in perſon to the prince, that he might have an explanation from his own mouth; a reſolution which was immediately executed. The next evidence, a colonel in the army, made oath, that, in his opinion, when the orders were delivered to lord George, his lordſhip was alarmed to a very great degree, and ſeemed to be in the utmoſt confuſion.

A certain nobleman, of high rank and unblemiſhed reputation, declared, that captain Winchingrode having told him it was abſolutely neceſſary that the cavalry ſhould march and form a line, to ſupport the foot, he had given orders to the ſecond line to march: that, as ſoon as they arrived at the place where the action began, he was met by colonel Fitzroy with an order for the cavalry to advance as faſt as poſſible: that, in marching to this place, an order came to halt, until they could be joined by the firſt line of cavalry: that afterwards, in advancing, they were again halted by lord George Sackville: that, in his opinion, they might have marched with more expedition, and even come up in time enough to act againſt the enemy: ſome other officers, who were examined on this ſubject, agreed with the marquis in theſe ſentiments.

Lord George in his defence proved, by undeniable evidence, that he never received the orders iſſued on the eve of the battle, nor any ſort of intimation or plan of action, although he was certainly intitled to ſome ſuch communication as commander in chief of the Britiſh forces; that, nevertheleſs, the orders concerning the horſes were obeyed by thoſe who received them: that lord George, inſtead of loitering or loſing time while the troops were forming, prepared to put himſelf at the head of the cavalry on the firſt notice that they were in motion: that he was ſo eager to perform his duty, as to ſet out from his quarters without even waiting for an aid du camp to attend him, and was in the field before any general officer of his diviſion: that, when captain Winchingrode delivered the order to form the cavalry in one line, making a third, to advance and ſuſtain the infantry, he neither heard him ſay he was to march by the left, nor ſaw him point with his ſword to the wood through which he was to paſs: that neither of theſe directions were obſerved by the aids du camp or officers then preſent, except one gentleman, the perſon who bore witneſs to the confuſion in the looks and deportment of his lordſhip: that the neareſt and moſt practicable way of advancing againſt the enemy was by the way of the windmill, to the left of the village of Halen: that lord George imagined this was the only way by which he could be ordered to advance: that, in this perſuaſion, he had ſent an officer to reconnoitre the village of Halen as an object of importance, as it would have been upon the flank of the cavalry in advancing forwards: that when he received the order from Winchingrode to form the line and advance, he ſtill imagined this was his route, and on this ſuppoſition immediately detached an aid du camp to remove a regiment of Saxe Gotha which was in the front: that he ſent a ſecond to obſerve the place where the infantry were, and a third to reconnoitre the enemy: that, in a few minutes, colonel Ligonier coming up with an order from prince Ferdinand to advance the cavalry, his lordſhip immediately drew his ſword, and ordered them to march forward by the windmill: that, with regard to what the colonel ſaid, that, upon his delivering the order, he added, "by the left!" lord George heard no ſuch directions; nor did it reach the ears of any other perſon then preſent except of that officer who witneſſed to the ſame direction given by Winchingrode: that immediately after the troops were put in motion, colonel Fitzroy arrived with an order from prince Ferdinand, importing, that the Britiſh cavalry only ſhould advance by the left: that lord George declared their orders were contradictory, and ſeemed the more puzzled, as he underſtood that both theſe gentlemen came off nearly at the ſame time from the prince, and were probably directed to communicate the ſame order: that it was therefore natural to ſuppoſe there was a miſtake, as there might be great danger in breaking the line, as the route by the wood appeared more difficult and tedious than that by the windmill, which led directly through open ground to the enemy; and as he could not think that if a body of horſe was immediately wanted, the general would ſend for the Britiſh that were at the fartheſt extremity of the wing, rather than for the Hanoverian cavalry, who formed the left of the line, and conſequently were much nearer the ſcene of action: that lord George in this uncertainty reſolved to apply for an explanation to the prince in perſon, who he underſtood was at a ſmall diſtance: that, with this view, he ſet out with all poſſible expedition: that having entered the wood, and perceived that the country beyond it opened ſooner to the left than he imagined, and captain Smith, his aid du camp, adviſing that the Britiſh cavalry ſhould be put in motion, he ſent back that gentleman with orders for them to advance by the left with all poſſible diſpatch: that he rode up to the general, who received him without any marks of diſpleaſure, and ordered him to bring up the whole cavalry of the right wing in a line upon the heath; an order, the reader will perceive, quite different from that which was ſo warmly eſpouſed by the aid du camp: that as the marquis of Granby had

already put the ſecond line in motion, according to a ſeparate order which he had received, and the head of his column was already in view coming out of the wood, lord George thought it neceſſary to halt the troops on the left until the right ſhould come into the line, and afterwards ſend them orders to march ſlower, that two regiments which had been thrown out of the line might have an opportunity to replace themſelves in their proper ſtations.

With regard to the confuſion which one officer pretended to have perceived in the countenance and deportment of this commander, a conſiderable number of other officers then preſent, being interrogated by his lordſhip, unanimouſly declared that they ſaw no ſuch marks of confuſion, but that he delivered his orders with all the marks of coolneſs and deliberation. The candid reader will of himſelf determine, whether a man's heart is to be judged by any change of his complexion, granting ſuch a change to have happened: whether the evidence of one witneſs, in ſuch a caſe, will weigh againſt the concurrent teſtimony of all the officers, whoſe immediate buſineſs it was to attend and obſerve the commander: whether it was likely that an officer, who had been more than once in actual ſervice, and behaved without reproach, ſo as to attain ſuch an eminent rank in the army, ſhould exhibit ſymptoms of fear and confuſion, when there was in reality no appearance of danger; for none of theſe orders imported he ſhould attack the enemy, but only advance to ſuſtain the infantry.

The time which elapſed from the firſt order he received by captain Winchingrode, to the arrival of colonel Ligonier, did not exceed eight minutes, during which his aid du camp, captain Hugo, was employed in removing the Saxe Gotha regiment from the front, by which he propoſed to advance. From that period till the cavalry actually marched, in conſequence of an order from lord George, the length of time was differently eſtimated in the opinions of different witneſſes, but, at a medium, computed by the judge-advocate at fifteen minutes, during which the following circumſtances were tranſacted: the troops were firſt ordered to advance forwards, then halted; the contradictory orders arrived and were diſputed; the commander deſired the two aids du camp to agree about which was the preciſe order, and he would obey it immediately; each inſiſting upon that which he had delivered, lord George haſtened to the general for an explanation; and as he paſſed the wood, ſent back captain Smith to the right of the cavalry, which was at a conſiderable diſtance, to put the Britiſh horſe in motion.

I ſhall not pretend to determine whether the commander of ſuch an important body may be excuſeable for heſitating, when he receives contradictory orders at the ſame time, eſpecially when both orders run counter to his own judgment; whether in that caſe it is allowable for him to ſuſpend the operation for a few minutes, in order to conſult in perſon the commander in chief about a ſtep of ſuch conſequence to the preſervation of the whole army. Neither will I venture to decide dogmatically on the merits of the march, after the cavalry were put in motion; whether they marched too ſlow, or were unneceſſarily halted in their way to the heath.

It was proved indeed that lord George was always remarkably ſlow in his movements of cavalry, on the ſuppoſition that if horſes are blown, they muſt be unfit for ſervice, and that the leaſt hurry is apt to diſorder the line of horſe to ſuch a degree, as would rob them of their proper effect, and render all their efforts abortive. This being the ſyſtem of lord George Sackville, it may deſerve conſideration, whether he could deviate from it on this delicate occaſion, without renouncing the dictates of his own judgment and diſcretion; and whether he was at liberty to uſe his own judgment, after having received the order to advance.

After all, whether he was intentionally guilty, and what were the motives by which he was really actuated, are queſtions which his own conſcience alone can ſolve. Even granting him to have heſitated from perplexity; to have lingered from vexation; to have failed through error of judgment; he will probably find favour with the candid and humane part of his fellow-ſubjects, when they reflect upon the nature of his ſituation, placed at the head of ſuch a body of cavalry, uninſtructed and uninformed of plan or circumſtance, divided from the reſt of the army, unacquainted with the operations of the day, chagrined with doubt and diſappointment, and perplexed by contradictory orders, neither of which he could execute without offering violence to his own judgment; when they conſider the endeavours he uſed to manifeſt his obedience; the laſt diſtinct order, which he in perſon received and executed; that mankind are liable to miſtakes; that the cavalry were not originally intended to act, as appears in the account of the battle publiſhed at the Hague by the authority of prince Ferdinand, expreſsly declaring that the cavalry on the right did not act, becauſe it was deſtined to ſuſtain the infantry in a third line; that if it had really been deſigned for action, it ought either to have been poſted in another place, or permitted to advance ſtrait forwards by the windmill, according to the idea of its commander: finally, when they recal to view the general confuſion that ſeems to have prevailed through the manœuvres of that morning, and remember ſome particulars of the action; that the brigades of Britiſh artillery had no orders until they applied to lord George Sackville, who directed them to the ſpot where they acquitted themſelves with ſo much honour and effect, in contributing to the ſucceſs of the day; that the glory and advantage acquired by the few brigades of infantry, who may be ſaid to have defeated the whole French army, was in no reſpect owing to any general or particular orders or inſtructions, but entirely flowing from the native valour of the troops, and the ſpirited conduct of their immediate commanders; and that a great number of officers in the allied army, even of thoſe who remained on the open heath, never ſaw the face of the enemy, or ſaw them at ſuch a diſtance that they could not diſtinguiſh more than the hats and the arms of the Britiſh regiments with which they were engaged. With reſpect to the imputation of cowardice levelled at lord George by the unthinking multitude, and circulated with ſuch induſtry and clamour, we ought to conſider it as a mob-accuſation, which the braveſt of men, even the great duke of Marlborough, could not eſcape: we ought to receive it as a dangerous ſuſpicion, which ſtrikes at the root of character, and may

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blaſt that honour in a moment, which the ſoldier has acquired in a long courſe of painful ſervice, at the continual hazard of his life: we ought to diſtruſt it as a malignant charge, altogether inconſiſtent with the former conduct of the perſon accuſed, as well as with his ſubſequent impatience and perſeverance in demanding a trial, to which he never would have been called; a trial which, tho' his life was at ſtake, and his cauſe out of countenance, he ſuſtained with ſuch courage, fortitude, and preſence of mind, as even his enemies themſelves could not help admiring. It ought likewiſe to be obſerved in his favour, that the only perſon who witneſſed to the confuſion in his countenance, and of conſequence may be ſuppoſed to have been the author of this malicious report, was himſelf guilty of the very ſame diſobedience to orders of which he accuſed his ſuperior; and the intelligent reader will, from this circumſtance, judge what credit is due to the evidence of ſuch a witneſs, eſpecially when contradicted by the concurrent teſtimony of ſo many other gentlemen.

The court-martial, however, having examined the evidence, and heard the defence, gave judgment in theſe words: "The court, upon due conſideration of the whole matter before them, is of opinion, that lord George Sackville is guilty of having diſobeyed the orders of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic, whom he was by his commiſſion and inſtructions directed to obey as commander in chief, according to the rules of war; and it is the farther opinion of this court, that lord George Sackville is, and he is hereby adjudged, unfit to ſerve his majeſty in any military capacity whatſoever." This ſentence was confirmed by the king, who moreover ſignified his pleaſure, that it ſhould be given out in public orders, not only in Britain, but in America, and every quarter of the globe where any Engliſh troops happened to be, that officers, being convinced that neither high birth nor great employmenis can ſhelter offences of ſuch a nature; and that ſeeing they are ſubject to cenſures, much worſe than death to a man who has any ſenſe of honour, they may avoid the fatal conſequences ariſing from diſobedience of orders. To complete the diſgrace of this unfortunate general, his majeſty in council called for the council-book, and ordered the name of lord George Sackville to be ſtruck out of the liſt of privy-counſellors.

This trial was ſucceeded by another of a ſtill more important nature. Laurence Shirley, earl Ferrers, a nobleman of a violent ſpirit, who had committed many outrages, and, in the opinion of all who knew him, given manifold proofs of inſanity, at length perpetrated a murder which ſubjected him to the cognizance of the law. His deportment to his lady was ſo brutal, that application had been made to the houſe of peers, and a ſeparation effected by act of parliament. Truſtees were nominated; and one Mr. Johnſon, who had, during the beſt part of his life, been employed in the family, was now appointed receiver of the eſtates, at the earl's own requeſt. The conduct of this man in the courſe of his ſtewardſhip gave umbrage to lord Ferrers, whoſe diſpoſition was equally jealous and vindictive. He imagined all his own family had conſpired againſt his intereſt, and that Johnſon was one of their accomplices; that he had been inſtrumental in obtaining the act of parliament, which his lordſhip conſidered as a grievous hardſhip; that he had diſappointed him in regard to a certain contract about coal-mines: in a word, that there was a colluſion between Johnſon and the earl's adverſaries. Inflamed with theſe ſuppoſitions, he firſt expreſſed his reſentment by giving Johnſon notice to quit the farm which he poſſeſſed on the eſtate; but finding the truſtees had confirmed the leaſe, he determined to gratify his revenge by aſſaſſination, and laid his plan accordingly.

On Sunday the thirteenth of January he appointed this unhappy man to come to his houſe on the Friday following, in order to peruſe papers, or ſettle accompts; and Johnſon went thither without the leaſt ſuſpicion of what was prepared for his reception: for although he was no ſtranger to his lordſhip's dangerous diſpoſition, and knew he had ſome time before incurred his diſpleaſure, yet he imagined his reſentment had entirely ſubſided, as the earl had of late behaved to him with remarkable complacency. He therefore at the time appointed repaired to his lordſhip's houſe of Stanton in Leiceſterſhire, at the diſtance of a ſhort mile from his own habitation, and was admitted by a maid ſervant. The earl had diſmiſſed every perſon in the houſe, upon various pretences, except three women who were left in the kitchen. Johnſon advancing to the door of the apartment, was received by his lordſhip, who deſired him to walk into another room, where he joined him in a few minutes, and then the door was locked on the inſide. After a great deal of warm expoſtulation, the earl inſiſted upon his ſubſcribing a paper, confeſſing himſelf a villain; and on his refuſing to comply with this demand, declared he would put him to death. In vain the unfortunate man remonſtrated againſt this cruel reſolution, and deprecated the indignation of this furious nobleman. He remained deaf to all his intreaties, drew forth a piſtol which he had loaded for the purpoſe, and commanding him to implore heaven's mercy on his knees, ſhot him through the body while he remained in that ſupplicating poſture. The conſequence of this violence was not immediate death; but his lordſhip ſeeing the wretched victim ſtill alive and ſenſible, though agonized with pain, felt a momentary emotion of pity. He ordered his ſervants to convey Mr. Johnſon up ſtairs to a bed, to ſend for a ſurgeon, and give immediate notice of the accident to the wounded man's family. When Mr. Johnſon's daughter came to the houſe, ſhe was met by the earl, who told her he had ſhot her father on purpoſe, and with deliberation.

The ſame declaration he made to the ſurgeon at his arrival. He ſtood by him while he examined the wound, deſcribed the direction of the ball, and ſeemed ſurpriſed that it had not penetrated through the body. When he demanded the ſurgeon's opinion of the wound, the operator thought proper to temporize, for his own ſafety as well as for the ſake of the public, leſt the earl ſhould take ſome other deſperate ſtep, or endeavour to eſcape. He therefore amuſed him with hopes of Johnſon's recovery, about which he now ſeemed extremely anxious. He ſupported his ſpirits by immoderate drinking, after having retired to another apartment with the ſurgeon, whom he deſired to take all poſſible care of his patient. He declared, however,

that he did not repent of what he had done; that Johnſon was a villain, who deſerved to die; that in caſe of his death he (the earl) would ſurrender himſelf to the houſe of peers, and take his trial. He ſaid he could juſtify the action to his own conſcience; and owned his intention was to have killed Johnſon outright; but as he ſtill ſurvived, and was in pain, he deſired that all poſſible means might be uſed for his recovery.

Nor did he ſeem altogether neglectful of his own ſafety: he endeavoured to tamper with the ſurgeon, and enquired what evidence he would give when called before a court of juſtice. He continued to drink himſelf into a ſtate of intoxication, and all the cruelty of his hate ſeemed to return. He would not allow the wounded man to be removed to his own houſe, ſaying, he would keep him under his own roof that he might plague the villain. He returned to the chamber where Johnſon lay, inſulted him with the moſt opprobrious language, threatened to ſhoot him through the head, and could hardly be reſtrained from committing further acts of violence on the poor man, who was already in extremity. After he retired to bed, the ſurgeon procured a ſufficient number of aſſiſtants, who conveyed Mr. Johnſon in an eaſy chair to his own houſe, where he expired about nine in the morning. The ſame ſurgeon aſſembled a number of armed men to ſeize the murderer, who at firſt threatened reſiſtance, but was ſoon apprehended, endeavouring to make his eſcape, and committed to the county priſon. From thence he was conveyed to London by the gaoler of Leiceſter, and conducted by the uſher of the black rod and his deputy into the houſe of lords, where the coroner's inqueſt, and the affidavits touching the murder being read, the gaoler delivered up his priſoner to the care of the black rod, and he was immediately committed to the Tower. He appeared very calm, compoſed, and unconcerned, from the time of his being apprehended; converſed cooly on the ſubject of his impriſonment; made very pertinent remarks upon the nature of the habeas corpus act of parliament, of which he hoped to avail himſelf; and when they withdrew from the houſe of peers, deſired he might not be viſited by any of his relations or acquaintances. His underſtanding, which was naturally good, had been well cultivated; his arguments were rational, but his conduct was frantic.

The circumſtances of this aſſaſſination appeared ſo cruel and deliberate, that the people cried aloud for juſtice; and the government gave up the offender to the laws of his country. The lord-keeper Henley was appointed lord high ſteward for the trial of earl Ferrers, and ſat in ſtate with all the peers and judges in Weſtminſter-hall, which was for this purpoſe converted into a very auguſt tribunal. On the ſixteenth day of April the delinquent was brought from the Tower in a coach, attended by the major of the Tower, the gentleman-gaoler, the wardours, and a detachment of the foot-guards. He was brought into court about ten; and the lord ſteward with the peers taking their places, he was arraigned aloud, in the midſt of an infinite multitude of people, including many foreigners, who ſeemed wonderfully ſtruck with the grandeur and magnificence of the ſcene. The murder was fully proved by unqueſtionable evidence: but the earl pleaded inſanity of mind; and, in order to make good this plea, called many witneſſes to atteſt his lunacy in a variety of inſtances, which ſeemed too plainly to indicate a diſordered imagination: unfounded jealouſy of plots and conſpiracies, unconnected ravings, fits of muſing, incoherent ejaculations, ſudden ſtarts of fury, denunciations of unprovoked revenge, frantic geſticulations, and a ſtrange caprice of temper, were proved to have diſtinguiſhed his conduct and deportment.

It appeared that lunacy had been a family taint, and affected ſeveral of his lordſhip's relations; that one of them in particular, a ſolicitor of reputation, had renounced his buſineſs, on the full perſuaſion of his being diſordered in his brain; that, long before this unhappy event, his neareſt relations had deliberated upon the expediency of taking out a commiſſion of lunacy againſt him, and were prevented by no other conſideration than the fear of being ſued for *ſcandalum magnatum*, ſhould the jury find his lordſhip *compos mentis*; a circumſtance which in all probability would have happened, inaſmuch as the earl's madneſs did not appear in his converſation, but in his conduct. A phyſician of eminence, whoſe practice was confined to perſons labouring under this infirmity, declared that the particulars of the earl's deportment, and perſonal behaviour, ſeemed to indicate lunacy. Indeed, all his neighbours and acquaintance had long conſidered him as a madman; and a certain noble lord is ſaid to have declared in the houſe of peers, when the bill of ſeparation was on the carpet, that he looked upon him in the light of a maniac; and that, if ſome effectual ſtep was not taken to deprive him of the power of doing miſchief, he did not doubt but that they would one day have occaſion to try him for murder.

The lawyers for the crown endeavoured to invalidate the proofs of his lunacy, by obſerving, that his lordſhip was never ſo much deprived of his reaſon but that he could diſtinguiſh between good and evil: that the murder he had committed was the effect of revenge, for a conceived injury of ſome ſtanding: that the malice was deliberate, and the plan artfully conducted: that immediately after the deed was perpetrated, the earl's converſation and reaſoning was cool and conſiſtent, until he drank himſelf into a ſtate of intoxication: that, in the opinion of the greateſt lawyers, no criminal can avail himſelf of the plea of lunacy, provided the crime was committed during a lucid interval; but his lordſhip, far from exhibiting any marks of inſanity, had, in the courſe of his trial, diſplayed uncommon underſtanding and ſagacity in examining the witneſſes, and making many ſhrewd and pertinent obſervations on the evidence which was given.

Theſe ſentiments coincided with the opinion of the peers, who unanimouſly declared him guilty. The trial laſted two days; and on the third the lord-ſteward, after having made a ſhort ſpeech concerning the heinous nature of the offence, pronounced the ſame ſentence of death upon the earl which malefactors of the loweſt claſs undergo; namely, that from the Tower, in which he was impriſoned, he ſhould, on the Monday following, be led to the common place of execution, there to be hanged by the neck, and his body be afterwards diſſected and anatomized. This laſt part of

of the ſentence ſeemed to ſhock the criminal extremely; he changed colour, his jaw quivered, and he appeared to be in great agitation; but during the remaining part of his life he behaved with ſurpriſing compoſure, and even unconcern. After he had received ſentence, the lords his judges, by a power veſted in them, reſpited his execution for one month, that he might have time to ſettle his temporal and ſpiritual concerns.

Before ſentence was paſſed, the earl read a paper, in which he begged pardon of their lordſhips for the trouble he had given, as well as for having, againſt his own inclination, pleaded lunacy at the requeſt of his friends. He thanked them for the candid trial with which he had been indulged, and intreated their lordſhips to recommend him to the king for mercy. He afterwards ſent a letter to his majeſty, remonſtrating, that he was the repreſentative of a very ancient and honourable family, which had been allied to the crown; and requeſting that, if he could not be favoured with the ſpecies of death which in caſes of treaſon diſtinguiſhes the nobleman from the plebeian, he might at leaſt, out of conſideration of his family, be allowed to ſuffer in the Tower, rather than at the common place of execution: but this indulgence was refuſed. From his return to the Tower, to the day of his execution, he betrayed no mark of apprehenſion or impatience; but regulated his affairs with preciſion, and converſed without concern or reſtraint.

On the fifth day of May, his body being demanded by the ſheriffs at the Tower-gate, in conſequence of a writ under the great ſeal of England, directed to the lieutenant of the Tower, his lordſhip deſired permiſſion to go in his own landau, and appeared gaily dreſſed in a light-coloured ſuit of cloaths, embroidered with ſilver. He was attended in the landau by Mr. ſheriff Vaillant and the chaplain of the Tower, followed by the chariots of the ſheriffs, a mourning coach and ſix filled with his friends, and a hearſe for the conveyance of his body. He was guarded by a poſſe of conſtables, a party of horſe grenadiers, and a detachment of infantry; and in this manner the proceſſion moved from the Tower, through an infinite concourſe of people, to Tyburn, where the gallows, and a ſcaffold erected under it, appeared covered with black bays. The earl behaved with great compoſure to Mr. ſheriff Vaillant: he obſerved, that the gaiety of his apparel might ſeem odd on ſuch an occaſion; but that he had particular reaſons for wearing that ſuit of cloaths: he took notice of the vaſt multitude which crouded around him, brought thither, he ſuppoſed, by curioſity to ſee a nobleman hanged: he told the ſheriff he had applied to the king by letter, that he might be permitted to die in the Tower, where the earl of Eſſex, one of his anceſtors, had been beheaded in the reign of queen Elizabeth; an indulgence which, he ſaid, he had the greater reaſon to hope would be granted, as he had the honour to quarter part of his majeſty's arms. He expreſſed ſome diſpleaſure at being executed as a common felon, expoſed to the eyes of ſuch a multitude.

The chaplain, who had never been admitted to him before, obſerving that ſome account of his lordſhip's ſentiments on religion would be expected by the public, he made anſwer, that he did not think himſelf accountable to the public for his private ſentiments: that he had always adored one God, the creator of the univerſe; and, with reſpect to any particular opinions of his own, he had never propagated them, or endeavoured to make proſelytes; becauſe he thought it was criminal to diſturb the eſtabliſhed religion of his country, as lord Bolingbroke had done by the publication of his writings. He added, that the great number of ſects, and the multiplication of religious diſputes, had almoſt baniſhed morality. With regard to the crime for which he ſuffered, he declared that he had no malice againſt Mr. Johnſon; and that the murder was owing to a perturbation of mind, occaſioned by a variety of croſſes and vexations. When he approached the place of execution, he expreſſed an earneſt deſire to ſee and take leave of a certain perſon who waited in a coach; a perſon, he ſaid, for whom he had the moſt ſincere regard and affection; but the ſheriff prudently ſuggeſting that ſuch an interview might unman him, at a time when he had occaſion for all his fortitude and reſolution, he acquieſced in the juſtneſs of the remark, and delivered to him a pocket-book, a ring, and a purſe, deſiring they might be given to that perſon, whom he now declined ſeeing.

On his arrival at Tyburn he came out of the landau, and aſcended the ſcaffold with a firm ſtep and undaunted countenance. He refuſed to join the chaplain in his devotions; but, kneeling with him on black cuſhions, he repeated the Lord's Prayer, which he ſaid he had always admired; and added with great energy, "O Lord, forgive me all my errors, pardon all my ſins." After this exerciſe, he preſented his watch to Mr. ſheriff Vaillant, thanked him and the other gentlemen for all their civilities; and ſignified his deſire of being buried at Breden, or Stanton, in Leiceſterſhire. Finally, he gratified the executioner with a purſe of money; then the halter being adjuſted to his neck, he ſtepped upon a little ſtage, erected upon ſprings, on the middle of the ſcaffold; and, the cap being pulled over his eyes, the ſheriff made a ſignal, at which the ſtage fell from under his feet, and left him ſuſpended in the air. His body having hung an hour and five minutes, was cut down, placed in the hearſe, and conveyed to the public theatre for diſſection, where being opened, and lying for ſome days as the ſubject of a public lecture, at length it was carried off and privately interred.

In the month of Auguſt a remarkable act of deſperate revenge was perpetrated by one Stirn, a native of Heſſe Caſſel, inflamed and exaſperated by a falſe punctilio of honour. This unhappy young man was deſcended of a good family, and poſſeſſed many accompliſhments both of body and mind; but his character was diſtinguiſhed by ſuch a jealous ſenſibility, as rendered him unhappy in himſelf, and diſagreeable to his companions. After having lived for ſome years as uſher in a boarding-ſchool, he was admitted into the houſe of one Mr. Matthews, a ſurgeon, in order to teach him the claſſics, and inſtruct his children in muſic, which he perfectly underſtood. He had not long reſided in this family, when the ſurgeon took umbrage at ſome part of his conduct, taxed him roughly with fraud and ingratitude, and inſiſted upon his removing to another lodging. Whether he reject-

ed this intimation, or found difficulty in procuring another apartment, the ſurgeon reſolved to expel him by violence, called in the aſſiſtance of a peace officer, and turned him out into the ſtreet in the night, after having loaded him with the moſt provoking reproaches.

Theſe injuries and diſgraces operating upon a mind jealous by nature, and galled by adverſity, produced a kind of phrenzy of reſentment; and he took the deſperate reſolution of ſacrificing Matthews to his revenge. Next day, having procured a caſe of piſtols, and charged them for the occaſion, he reinforced his rage by drinking an unuſual quantity of wine, and repaired in the evening to a public houſe which Mr. Matthews frequented, in the neighbourhood of Hatton Garden. There he accordingly found the unhappy victim ſitting with ſome of his friends; and the ſurgeon, inſtead of palliating his former conduct, began to inſult him afreſh, ſaying he was a dirty fellow, and that he ought to be ſent back to his own louſy country. Stirn, exaſperated by this additional indignity, pulled his piſtols from his boſom, ſhot the ſurgeon, who immediately expired, and diſcharged the other at his own breaſt, though his confuſion was ſuch that he miſſed of his aim. He was apprehended on the ſpot, and conveyed to priſon, where for ſome days he refuſed all kind of ſuſtenance, but afterwards became more compoſed. At his trial he pleaded inſanity of mind; but being found guilty, he reſolved to anticipate the execution of the ſentence. That ſame evening he drank poiſon; and notwithſtanding all the remedies that could be adminiſtered, died in ſtrong convulſions. His body was publicly diſſected, according to the ſentence of the law, and afterwards interred with thoſe marks of indignity which are reſerved for the perpetrators of ſuicide. It does not appear what reaſon Matthews had for accuſing Stirn of the crimes which he laid to his charge; but Stirn ſolemnly declared in his laſt moments that there was none. He expreſſed many obligations to one Mr. Crawford, with whom he had lived as uſher, and who often viſited him in priſon with great kindneſs and humanity. He was poſſeſſed of good natural parts, improved by an excellent education; and perhaps, had he been in a condition more ſuitable not only to his hopes, but to his birth and merit, he would have been leſs jealous of affronts; and, conſcious of undiſputed dignity, would have treated rudeneſs and ſlander with contempt, inſtead of purſuing them with revenge.

In the month of October the attention of the public was ſtrongly engaged by a private, but intereſting event, namely, the death of one Miſs Bell, an unfortunate young creature of a good family, who had renounced her father's houſe, and embraced the wretched life of a common proſtitute. She died at a lodging-houſe in Marybone, having declared on her death-bed to an officer of her acquaintance, who viſited her from a motive of humanity, that ſhe had received her death's wound at a bagnio from a certain young gentleman, who ſeemed to have mangled her out of meer wantonneſs of brutality. She not only perſiſted in repeating this declaration before divers perſons, but conjured the officer to ſee juſtice done upon the villain who had treated her ſo inhumanly. Her complaint was corroborated by the aſſeveration of her own maid and attendant, who bore witneſs to her being wounded in two different places. Theſe circumſtances made ſuch an impreſſion upon the gentleman, that he applied to a juſtice of the peace, and obtained an order for taking up her body after ſhe was buried, that it might be ſubjected to the cognizance of the coroner and his inqueſt; it accordingly underwent an examination, and was reinterred, after the jury had given their verdict that ſhe died a natural death.

The officer, who, though in attendance, had not been examined, was not ſatisfied with this deciſion, and reſolved to promote a further enquiry: he wrote to the young woman's father, as well as to the perſon accuſed, who had retired to the country, and declared that he would ſubmit himſelf to a fair trial, that his character might be vindicated to the ſatisfaction of the public. Accordingly, when the father commenced a proſecution, he ſurrendered himſelf before five juſtices of the peace in Weſtminſter, who having examined a great number of witneſſes, were of opinion that the warrant ſhould be diſcharged. As a pamphlet, containing an account of the death of Miſs Bell, had been publiſhed, and without doubt given a bad impreſſion of this gentleman, he proſecuted the officer in the King's Bench for having publiſhed a libel againſt him; but the information was ſet aſide, and the judge ordered the proſecutor to be tried at the Old Bailey for murder. He was brought to the bar of that tribunal in the month of February, and, after a long hearing, acquitted. By part of the evidence it appeared there was reaſon to believe the unfortunate deceaſed was actually delirious when ſhe made the complaint to the officer: the nurſe contradicted the evidence of that gentleman: the ſervants of the bagnio declared that no wounds had been given at the time when the tragedy was ſaid to have been acted: the apothecary who attended her in her laſt moments affirmed, that the wounds could not be the cauſe of her death, but actually preſerved her from dying of a mortification; and the phyſician gave it as his opinion, that the ſuppoſed wounds were no other than abſceſſes, formed by an effort of nature to relieve itſelf. Had they really been wounds, there would be little reaſon to ſuppoſe they were the immediate cauſe of her death, as no conſiderable veſſel had been hurt, nor any of the bowels injured; but, that the infliction of ſuch wounds, co-operating with other acts of barbarity, blows, ſtripes, and bruiſes, might in a body incenſed with rage, and inflamed with intoxication, produce a fever that would terminate in death, is a poſſibility to which every judicious phyſician muſt ſubſcribe; and in that caſe, he who inflicted the wounds and bruiſes, who arouſed the reſentment, and promoted the intoxication of the deceaſed, cannot juſtly be pronounced innocent of her death. The perſon, however, accuſed of the murder, was finally acquitted, though by no means to the ſatisfaction of the public.

The royal ſociety having made application to the king, repreſenting that there would be a tranſit of Venus over the diſk of the ſun, on the ſixth day of June; and that there was reaſon to hope the parallax of that planet might be more accurately determined by making proper obſervations of this phænomenon at the iſland of St. Helena, near the

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GEORGE THE III.

coaſt of Africa, and at Bencoolen in the Eaſt Indies; his majeſty granted a ſum of money to defray the expence of ſending able aſtronomers to theſe two places, and ordered a ſhip of war to be equipped for their conveyance. Accordingly, Mr. Nevil Maſkelyne and Mr. Robert Waddington were appointed to make the obſervations at St. Helena; and Mr. Charles Maſon and Mr. Jeremiah Dixon undertook the voyage to Bencoolen on the iſland of Sumatra †.

I ſhall conclude the domeſtic occurrences of this year with an account of two incidents, which, tho' of a very different nature in reſpect of each other, concurred nevertheleſs in demonſtrating that the internal wealth and vigour of the nation were neither drained nor diminiſhed by the enormous expence and inconveniencies of the war. The committee appointed to manage the undertaking for a new bridge over the river Thames at Blackfriars having received and examined a variety of plans, preſented by different artiſts, at length gave the preference to the deſign of one Mr. Mylne, a young architect, a native of North Britain, juſt returned from the proſecution of his ſtudies at Rome, where he had gained the prize in the Capitol, which the academy of that city beſtows on him who produces the moſt beautiful and uſeful plan on a given ſubject of architecture. This young man being at London, in his return to his own country, was adviſed to declare himſelf a candidate for the ſuperintendency of the new bridge; and the plan which he preſented was approved and adopted. The place being already aſcertained, the lord-mayor of London, accompanied by the committee and a great concourſe of people, repaired to Blackfriars, and laid the firſt ſtone of the bridge, placing upon it a plate with an inſcription, which does more honour to the public ſpirit of the undertakers than to the claſſical taſte of the author.

The other inſtance that denoted the wealth and ſpirit of the nation, was the indifference and unconcern with which they bore the loſs of a vaſt magazine of naval ſtores, belonging to the dock-yard at Portſmouth, which in the month of July was ſet on fire by lightning, and being compoſed of combuſtibles, burned with ſuch fury, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the workmen in the yard, the ſailors in the harbour, and the troops in the town, that before a ſtop was put to the conflagration, it had deſtroyed a variety of ſtores, to an immenſe value. The damage, however, was ſo immediately repaired, that it had no ſort of effect in diſconcerting any plan, or even in retarding any naval preparation.

† In the beginning of April the king granted to his grandſon, prince Edward-Auguſtus, and to the heirs-male of his royal highneſs, the dignities of duke of the kingdom of Great Britain, and of earl of the kingdom of Ireland, by the names, ſtiles, and titles, of duke of York and Albany, and of earl of Ulſter.

GEORGE III. A. D. 1760.

THE deceaſe of his late majeſty was no ſooner known than Mr. Pitt, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, repaired to Kew, and communicated the tidings to his new ſovereign, George the Third, who thus aſcended the throne in the twenty-third year of his age. The lords of the privy-council were immediately aſſembled; and next day his majeſty was proclaimed before Saville-houſe in Leiceſter-fields, in preſence of the great officers of ſtate, the nobility, the lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London, and a great number of perſons of diſtinction. The ſame ceremony was performed, with the uſual ſolemnities, in different parts of the capital, which reſounded with joy and acclamation.

The council being aſſembled at Charlton-houſe, the king addreſſed himſelf to them in the following terms: "The loſs that I and the nation have ſuffered by the death of the king my grandfather, would have been ſeverely felt at any time; but coming at ſo critical a juncture, and ſo unexpected, it is by many circumſtances augmented; and the weight now falling upon me, much increaſed, I feel my own inſufficiency to ſupport it as I wiſh: but animated by the tendereſt affection for this my native country, and depending on the advice, experience, and abilities of your lordſhips, the ſupport and aſſiſtance of every honeſt man, I enter with chearfulneſs into this arduous ſituation, and ſhall make it the buſineſs of my life to promote, in every thing, the glory and happineſs of theſe kingdoms; to preſerve and ſtrengthen the conſtitution, both in church and ſtate; and as I mount the throne in the midſt of an expenſive, but juſt and neceſſary war, I ſhall endeavour to proſecute it in the manner the moſt likely to bring about an honourable and laſting peace, in concert with my allies." This declaration implying a reſolution to proſecute the ſame meaſures which had been planned under the late king, was publiſhed at the requeſt of the lords aſſembled in council, and effectually quelled the apprehenſions of all thoſe who dreaded an alteration.

His majeſty now took and ſigned the oath relating to the ſecurity of the church of Scotland, and ſubſcribed two inſtruments thereof, in preſence of the lords of council, by whom they were witneſſed. One of thoſe was tranſmitted to the court of ſeſſions, to be recorded in the books of Sederunt, and afterwards lodged in the public regiſter of Scotland; the other remained among the records of the council. The two houſes of parliament being aſſembled, the members were ſworn in; the peers by the lord-keeper; the commons before the duke

duke of Rutland, lord--ſteward: after which both houſes were adjourned.

The firſt ſpecimen which his majeſty gave of his excellent diſpoſition, was a proclamation which he iſſued for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and the preventing and puniſhing of vice, profaneneſs, and immorality. It was expreſſed in the following terms: "We moſt ſeriouſly and religiouſly conſidering, that it is an indiſpenſible duty on us to be careful, above all other things, to preſerve and advance the honour and ſervice of Almighty God, and to diſcourage all vice, profaneneſs, debauchery, and immorality, which are ſo highly diſpleaſing to God, ſo great a reproach to our religion and government, and, by means of the frequent ill examples of the practices thereof, have ſo fatal a tendency to the corruption of many of our loving ſubjects, otherwiſe religiouſly and virtuouſly diſpoſed; and which, if not timely remedied, may juſtly draw down the Divine vengeance on us and our kingdoms. We alſo humbly acknowledging, that we cannot expect the bleſſing and goodneſs of Almighty God (by whom kings reign, and on which we entirely rely) to make our reign happy and proſperous to ourſelves and to our people, without a religious obſervance of God's holy laws: to the intent therefore, that religion, piety, and good manners, may, according to our moſt hearty deſire, flouriſh and increaſe under our adminiſtration and government, we have thought fit, by the advice of our privy-council, to iſſue this our royal proclamation, and do hereby declare our royal purpoſe and reſolution to diſcountenance and puniſh all manner of vice, profaneneſs, and immorality, in all perſons, of whatſoever degree or quality, within this our realm, and particularly in ſuch as are employed near our royal perſon; and that, for the encouragement of religion and morality, we will upon all occaſions diſtinguiſh perſons of piety and virtue, by marks of our royal favour. And we do expect and require, that all perſons of honour, or in place of authority, will give good example by their virtue and piety, and to their utmoſt contribute to the diſcountenancing perſons of diſſolute and debauched lives, that they, being reduced by that means to ſhame and contempt, for their looſe and evil actions and behaviour, may be thereby alſo enforced the ſooner to reform their ill habits and practices, and that the viſible diſpleaſure of good men towards them may, as far as it is poſſible, ſupply what the laws probably cannot altogether prevent. And we do hereby ſtrictly enjoin and prohibit all our loving ſubjects, of what degree or quality ſoever, from playing on the Lord's day at dice, cards, or any other game whatever, either in public or private houſes, or any other places whatſoever; and we do hereby require and command them, and every of them, decently and reverently to attend the worſhip of God on every Lord's day, on pain of our higheſt diſpleaſure, and of being proceeded againſt with the utmoſt rigour that may be by law. And for the more effectual reforming all ſuch perſons who, by reaſon of their diſſolute lives and converſations, are a ſcandal to our kingdom, our further pleaſure is, and we do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all our judges, mayors, ſheriffs, juſtices of the peace, and all other our officers and miniſters, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, and all other our ſubjects whom it may concern, to be very vigilant and ſtrict in the diſcovery, and the effectual proſecution and puniſhment of all perſons who ſhall be guilty of exceſſive drinking, blaſphemy, profane ſwearing and curſing, lewdneſs, profanation of the Lord's day, or other diſſolute, immoral, or diſorderly practices; and that they take care alſo effectually to ſuppreſs all public gaming-houſes and places, and other lewd and diſorderly houſes, and to put in execution the ſtatute made in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of the late king Charles II. entitled, An act for the better obſervation of the Lord's day commonly called Sunday: and alſo an act of parliament made in the ninth year of the reign of the late king William III. intitled, An act for the more effectual ſuppreſſing of blaſphemy and profaneneſs; and all other laws now in force for the puniſhing and ſuppreſſing any of the vices aforeſaid; and alſo to ſuppreſs and prevent all gaming whatſoever, in public or private houſes, on the Lord's day; and likewiſe that they take effectual care to prevent all perſons keeping taverns, chocolate-houſes, coffee-houſes, or other public houſes whatſoever, from ſelling wine, chocolate, coffee, ale, beer, or other liquors, or receiving or permitting gueſts to be or remain in ſuch their houſes in the time of divine ſervice on the Lord's day, as they will anſwer it to Almighty God, and upon pain of our higheſt diſpleaſure. And for the more effectual proceeding herein, we alſo hereby direct and command all our judges of aſſizes, and juſtices of the peace, to give ſtrict charges at their reſpective aſſizes and ſeſſions, for the due proſecution and puniſhment of all perſons that ſhall preſume to offend in any of the kinds aforeſaid; and alſo of all perſons that, contrary to their duty, ſhall be remiſs or negligent in putting the laws in execution; and that they do at their reſpective aſſizes and quarter-ſeſſions of the peace, cauſe this our royal proclamation to be publicly read in open court, immediately before the charge is given. And we do hereby further charge and command every miniſter in his reſpective pariſh-church or chapel, to read, or cauſe to be read, this our proclamation, at leaſt four times in every year, immediately after divine ſervice, and to incite and ſtir up their reſpective auditors to the practice of piety and virtue, and the avoiding of all immorality and profaneneſs. And to the end that all vice and debauchery may be prevented, and religion and virtue practiſed by all officers, private ſoldiers, mariners, and others, who are employed in our ſervice by ſea and land, we do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all our commanders and officers whatſoever, that they do take care to avoid all profaneneſs, debauchery, and other immoralities; and that, by their own good and virtuous lives and converſations, they do ſet good examples to all ſuch as are under their care and authority; and likewiſe take care of and inſpect the behaviour of all ſuch as are under them, and puniſh all thoſe who ſhall be guilty of any offences aforeſaid, as they will be anſwerable for the ill conſequences of their neglect herein. Given, &c"

This proclamation was immediately ſucceeded by another, requiring all perſons who were in offices of authority or government, at the deceaſe of the late king, to proceed in the execution of their reſpective offices. The tide of affection towards the

the young monarch began to run ſo high, that addreſſes, couched in the warmeſt profeſſions of love and attachment, flowed in from every part of the kingdom.' The magiſtrates of London led the way; and their example was followed by the merchants and traders of that city, amounting to ſuch a number as had never before appeared on the like occaſion. The clergy of London and Weſtminſter, headed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, payed their compliments to his majeſty on his acceſſion to the throne; and the two univerſities were not ſlow in preſenting their addreſſes of congratulation. In a word, all the bodies politic and corporate, in all the cities and counties of the three kingdoms ſeemed to vie with each other in expreſſions of loyalty and affection to their new ſovereign, who received them with ſuch affability and marks of regard as could not but be extremely pleaſing to a people remarkable for ſenſibility and ſentiment.

On the tenth day of November, in the evening, the body of the late king was removed from Kenſington to the apartment called the Prince's Chamber, near the houſe of peers, where it lay in ſtate until next night, when it was interred with great funeral pomp, in the royal vault in the chapel of Henry the Seventh, adjoining to Weſtminſter-abbey, the duke of Cumberland appearing in the character of chief mourner. Theſe laſt duties to the deceaſed monarch being piouſly diſcharged, the eyes of the people were turned upon their youthful ſovereign, who, ſome hoped, and many apprehended, would ſoon embrace a new ſyſtem of politics. Nor did the different parties which had been ſo long ſilenced, and now began to revive in the nation, fail to recommend their favourite plans by every kind of argument and topic.

The grand conteſt which divided the two factions was, whether it was uſeful or expedient to adhere to our German connections. The enemies of theſe meaſures alleged, that by perſiſting in ſuch a conduct, we evidently purſued a ſyſtem by which we muſt loſe all the advantages we acquired during the ſhort time we followed one that was more rational and ſuitable to our circumſtances; a ſyſtem of all others the moſt abſurd; a ſyſtem, in which defeats were attended with their uſual fatal effects, and in which even victory itſelf could not ſave us from ruin: that, not to enter into that long and vainly agitated queſtion, whether we ought to take any part in the differences which may ariſe between the powers on the continent? this diſquiſition being foreign to the preſent purpoſe, and beſides, being of too vague and general a nature to admit of any preciſe determination; this much might be aſſerted, that we could never engage in a continental war againſt France, without a concurrence in our favour of all the other powers on the continent: that this was the continental ſcheme of the great king William; and this principle the foundation of the grand alliance, which he projected, and at the head of which, in defence of the liberties of Europe, he made the moſt auguſt appearance to which any monarch had ever been raiſed: that it was on this principle, in conjunction with half Europe, that we carried on the war with ſo much honour and ſucceſs againſt France, under the great duke of Marlborough; but to engage in a continental war with that power, not only unaſſiſted, but oppoſed by the greateſt part of thoſe ſtates with whom we were then combined, was an attempt never to be juſtified by any comparative calculation of the populouſneſs, the revenues, or the general ſtrength of the two nations; it was a deſperate ſtruggle, which muſt finally end in our ruin. What, they aſked, was the ſcene which we had choſen for this ſtruggle? We have choſen Germany, they ſaid; the very ſpot which, of all others, the French, if they had their choice, would have pointed out to us. That, by making Germany the theatre of war, they ſaw that country waſted and deſtroyed, the ſtrength of which had always proved the greateſt bulwark againſt their inſatiable ambition: that they ſaw the ſwords of the Germans, through the whole extent of that vaſt and populous country, turned againſt each other; and they beheld with joy the Engliſh, whoſe intereſt it was to ſave them as much as poſſible, cooperating with their blood and treaſures to complete the diſunion, and conſequently the deſolation of Germany. That, in a war in that country, France has many advantages: ſhe ſupports her armies, in a great degree, by pillaging thoſe whom, in every reſpect, it is her intereſt to weaken: ſhe is not very remote from her own frontiers, from whence ſhe is eaſily provided, eaſily recruited; and by means of which a great part of the public money is expended in the country where it is raiſed. Is ſhe unſucceſsful? ſhe is brought thereby but the nearer to her frontier, ſupports her troops with ſtill the greater facility, and exhauſts ſtill leſs the natural wealth of her people: that even ſuppoſing the French army driven into France, theſe very advantages are conſiderably encreaſed; and many obvious circumſtances render it impoſſible for the allied army to puſh their ſucceſs againſt France, on the ſide of Germany, to any deciſive conſequence. That to the Engliſh, on the contrary, every thing is unfavourable in ſuch a war; their greateſt ſucceſſes will only carry them to a greater diſtance from their reſources, and every ſtep of their progreſs muſt make the tranſport of proviſion, artillery, ammunition, and the numerous and almoſt infinite neceſſaries of a large army more difficult, and in the end altogether impracticable: that this was not vain ſpeculation, the events which followed the battle of Crevelt, had ſufficiently proved; prince Ferdinand, victorious in that action, was obliged, rather from the difficulty of ſubſiſting than the ſuperiority of the enemy, to repaſs the Rhine, and to bring back to Germany that war with which he had threatened France: that hence appeared the truth of that maxim, that victory itſelf could not ſave us, and that all our ſucceſſes ſerved only to accumulate new diſtreſſes, new difficulties, new charges; whilſt France, who had only contracted her expences by the loſs of her navy, encouraged us to enter deeper and deeper into the inextricable toils of a German war, in which we waſted our ſtrength only to entangle ourſelves further: that ſhe held the ſtrings, and could never be tired out at this ſort of game; from whence aroſe an expence unknown, even in thought, to our forefathers, and which the ſingle revenue of England was by no means able to bear: that our allies, if they deſerved the name, ſupplied not the leaſt part of this money; and the Hanoverians and Heſſians contributed to our aſſiſtance only by enabling us to pro-

tract ſtill longer our efforts in a ſyſtem, in which nothing could ſo effectually ſerve us as the being defeated as early as poſſible: that, with regard to the king of Pruſſia, what we paid to that monarch might rather be conſidered as a tribute than a ſubſidy, ſince we received nothing in return; and that, far from being able to afford any relief to our armies, he was ſcarcely in a condition to ſupport himſelf: that this alliance was ſtill worſe than the former, as it was an heavy charge, compenſated not only with no real, but even with no ſhewy advantage: that indeed he was an ally the laſt in the world we ought to have choſen, on account of his long connection with our worſt enemies, the mean and the hoſtile ſentiments he has always entertained towards us, the injuries he has done us, and the general lightneſs of his faith with reſpect to his former allies: that we regard him, it is true, as the protector of the proteſtant religion; but how lightly he thinks of all religion, his writings teſtify; and what miſchiefs he has done the proteſtant cauſe in particular, this war will be a laſting memorial: that when he entered Saxony, a proteſtant country, he found that religion no ways moleſted in thoſe places, where it had been eſtabliſhed or tolerated by the treaty of Weſtphalia; and even in the popiſh dominions, the perſecution began to loſe ſomething of its edge, when he, under the name of its protector, brought upon it as great a calamity as its moſt inveterate enemies could have wiſhed; by dividing the proteſtant ſtates of the empire, and ſetting proteſtants to cut the throats of proteſtants, whilſt all the papiſts were, at the ſame time, forced into a ſtrict confederacy: that, had we kept ourſelves clear of this ruinous ſyſtem, and, inſtead of engaging France on her ſtrong ſide, had attacked and vanquiſhed her colonies, one after another, we might, without exhauſting our own ſtrength, have gradually taken away the principal reſources of her trade; and whilſt we continued this method, have had as little reaſon to grow tired of a war, the whole funds of which would be ſpent at home, as France had to grow weary of the preſent manner of waging it: that if the powers on the continent were allowed, without our interpoſition, to do their own buſineſs, they would probably better underſtand and better defend their own rights: that, at worſt, let France enter, let her conquer, let her poſſeſs Hanover; there was no miſchief ſhe could do that country greater than it ſuffered by the preſent war; and we, not exhauſting ourſelves by a fruitleſs defence, ſhould, in the end, by the entire poſſeſſion of the French colonies, be able, beſides the ſecurity of our juſt claims, to reſtore the Hanoverian dominions to their lawful ſovereign, and even to procure ſome indemnification for the loſſes they might have ſuſtained in our quarrel.

The friends of the German war, on the other hand, aſſerted, that the beſt reaſons againſt our continental connections were more ſpecious than ſolid; and that the chief writings on that ſide of the queſtion, were rather declamations than arguments: that the complaint of the expence was, in ſome meaſure, juſt; but if the advantage was in any degree equivalent, the expence was incurred to good purpoſe: that France, by engaging ſo heartily as ſhe had done in the German war, had diverted ſo much of her attention and her revenue from the navy, that it enabled us to give ſuch a blow to her maritime ſtrength, as poſſibly ſhe might never be able to recover: that her engagement in the German war had likewiſe drawn her from the defence of her colonies, by which means we had conquered ſome of the moſt conſiderable ſhe poſſeſſed: that it had withdrawn her from the protection of her trade, by which it was entirely deſtroyed, whilſt that of England had never, in the profoundeſt peace, been in ſo flouriſhing a condition; ſo that, by embarking in this German war, France had ſuffered herſelf to be undone, ſo far as regarded her particular and immediate quarrel with England: but had ſhe, they aſked, obtained in Germany ſuch ſucceſſes as would counterbalance this loſs? Far, very far from it: at that very moment ſhe was infinitely leſs advanced than ſhe was the year ſhe entered Germany, after having ſpent ſuch immenſe ſums of money, and loſt, by the ſword, by diſeaſe, and by deſertion, an hundred thouſand of her people: that, on the other hand, the account ſtood not thus with regard to England; deeply embarked as ſhe had been in this German war, in her particular quarrel with France, ſhe had been carried along with an almoſt uninterrupted tide of ſucceſs; ſhe had taken many of the French colonies; ſhe had deſtroyed their navy and their trade; and having inſulted the enemy's coaſt, had ruined a harbour which might one day prove very alarming to England: that affairs in Germany were likewiſe in a very promiſing and agreeable ſituation; the French had been there frequently defeated; Hanover had been ſecured and protected; the king of Pruſſia had been preſerved, ſo far at leaſt, from the rage of his enemies; and, in general, the liberties of Germany had been hitherto ſecured: that thus, if we had incurred a great expence, we had done by it infinitely more than France had done at an expence infinitely greater than ours: that the advocates who declaimed againſt German connections, ſeemed to have forgot that the charge of the French army muſt exceed that of the Engliſh, in the ſame proportion as the number of their troops exceeded the difference between the French and the Engliſh pay: that thoſe on the Engliſh eſtabliſhment in Germany had, at no time, exceeded twenty-four thouſand, and the reſt of the confederates ſerved very nearly on the ſame terms with the French; not to mention the ſubſidies, ſo greatly ſuperior to ours, which that power paid to ſtates from whom ſhe had not a ſingle regiment to augment her armies. Thus, although by our victories France was relieved from the charge of her navy, and that of defending ſome of her moſt conſiderable colonies, the German war alone had brought her forces to a diſtreſs of which the whole world had been witneſs: nor indeed could any leſs have happened; the expence, however, contracted, was ſtill enormous; and trade, the reſource of every war, was almoſt deſtroyed: that in England the expence was alſo undoubtedly great; but then, the old trade ſtill remained to ſupply it, and new channels were opened: that, had we lain by and tamely beheld part of Germany poſſeſſed, and the reſt compelled to receive laws from France, the war then would ſoon have been brought to an end; and that

that people, ſtrengthened by victory, by conqueſt, and alliance, would have been able to employ againſt us the whole force and whole revenue of their mighty monarchy: that it ought likewiſe to be conſidered, that common faith obliged us to adhere to our engagements both with Pruſſia and Hanover; and that the pleaded incapacity to aſſiſt them, ariſing from the greatneſs of the expence, could not excuſe us, becauſe the incapacity was not real; and if the expence was inconvenient, we ought to have attended to that circumſtance, when we contracted our engagement: that it cannot be true that we received no advantage from our alliance with the king of Pruſſia; becauſe, if it be once admitted that we entered with any reaſon into the German war, which they ſuppoſed undeniable, then the king of Pruſſia had been of very conſiderable ſervice to us, inaſmuch as it was his victory at Roſbach, and the reinforcement from his troops, which had enabled us to do all that we had ſince atchieved: beſides, if the ſupport of the proteſtant religion were any part of our care, that religion muſt ſuffer ſeverely by the ruin of the king of Pruſſia; for though the writings attributed to his Pruſſian majeſty were ſuch, as, if really his, reflected, on account of their impiety, great diſgrace on his character as a man, yet as a king, in his public and political capacity, he is the natural protector of the proteſtant religion, and it will always be his intereſt to defend it.

Such were the ſentiments of the two parties with regard to the nature of our German connections, when the parliament aſſembling in the month of November, the king repaired to the houſe of lords, and the commons aſſembling as uſual, he declared from the throne the following ſpeech to both houſes:

" My lords and gentlemen,

" The juſt concern which I have felt in my own breaſt, on the ſudden death of the late king my royal grandfather, makes me not doubt but you muſt all have been deeply affected with ſo ſevere a loſs. The preſent critical and difficult conjuncture has made this loſs the more ſenſible, as he was the great ſupport of that ſyſtem, by which alone the liberties of Europe, and the weight and influence of theſe kingdoms can be preſerved, and give life to meaſures conducive to thoſe important ends.

" I need not tell you the addition of weight which immediately falls upon me, in being called to the government of this free and powerful country at ſuch a time, and under ſuch circumſtances. My conſolation is in the uprightneſs of my own intentions, your faithful and united aſſiſtance, and the bleſſing of heaven upon our joint endeavours, which I devoutly implore.

" Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton; and the peculiar happineſs of my life will ever conſiſt in promoting the welfare of a people, whoſe loyalty and warm affection to me I conſider as the greateſt and moſt permanent ſecurity of my throne; and I doubt not but their ſteadineſs in thoſe principles will equal the firmneſs of my invariable reſolutions to adhere to and ſtrengthen this excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate, and to maintain the toleration inviolable. The civil and the religious rights of my loving ſubjects are equally dear to me with the moſt valuable prerogatives of my crown; and, as the ſureſt foundation of the whole, and the beſt means to draw down the divine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpoſe to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue.

" I reflect with pleaſure on the ſucceſſes with which the Britiſh arms have been proſpered this laſt ſummer. The total reduction of the vaſt province of Canada, with the city of Montreal, is of the moſt intereſting conſequence, and muſt be as heavy a blow to my enemies, as it is a conqueſt glorious to us; the more glorious, becauſe effected without effuſion of blood, and with that humanity which makes an amiable part of the character of this nation.

" Our advantages gained in the Eaſt Indies have been ſignal, and muſt greatly diminiſh the ſtrength and trade of France in thoſe parts, as well as procure the moſt ſolid benefits to the commerce and wealth of my ſubjects.

" In Germany, where the whole French force has been employed, the combined army, under the wiſe and able conduct of my general prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic, has not only ſtopt their progreſs, but has gained advantages over them, notwithſtanding their boaſted ſuperiority, and their not having hitherto come to a general engagement.

" My good brother and ally the king of Pruſſia, although ſurrounded with numerous armies of enemies, has, with a magnanimity and perſeverance almoſt beyond example, not only withſtood their various attacks, but has obtained very conſiderable victories over them.

" Of theſe events I ſhall ſay no more at this time, becauſe the nature of the war in thoſe parts has kept the campaign there ſtill depending.

" As my navy is the principal article of our naval ſtrength, it gives me much ſatisfaction to receive it in ſuch good condition; whilſt the fleet of France is weakened to ſuch a degree, that the ſmall remains of it have continued blocked up by my ſhips in their own ports: at the ſame time, the French trade is reduced to the loweſt ebb; and with joy of heart I ſee the commerce of my kingdoms, that great ſource of our riches, and fixed object of my never-failing care and protection, flouriſhing to an extent unknown in any former war.

" The valour and intrepidity of my officers and forces, both at ſea and land, have been diſtinguiſhed ſo much to the glory of this nation, that I ſhould be wanting in juſtice to them if I did not acknowlege it. This is a merit which I ſhall conſtantly encourage and reward; and I take this occaſion to declare, that the zealous and uſeful ſervice of the militia, in the preſent arduous conjuncture, is very acceptable to me.

" In this ſtate I have found things at my acceſſion to the throne of my anceſtors: happy in viewing the proſperous part of it; happier ſtill ſhould I have been, had I found my kingdoms, whoſe true intereſt I have entirely at heart, in full peace: but ſince the ambition, injurious encroachments, and dangerous deſigns of my enemies, rendered the war both juſt and neceſſary, and the generous overture made laſt winter towards a congreſs for a pacification, has not yet produced any ſuitable return, I am determined, with your cheerful and powerful

powerful aſſiſtance, to proſecute this war with vigour, in order to that deſirable object, a ſafe and honourable peace. For this purpoſe, it is abſolutely incumbent upon us to be early prepared; and I rely upon your zeal and hearty concurrence to ſupport the king of Pruſſia, and the reſt of my allies, and to make ample proviſion for carrying on the war, as the only means to bring our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation."

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"The greateſt uneaſineſs which I feel at this time, is in conſidering the uncommon burthens neceſſarily brought upon my faithful ſubjects. I deſire only ſuch ſupplies as ſhall be requiſite to proſecute the war with advantage; be adequate to the neceſſary ſervices; and that they may be provided for in the moſt ſure and effectual manner. You may depend upon the faithful and punctual application of what ſhall be granted. I have ordered the proper eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you; and alſo an account of the extraordinary expences which, from the nature of the different and remote operations, have been unavoidably incurred.

"It is with peculiar reluctance that I am obliged to mention any thing which perſonally regards myſelf. But as the grant of the greateſt part of the civil liſt revenues is now determined, I truſt in your duty and affection to me, to make the proper proviſion for ſupporting my civil government with honour and dignity. On my part, you may be aſſured of a regular and becoming œconomy.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The eyes of all Europe upon you. From your reſolutions the proteſtant intereſt hopes for protection, as well as all our friends for the preſervation of their independency; and our enemies fear the final diſappointment of their ambitious and deſtructive views. Let theſe hopes and fears be confirmed and augmented by the vigour and diſpatch of our proceedings.

"In this expectation I am the more encouraged by a pleaſing circumſtance, which I look upon as one of the moſt auſpicious omens of my reign: that happy extinction of diviſions, and that union and good harmony which continue to prevail amongſt my ſubjects, afford me the moſt agreeable proſpect. The natural diſpoſition and wiſh of my heart are to cement and promote them; and I promiſe myſelf that nothing will ariſe on your part to interrupt or diſturb a ſituation ſo eſſential to the true and laſting felicity of this great people."

In anſwer to this ſenſible ſpeech, the two houſes preſented addreſſes, filled with expreſſions of the ſtrongeſt veneration and attachment. As the ſubſtance of both was ſimilar, or rather the ſame, it will be ſufficient to inſert that of the commons, which was conceived in the following ſtrain:

"Moſt gracious ſovereign,

"We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament aſſembled, approach your royal preſence, to expreſs the deepeſt ſenſe of the great and ſevere loſs which your majeſty and theſe kingdoms have ſuſtained by the death of your majeſty's royal grandfather, our late moſt excellent ſovereign; the memory of whoſe juſt and proſperous reign will be held in reverence by lateſt poſterity.

"We beg leave to congratulate your majeſty on your happy acceſſion to the throne, the only conſideration that can alleviate our grief for ſuch a loſs. The knowlege of your majeſty's royal virtues, wiſdom, and firmneſs, opens to your faithful ſubjects the faireſt proſpect for their future happineſs at home, and for the continuance of that weight and influence of your majeſty's crown abroad, ſo eſſentially neceſſary, in this arduous and critical conjuncture, for the preſervation of that ſyſtem upon which the liberties of Europe depend.

"We return your majeſty our humble thanks for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne; and acknowlege, with the livelieſt ſentiments of duty, gratitude, and exultation of mind, thoſe moſt affecting and animating words of our ſovereign, That, born and educated in this country, he glories in the name of Briton. And we offer to your majeſty the full tribute of our hearts, for the warm and tender expreſſions of your truly royal and tender affection towards your people. We venerate and confide in thoſe ſacred aſſurances of your majeſty's firm and invariable reſolution to adhere to and ſtrengthen this excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate; to maintain the toleration inviolate; and to protect your faithful ſubjects in that greateſt of human bleſſings, the ſecure enjoyment of their religious and civil liberties.

"Permit us to congratulate your majeſty on the various ſucceſſes which, under the protection of God, have attended the Britiſh arms during the laſt ſummer, particularly in the reduction of Montreal, and the entire province of Canada; a conqueſt equally important and glorious, atchieved with intrepidity and cloſed with humanity, the genuine attributes of that Britiſh ſpirit, which, under the benign auſpices of your majeſty, will, we truſt, continue, by the Divine aſſiſtance, to give additional luſtre to the arms of Great Britain.

"This valuable and extenſive acquiſition, joined to the ſignal advantages gained in the Eaſt Indies; the flouriſhing ſtate of our commerce; the reſpectable condition of your majeſty's navy, by which the remains of the enemy's fleet continue blocked up in their harbours, whilſt their trade is almoſt annihilated; are conſiderations which fill our hearts with the moſt pleaſing hopes, that your majeſty will be thereby enabled to proſecute this juſt and neceſſary war, to that great and deſirable object of eſtabliſhing, in conjunction with your allies, a ſafe, honourable, and laſting peace.

"We ſee, with the greateſt pleaſure, that the progreſs of the French arms in Germany, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority of numbers, has been ſtopt, and, to the honour of your majeſty's arms, their attempts hitherto baffled, by the wiſe and able conduct of his ſerene highneſs prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic.

"When we conſider the ſtupendous efforts made in every campaign by your majeſty's great ally the king of Pruſſia, the defeat of the Auſtrians in Sileſia, and that recent and glorious victory obtained over the army commanded by marſhal Daun, we cannot ſufficiently admire the invincible

conſtancy of mind, and inexhauſtible reſources of genius, diſplayed by that magnanimous monarch, to whom the moſt dangerous, and difficult ſituations have only adminiſtered freſh occaſions for glory.

" Our moſt dutiful acknowledgements are due to your majeſty for the mention you have ſo graciouſly made of the diſtinguiſhed valour and intrepidity of your officers and forces at ſea and land, and for the declaration of your majeſty's conſtant reſolution to encourage and reward ſuch merit; and we return our moſt humble thanks to your majeſty for your favourable acceptance of the zealous and uſeful ſervice of the militia, in the preſent arduous conjuncture.

" We aſſure your majeſty, that your faithful commons, thoroughly ſenſible of this important criſis, and deſirous, with the divine aſſiſtance, to render your majeſty's reign ſucceſsful and glorious in war, happy and honourable in peace (the natural return of a grateful people to a gracious and affectionate ſovereign) will concur in ſuch meaſures as ſhall be requiſite for the vigorous and effectual proſecution of the war; and that we will chearfully and ſpeedily grant ſuch ſupplies as ſhall be found neceſſary for that purpoſe, and for the ſupport of the king of Pruſſia, and the reſt of your majeſty's allies: firmly relying on your majeſty's wiſdom, goodneſs, and juſtice, that they will be applied in ſuch a manner as will moſt effectually anſwer the ends for which they are granted, and with the utmoſt œconomy that the nature of ſuch great and extenſive operations will allow; and that we will make ſuch an adequate proviſion for your majeſty's civil government as may be ſufficient to maintain the honour and dignity of your crown with all proper and becoming luſtre.

" Your majeſty's faithful commons approach your royal perſon with hearts penetrated by the warmeſt and livelieſt ſenſe of your unbounded tenderneſs and concern for the welfare of your people; and rejoicing at the high ſatisfaction your majeſty takes in the union which ſo univerſally prevails throughout your kingdoms: a deep ſenſe of that national ſtrength and proſperity viſibly derived from this ſalutary ſource, and above all, your majeſty's approbation of that happy union, and the natural diſpoſition and wiſh of your royal heart, to cement and promote it; are the ſtrongeſt incentives to concord, and the ſureſt pledge of its duration. The fixed reſolution, which your majeſty has declared, to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue, will, we doubt not, prove the beſt means of drawing down the favour of God upon a dutiful and united nation: and we ſhall never ceaſe devoutly to offer up our ardent vows to the Divine Providence, that, as a recompence for theſe royal virtues, your majeſty may reign in the hearts of a free and happy people; and that they, excited by your majeſty's benevolent care to diſcharge your royal function, and animated by gratitude for the enjoyment of ſo many bleſſings, may make the due return, by a conſtant obedience to your laws, and by the moſt ſteady attachment and loyalty to your perſon and government."

The commons, not ſatisfied with theſe aſſurances of their loyalty and affection, agreed to a ſecond addreſs of thanks for the gracious manner in which the firſt had been received by his majeſty. Even before they had eſtabliſhed the orders and reſolutions renewed at the beginning of every ſeſſion, they proceeded to take this ſpeech into conſideration. A motion being made that a ſupply ſhould be granted to his majeſty, the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, agreed to the motion, and immediately appointed the committee of ſupply, which was continued to the ſixth day of March. It was in purſuance of theſe reſolutions, that the houſe of commons granted for the ſupport of his majeſty's houſhold, and of the honour and dignity of the crown, during his life, ſuch a revenue as, together with the annuities payable by virtue of any acts of parliament made in the reign of the late king, out of the hereditary civil liſt revenues, ſhould amount to the clear yearly ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds, to commence from the demiſe of his late majeſty; to be charged upon, and made payable out of the aggregate fund. At the ſame time they reſolved, that the ſeveral revenues payable to his late majeſty, during his life, which continued to the time of his demiſe (other than ſuch payments as were charged upon, and iſſuing out of the aggregate fund) ſhould be granted and continued from the time of the ſaid demiſe, to his preſent majeſty during his life; and the produce of the ſaid revenues, together with the produce of the hereditary revenues, which were ſettled, or appointed, towards the ſupport of the late king's houſhold, ſhould be, during the ſaid term, added to, and conſolidated with the aggregate fund.

The commons next proceeded to grant the ſupplies for the ſervice of the enſuing year; the ſum total of which amounted to nineteen millions ſix hundred ſixteen thouſand one hundred and nineteen pounds nineteen ſhillings ninepence three farthings: a ſum, which, however, large, and even ſeemingly enormous, yet whoever conſiders the extenſive nature of our military operations in almoſt every quarter, will allow, perhaps, to be no more than was abſolutely neceſſary.

This great ſupply was raiſed by a continuation of the land and malt taxes, which conſtituted the ſtanding revenue of the nation, and by borrowing the ſum of twelve millions, the intereſt to be paid by an additional duty on beer and ale: by a continuation of the duties of ten ſhillings per ton upon all wines, vinegar, cyder, and beer, imported into Great-Britain, formerly granted by act of parliament for defraying the charges of the mint: by loans or exchequer-bills for one million five hundred thouſand pounds, to be charged on the firſt aids to be granted in the next ſeſſion of parliament: by a ſum remaining in the Receipt of the Exchequer, being part of ninety thouſand pounds granted to the late king in the year 1759, upon account, towards defraying the charge of the militia: by iſſuing one million ſeven hundred ſixty-two thouſand four hundred pounds from the ſinking fund. The whole of the proviſions made in this ſeſſion fell very little ſhort of twenty millions ſterling; the ſuperplus being intended to ſupply the deficiencies that might happen in any of the funds that had been eſtabliſhed.

In the beginning of the ſeſſion, before the committee had taken the civil liſt into conſideration, the king ſent a meſſage by the chancellor of the

Exchequer, informing the houſe of commons, that, being ever ready and deſirous to give the moſt ſubſtantial proofs of his tender regard to the welfare of his people, he was willing, that, whenever the houſe ſhould make proviſion for the ſupport of his houſhold, and of the honour and dignity of the crown, ſuch diſpoſition might be made of his majeſty's intereſt in the hereditary revenues of the crown, as might beſt conduce to the utility and ſatisfaction of the public. In conſequence of this intimation, the houſe deliberated on the matter, and the king willingly accepted a certain proviſion of eight hundred thouſand pounds per annum, ſettled by act of parliament, in lieu of the former funds appropriated for the civil liſt revenue; and this conſent was undoubtedly a royal inſtance of moderation, conſidering that this annuity was charged with fifty thouſand pounds a year to his mother the princeſs dowager of Wales, fifteen thouſand pounds per annum to the duke of Cumberland, and twelve thouſand to the princeſs Amelia. After theſe deductions, his majeſty received no more than ſeven hundred and twenty-three thouſand pounds annually, for the ſupport of his public ſtate, the ſubſiſtence of all his brothers and ſiſters, and the maintenance of his royal and encreaſing family.

The bills founded on the reſolutions of the committee of ways and means were regularly introduced, and paſſed into laws, according to the uſual form, without any oppoſition or debate: for the whole houſe ſeemed to be actuated by the ſame ſpirit of loyalty and affection. The navy bill and the mutiny bill underwent the annual diſcuſſion, as uſual; and the proviſions in this laſt, relating to the trial and puniſhment for mutiny and deſertion of officers and ſoldiers in the ſervice of the Eaſt-India company, were by a new bill extended to the company's ſettlement of Fort Marlborough, and to ſuch other principal ſettlements, wherein the company might be hereafter impowered to hold courts of judicature.

As the acceſſion of a new king to the throne of Great-Britain has been generally diſtinguiſhed by acts of grace in favour of debtors and delinquents, petitions were now preſented to the houſe of commons by perſons confined for debt in the different gaols of London, the borough of Southwark, and other parts of the kingdom, deſcribing their ſituation, and imploring relief from the legiſlature.

To the cries of theſe captives, the legiſlature lent a favourable ear; and a bill in their behalf was brought into the houſe of commons, which afterwards paſſed into an act for the relief of priſoners. It contained a very remarkable clauſe, importing, that as many perſons too often chooſe rather to continue in priſon, and ſpend their ſubſtance there, than diſcover and deliver up to their creditors their eſtates or effects, towards ſatisfying their juſt debts; the creditors may compel any priſoner committed, or who ſhall hereafter be committed, and charged in execution, to appear at the quarter-ſeſſions, with the copy of his detainer, and deliver, upon oath, a juſt ſchedule of his eſtate: that a priſoner, ſubſcribing the ſchedule, and making a diſcovery of his eſtate, ſhall be diſcharged at the general or quarter ſeſſions, under this act: and that on his refuſal ſo to do, or concealing to the amount of twenty pounds, he ſhall ſuffer as a felon.

This compulſive clauſe was attended with a conſequence, which, in all probability, the legiſlature did not foreſee. Great numbers of tradeſmen, and people in the lower claſſes of life, and even many who had moved in a higher ſphere, were ſaid to have laid hold on this opportunity of diſencumbering themſelves from their debts, which might have been honeſtly paid by a proper exertion of induſtry and temperance. Every perſon deſirous of reaping the benefit of the act, prevailed upon ſome relation or friend to perform the part of compelling creditor. The public complained that the gaols about London were crouded with a ſucceſſion of theſe voluntary captives; and that a great number of honeſt men were ruined by this indulgence ſhewn to their debtors by the clemency of parliament.

Certain it is, the common council of the city of London, in their inſtructions to the repreſentatives in the new parliament, recommended to them to exert their utmoſt endeavours to procure the repeal of this compulſive clauſe, as a manifeſt grievance to the public.

In the month of January the king ſent a meſſage to the commons, importing, that his majeſty being ſenſible of the zeal and vigour with which his faithful ſubjects in North America had exerted themſelves, in defence of his juſt rights and poſſeſſions, recommended it to the houſe to take their ſervices into conſideration, and enable his majeſty to give them a proper recompence for the expence incurred by the reſpective provinces in levying, cloathing, and maintaining the troops they had raiſed, according as the active vigour, and ſtrenuous efforts of the reſpective provinces ſhould appear to merit. This intimation was referred to the committee of ſupply, and that reſolution taken in favour of the American provinces which we have mentioned before among the grants of the year. The royal meſſage was likewiſe procured in favour of the Eaſt-India company, for enabling them to defray the expence of a military force in India; and they were accordingly gratified with the ſum already ſpecified under that article.

In the beginning of March the king made a propoſal for ſecuring the independency of the judges, which could not fail to inſpire the ſubject with the moſt favourable opinion of his royal candour and moderation. In a ſpeech from the throne he informed both houſes of parliament, that, upon granting new commiſſions to the judges, the preſent ſtate of their offices fell naturally under conſideration: that, notwithſtanding the act paſſed in the reign of king William III. for ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown, by which act the commiſſions of the judges were continued in force during their good behaviour, yet their offices had determined at the demiſe of the crown, or in ſix months after that event, as often as it had happened: that as he looked upon the independency and uprightneſs of the judges as eſſential to the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, one of the beſt ſecurities to the rights and liberties of his ſubjects, as well as conducive to the honour of the crown, he recommended this intereſting object to the conſideration of parliament, in order that ſuch further proviſion might be made for ſecuring the judges in the enjoyment of their offices during their good behaviour, notwithſtanding any ſuch demiſe, as ſhould be

be moſt expedient: that he hoped the commons would enable him to grant, and eſtabliſh upon the judges, ſuch ſalaries as he ſhould think proper, ſo as to be abſolutely ſecured to them during the continuance of their commiſſions: and that he could not let ſlip the preſent opportunity of thanking both houſes for the great unanimity and application with which they had hitherto carried on the public buſineſs; exhorting them to proceed with the ſame good diſpoſition, and with ſuch diſpatch, that this ſeſſion might be brought to a happy concluſion.

This ſpeech was received with that univerſal applauſe, which it ſo well deſerved. The commons unanimouſly reſolved to diſplay their gratitude in an addreſs to the throne. They acknowledged the moſt lively ſenſe of his majeſty's attention to an object ſo intereſting to his people. They aſſured him, that his faithful commons ſaw, with joy and veneration, the warm regard and concern which animated his royal breaſt for the ſecurity of the religion, laws, liberties, and properties of his ſubjects: that the houſe would immediately proceed upon the important work recommended by his majeſty with ſuch tender care of his people; and would enable him to eſtabliſh the ſalaries of the judges in ſuch a permanent manner, that they might be enjoyed during the continuance of their commiſſions. They forthwith began to deliberate upon this ſubject; and their reſolutions terminated in a law, enacting, among other particulars, That ſuch part of the ſalaries of the judges as was before payable out of the yearly ſums granted for the ſupport of the king's houſhold, and of the honour and dignity of the crown, ſhould, after the demiſe of his preſent majeſty, be charged upon, and payable out of all or any ſuch duties or revenues, granted for the uſe of the civil government, as ſhould ſubſiſt after the demiſe of his majeſty, or of any of his heirs and ſucceſſors. Thus the individuals, intruſted with the adminiſtration of the laws, were effectually emancipated from the power of the prerogative, and of all undue influence.

It was likewiſe in the beginning of March that the chancellor of the Exchequer communicated a meſſage from the king to the commons, deſiring the houſe would enable him to defray any extraordinary expences of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the ſervice of the year 1761. This meſſage was immediately referred to the conſideration of the committee of ſupply; and his majeſty was indulged with one million, upon account, as we have already mentioned.

Mr. Onſlow, who had ſo long filled the ſpeaker's chair with equal candour and capacity, having ſignified his intention to retire from buſineſs, in conſequence of age, infirmities, and other motives of a private nature, the commons determined to beſtow upon him ſome ſignal marks of their eſteem and regard. They accordingly reſolved, that the thanks of the houſe ſhould be given to Mr. Speaker, for his conſtant and unwearied attendance in the chair, during the courſe of above thirty-three years, in five ſucceſſive parliaments; for the unſhaken integrity and ſteady impartiality of his conduct there; and for the indefatigable pains he had, with uncommon abilities, conſtantly taken to promote the honour and dignity of parliament, and to preſerve inviolable, the rights and privileges of the commons of Great-Britain.

The houſe alſo reſolved to preſent an addreſs to the king, humbly to beſeech his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to confer ſome ſignal mark of his royal favour upon the right honourable Arthur Onſlow, eſq; for his great and eminent ſervices performed to his country, for the ſpace of thirty-three years and upwards. This application was very agreeable to the king's own generous diſpoſition. He expreſſed a proper ſenſe of the ſpeaker's great ſervices, and unblemiſhed character; and that gentleman was gratified with an annual penſion of three thouſand pounds, payable out of his majeſty's treaſure at the Exchequer, for his own life and that of his ſon. All the public buſineſs being diſpatched, and all the bills having received the royal ſanction, the king repaired to the houſe of lords on the nineteenth day of March, and cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne.

Before I proceed to relate the operations of war during this year in the different climates of Europe, Aſia, Africa, and America, I think it neceſſary to obſerve, that the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty produced no alteration in the ſyſtem of public affairs, and was attended with no revolution of any conſequence, either in the church, the ſtate, or the army. The metropolitan ſee of Canterbury was ſtill poſſeſſed by Secker, alike diſtinguiſhed for his piety and learning. The office of lord high chancellor was conferred upon lord Henly, baron Grange, who had given manifold proofs of his independent ſpirit, knowledge, and integrity. Lord Mansfield maintained his ſeat on the King's Bench, and judge Willes in the Common Pleas. The miniſtry and cabinet council underwent no material alteration, except in the acceſſion of the earl of Bute, who ſucceeded the earl of Holderneſs as ſecretary of ſtate for the northern department, and was ſuppoſed to ſtand with Mr. Pitt, the other ſecretary, as joint pilot at the helm of adminiſtration. The duke of Newcaſtle ſtill directed the treaſury; earl Granville preſided at the council; and lord Anſon at the board of Admiralty. Earl Temple kept the privy ſeal; and Mr. Legge acted as chancellor of the Exchequer, though in a little time he was diſmiſſed from that employment. Mr. Charles Townſhend being appointed ſecretary at war, ſoon proved by his conduct the fallacy of that maxim which holds genius inconſiſtent with induſtry; and performed every part of this office with ſuch accuracy and expedition, as had never before appeared in that ſcene of tranſaction. The lucrative poſt of paymaſter remained with Mr. Henry Fox, who, though not very acceptable to either party, had, by mere ſuperiority of parts, been able to maintain his footing with both.

The management of the king's houſhold devolved upon noblemen of unblemiſhed characters. The chamberlain's wand was delivered to the duke of Devonſhire, univerſally beloved for his generoſity, and ſweetneſs of diſpoſition. The duke of Rutland, ſo diſtinguiſhed for his benevolence, was created maſter of the horſe; and the office of lord ſteward was beſtowed upon earl Talbot, who, with equal ſpirit and perſeverance, reformed many enormous abuſes in the œconomy of the king's houſhold. The earl

of Halifax was nominated lord lieutenant of Ireland. Divers young noblemen were appointed lords of the king's bed-chamber †; and a very few alterations made in places of truſt and profit; but, in general, all the members of the great offices, and all the commiſſioners of the revenue throughout the three kingdoms, were continued in their reſpective employments.

The chief command of the army in Great Britain was enjoyed by the lord viſcount Ligonier. The German army in Weſtphalia, paid by England, remained under the auſpices of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwic; the marquis of Granby commanded the Britiſh forces on that ſervice; and the direction of the troops in America was ſtill intruſted to Sir Jeffery Amherſt. Neither was any material change produced in the diſpoſition of the different ſquadrons which compoſed the navy of Great Britain. Admiral Holborn's flag continued flying at Spithead. Sir Edward Hawke and Sir Charles Hardy were ſtationed in the bay of Quiberon. Sir Charles Saunders kept the ſea in the Mediterranean. The rear-admirals Stevens and Corniſh commanded one ſquadron in the Eaſt-Indies; rear-admiral Holmes another at Jamaica; Sir James Douglas a third at the Leeward Iſlands; lord Colvil a fourth at Halifax in Nova Scotia. Theſe were ſtationary; but other ſquadrons were equipped occaſionally, under different commanders; beſides the ſingle ſhips that cruized in and about the Channel, and thoſe that were ſtationed to protect the trade of Great-Britain in different parts of the world.

But let us now turn our eyes to the continent of Europe. The events of the laſt campaign had produced no material alteration in the political ſyſtem of its different princes and ſtates. Thoſe that profeſſed a neutrality, ſtill kept aloof, and enjoyed the fruits of their forbearance. The Dutch continued to trade, and grumble at the interruption which their navigation ſuſtained from the Engliſh cruiſers: nay, the ſtates of Holland and Weſt Frieſland reſolved, in conſequence of the proceedings of the Engliſh, that twelve ſhips of the line ſhould be equipped with all expedition, and employed in cruizing in the Mediterranean for the protection of their commerce. The Danes extended their trade in ſilence. The Spaniards at laſt began to feel the benefit of an active traffic. The Portugueſe monarch was wholly engaged in the trial and expulſion of jeſuits and conſpirators. The court of Vienna ſeemed more and more determined upon proſecuting the war with vigour. The empreſs of Ruſſia promiſed to act in perfect concert with her allies: the Swedes appeared ſtill irreſolute. As for the French monarch, whatever ambition or intereſt he might have to atchieve conqueſts, or to retrieve what he had loſt in the courſe of the war, his finances were ſo encumbered, that he could no longer furniſh the ſubſidies which he had promiſed to the allies of his crown; and therefore profeſſed an earneſt deſire to put an end to the troubles which had ſo long deſolated the beſt part of Europe.

In the month of February his ambaſſador at the court of Stockholm delivered a declaration to the Swediſh monarch, importing, that the moſt Chriſtian king, moved by the calamities of war, ſo widely diffuſed, and ſo ſeverely felt in different parts of the world, thought it his indiſpenſible duty to declare, that his humanity in general, and his regard to his own ſubjects in particular, prompted him to expreſs his deſire that his allies would concur with him in reſtoring the peace of Europe: that in adjuſting the differences between France and England, he would abundantly diſplay his moderation, whenever Great Britain ſhould be inclined to acquieſce in reaſonable terms: that common humanity required his allies to concert with him a plan of pacification, and he hoped every member of the alliance would labour to ſtrengthen, if poſſible, the bands of amity with which they were connected: that, in the mean time, an accumulation of diſtreſs among his unhappy ſubjects, an additional depopulation of countries, a diſorder in the finances of ſeveral powers, and the greateſt doubt whether an advantageous peace could be made in Germany, induced him to declare, that as the war had conſiderably diminiſhed his reſources, he was conſtrained to leſſen his ſubſidies, and even to give notice, that, ſhould the war continue, he could no longer promiſe an exact compliance with the letter of his engagements.

France was not only exhauſted by external wars, but likewiſe embroiled with internal diſſenſions. The diſputes between the clergy, and the civil adminiſtration of juſtice, far from being quieted by the royal authority, ſeemed to acquire freſh rancour from ſome late complaints exhibited againſt the Jeſuits; a ſociety which at this juncture incurred univerſal odium, from the intrigues and conſpiracy which ſome of their members had conducted in the kingdom of Portugal. They were extremely unpopular in France, not only on account of the doctrines which they taught and promulgated in their ſeminaries and writings, but alſo for their officious interfering in temporal concerns; and particularly for ſome frauds in commerce, of which they were loudly and univerſally accuſed. They had proſecuted a conſiderable traffic with the iſland of Martinique; and ſome of their veſſels being taken by the Engliſh cruiſers, ſeized this pretence for ſtopping payment, in order to defraud their creditors: but they were cited before the tribunals of the kingdom, and compelled to do juſtice to thoſe whom they had intended to injure. The iſſue of this proſecution was attended with new diſgrace to the whole order, and the people in general wiſhed for their expulſion from France. The parliament of Paris

† The earl of Kildare was created a marquis of the kingdom of Ireland. Lord Delawar was promoted to the rank of earl of Cantalupe. The honourable John Spencer, firſt couſin to the duke of Marlborough, was ennobled by the title of baron Spencer of Althorp in the county of Northampton, and viſcount Spencer. George Doddington was made lord Melcomb, baron of Melcomb-Regis in the county of Dorſet. Sir Thomas Robinſon was created baron Grantham in Lincolnſhire; Sir Nathaniel Curzon, baron Scarſdale in the county of Derby, and Sir William Irby, lord Boſton, baron of Boſton in the county of Lincoln. Mary counteſs of Bute was veſted with the title of baroneſs Mountſtuart, of Wortley in the county of York; the title of baron to devolve to her lawful iſſue male by John earl of Bute.

Archibald duke of Argyle dying in April, the title and eſtate devolved on his couſin lieutenant general John Campbell. The marquis of Tweedale was conſtituted juſtice general of Scotland, in the room of the deceaſed duke; whoſe poſt of keeper of the ſeal for Scotland was given to Charles duke of Queenſberry.

took cognizance of their books, ſome of which they condemned to the flames, as containing doctrines ſubverſive of all government and morality. They moreover iſſued ſome ſevere edicts againſt the ſociety; but the king interpoſing in their behalf, publiſhed an arret, ſuſpending all proceedings againſt them for a twelvemonth. This the parliament conſented to regiſter, on condition that it ſhould continue in force no longer than the firſt of April; at the ſame time they directed the firſt preſident to repreſent in the ſtrongeſt terms to his majeſty, the ill conſequences of protecting ſuch a pernicious order; the more dangerous from their great number, which in France alone was computed to amount to above twenty thouſand.

The war ſtill continued to rage with unabated fury in Germany. In the beginning of January, while both armies remained in winter-quarters, the head-quarters of prince Ferdinand being at Uſlar, and thoſe of the French general in Heſſe Caſſel, divers hot ſkirmiſhes happened in different parts of Weſtphalia. General Luckner, with four thouſand men of the allied army, had in December been driven from Heligenſtadt by a more numerous body of French under the command of the count de Broglio. In the beginning of January the ſame count, reinforced by Mr. de Stainville, conſtrained general Mansberg to abandon the town of Duderſtat, where he was poſted; but a reinforcement arriving under Kilmanſegge and Luckner, the French were expelled in their turn, and purſued with conſiderable loſs as far as Witzenhauſen.

Prince Ferdinand having aſſembled his army in the beginning of February, began his march towards Caſſel on the eleventh day of the month, in four columns, by the way of Warbourg, Liebenau, Sielen, and Dringelbourg; the command of the vanguard being aſſigned to the marquis of Granby, who advanced to Kerchberg and Metze. In the mean time, the hereditary prince having received intelligence that the French garriſon of Fritzlar was not prepared for a defence, he marched thither with a few battalions, in hope of carrying the place by a ſudden aſſault with muſquetry only: but he met with ſuch a warm reception, that he was obliged to wait for the arrival of cannon and mortars, which were plied with great vivacity; and the garriſon being deſtitute of artillery, colonel de Narbonnes, their commander, capitulated on honourable terms, after having made a very gallant reſiſtance. During theſe tranſactions, lieutenant-general Briedenbach took poſſeſſion of a large magazine at Roſenthal, and made an unſucceſsful attempt upon Marpurg, in which he loſt his life; but this place was afterwards relinquiſhed by the French at the approach of the marquis of Granby, who took poſſeſſion of it without oppoſition. Gudersberg likewiſe ſurrendered to the ſame general.

General Sporcken, with the united corps of Kilmanſegge and Wangenheim, had advanced by the way of Dargelſtadt to Thomas-ſpruck, upon the Unſtrut. There being reinforced by a body of Pruſſians, he fell upon the Saxon troops, cantoned between Mulhauſen and Eyſenach, with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs, that a great number were killed, and five entire battalions made priſoners of war. On the other hand, the enemy attacked the poſt of Gentzungen, near Filtzberg, from whence they were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. The deſign of prince Ferdinand was to reduce Ziegenhayn and Caſſel, before the Duc de Broglio ſhould receive his reinforcements; and theſe two places were accordingly inveſted.

The allied army was cantoned in two lines, with the right extending to the Lahne, and the left ſtretched towards Fulda; while prince Ferdinand fixed his quarters at Schwienſberg. Lord Granby, having left a garriſon in Marpurg, marched into the neighbourhood of Lohr. Another body, under general Hardenberg, advanced to Kircham; while the detachment employed at the ſiege of Caſſel proceeded very ſlowly in their operations, and received ſome mortifying checks from vigorous ſallies that were made by the garriſon. At length the Duc de Broglio, being joined by all the detachments he expected from the Lower Rhine, advanced towards the army of the allies, which at this time was in no condition to cope with him in the field. On the twenty-firſt day of March the detachment under the hereditary prince was, in its retreat from Heimbach, encountered by a numerous body of the enemy, near the village of Stangerode, in the neighbourhood of Grunberg. Baron Cloſen, who commanded the French troops on this occaſion, attacked nine regiments of Hanoverians, Heſſians, and Brunſwickers, at the head of his dragoons, with ſuch impetuoſity, juſt as they were entering a defile, that they were totally defeated with the loſs of two thouſand men, either killed or taken, eighteen pair of colours, and twelve pieces of artillery. Major-general de Rhede fell in the action, and the reſt of the detachment retired in tolerable order.

After this diſaſter, the allies continued to retreat as the enemy advanced. They relinquiſhed the ſiege of Ziegenhayn, from which they did not retire without conſiderable loſs. All the places they had lately conquered were now deſerted. The ſiege of Caſſel was raiſed; the army took poſt behind the Dymel, and prince Ferdinand eſtabliſhed his head quarters at Neuhas near Paderborn. In conſequence of theſe motions, the French were again in poſſeſſion of the whole landgraviate of Heſſe-Caſſel, maſters of Gottingen and Munden in Hanover, and at liberty to penetrate into the heart of that electorate. The ſituation of the allies appeared the more dangerous, as the prince de Soubiſe was at the head of a ſecond French army, encamped on the Lower Rhine; and if he had heartily co-operated with the mareſchal de Broglio, it is generally thought they might have terminated the war before the cloſe of the ſummer.

Their progreſs, however, was retarded by the loſs of a large magazine of hay, collected at Weſel on the Rhine, which was conſumed by fire, not without ſuſpicion that it was wilfully deſtroyed. The hereditary prince of Brunſwick, at the head of a ſeparate body, advanced to Nettelen, in the neighbourhood of Munſter, about the middle of May, to watch the motions of the army under Soubiſe, who cauſed three different camps to be formed at Duſſeldorff, Burich, and Rees, though part of his forces ſtill continued in cantonment. The war was in the mean time proſecuted by detached parties, and ſkirmiſhes were fought with various ſucceſs. The army of the duke de Broglio, having croſſed the Dymel about the latter end of June, diſlodged general Sporcken from his poſt on the

left of that river, with the loſs of eighteen hundred men taken priſoners, nineteen pieces of cannon, four hundred horſes, and two hundred waggons. After this exploit, the French took poſſeſſion of Warburg, Paderborn, and Dringlebroen, and compelled prince Ferdinand to repaſs the Lippe on the ſecond day of July. Theſe ſucceſſes, however, were over ballanced by the atchievements of ſmall parties, which he detached from time to time to harraſs them in their motions, and cut off their convoys of proviſion. On the thirteenth day of July, in the morning, general Luckner, with his detachment, advanced to Salme, where the count de Chabot was poſted with a ſtrong body of horſe and foot; which he attacked with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were conſtrained to repaſs the Lippe with precipitation, and loſt about two hundred men, and as many horſes, in their retreat. Other parties intercepted the French convoys in the neighbourhood of Caſſel, and did ſuch conſiderable damage to the enemy, that they reſolved to unite their armies, and give battle to prince Ferdinand.

The allies were encamped at Hohenover: the right wing, at the extremity of which the hereditary prince was poſted, extended as far as the village of Buderch, and this was guarded by a detachment. The body of the army occupied the heights of Wambeln; and the prince of Anhalt poſſeſſed the ground between Illingen and Hohenover. The marquis of Granby maintained his poſition on the heights of Kirch-Denckern: lieutenant-general Wutgenau, advancing from the heath of Untrup, marched by his right, in order to reach the village of Kirch-Denckern: the avenues and poſts on the little rivers Aaſt and Sultzbah were defended by the piquets of the army. On the fifteenth day of July, in the evening, the army of Soubiſe, having ſtruck their tents, advanced on the left of the allies, and diſlodged the advanced poſts of lord Granby, againſt whoſe corps their chief effort was directed. Prince Ferdinand now thought proper to make a new diſpoſition. The marquis was commanded to maintain his ground to the laſt extremity. Wutgenau was ordered to make a motion to the left, to block up the high road from Lipſtadt to Ham, and to act in concert with the marquis, whoſe right was moreover ſuſtained by the left of the body commanded by the prince of Anhalt, and this general's own right extended to the Aaſt, above Kirch-Denkern. Lieutenant-general Conway replaced the prince of Anhalt, between Illingen and Hohenover. The hereditary prince ordered lieutenant-general Boſe to ſecure the heights of Wambeln, leaving count Kilmanſegge on the ſide of Buderich. The greateſt part of the artillery was planted by count Shaumbourg Lippe on the front of the left. General Sporcken, who encamped with a ſeparate body at Hortzfeld, was ordered to detach ſix ſquadrons, and as many battalions over the Lippe, to ſupport M. de Wutgenau, and to co-operate with the reſt as he ſhould judge moſt effectual for the advantage of the whole. Lord Granby being furiouſly attacked by the enemy, ſuſtained a prodigious fire of artillery and ſmall arms, and with unſhaken reſolution, withſtood all their efforts until the arrival of Wutgenau; who, advancing on his left, and charging them in flank, obliged them to retire into the woods with precipitation: then he extended his right to Haus-Vilinghauſen, and turned his left towards the high road of Ham, the defence of which place was his chief object.

Prince Ferdinand having learned from the priſoners, that mareſchal Broglio had decamped from Erwite at break of day, in order to join Soubiſe, and give battle to the allies, concluded that the ſtrongeſt efforts would be made upon his left, and took his precautions accordingly. He ordered general Howard to bring up the brigade of infantry commanded by lord Frederick Cavendiſh, and the cavalry of lord Pembroke. Colonel Grevendorff was detached with two battalions to barricade and fortify the village of Kirch-Denckern, and to be there ſupported, in caſe of neceſſity, by general Howard. Mean while, the enemy kept poſſeſſion of ſome poſts oppoſite to the picquets of the allied army, and the patroles ſkirmiſhed all night. At three in the morning the whole French army advanced again to the attack on the ſide where Wutgenau was poſted, and a dreadful fire of cannon and muſquetry was maintained on both ſides for five hours, during which the enemy was not able to gain one inch of ground. About nine, prince Ferdinand receiving information that their deſign was to cannonade the camp of lord Granby from an oppoſite eminence, immediately ordered a body of troops to anticipate this operation, by a vigorous charge. This movement proved deciſive. The troops advanced with amazing intrepidity, and attacked with ſuch vigour as in a little time obliged the enemy to give way, and abandon the field to the allies. Their left, which ſtill maintained a ſevere cannonade on that ſide where the hereditary prince commanded, no ſooner heard of the miſcarriage on their right, than they deſiſted from the attack, and retreated in order. The left of the enemy was purſued as far as Hiltrup, about a league from the field of battle; but as the nature of the ground did not permit the cavalry to act, they ſuſtained the leſs damage in their retreat. In this unſucceſsful attack, they loſt about five thouſand men, killed or taken, with a few colours, and pieces of cannon; whereas the loſs of the allies, in killed and priſoners, did not amount to above five hundred.

This action was the climax of the campaign of 1761 in Weſtphalia. It did the greateſt honour to the wiſdom of the accompliſhed commander in the diſpoſition, and to the bravery of the troops in the combat; but it was far from being deciſive: for, notwithſtanding the loſs of the French, they were ſtill ſuperior in their numbers. On this diſaſter the old miſunderſtanding between Soubiſe and Broglio broke out with freſh animoſity. Narratives, memorials, and replies, conceived with great bitterneſs, were mutually remitted from both mareſchals to their court. Broglio alledged, that his misfortune was owing to the prince de Soubiſe's delay, who did not begin his attack till it was too late for him to continue it. The prince de Soubiſe, on the other hand, affirmed, that Broglio began his attack earlier than the time that had been fixed, in hopes of forcing the allies without Soubiſe's aſſiſtance; and when he found that point loſt, obliged Soubiſe to retreat, that he might not have the honour of retrieving it.

Immediately

Immediately after the action, the two French armies ſeparated, Broglio marched back towards Caſſel; and Soubiſe, retreating to Dortmund, paſſed the Roer; as if they had laid aſide for that campaign all thoughts of acting further on the offenſive. But his paſſage of the Roer was deſigned to ſecure a great number of barges coming down the Rhine, loaden with forage for his army; and before he took this ſtep, he ſent off two large detachments to reinforce Broglio. Having received his forage, he repaſſed both the Roer and the Lippe, and advanced as far as Dulmen; while Broglio, penetrating further into the electorate of Hanover, took poſſeſſion of Keſter, which he fortified, and ſeemed determined to lay ſiege to the town of Hamelen. Prince Ferdinand, being greatly inferior in number, retired to Dumolt, and called in moſt of his detachments. The French general encamped in his neighbourhood, on the heights of Neim, and many ſkirmiſhes happened; in one of which prince Henry, brother to the hereditary prince of Brunſwick, was mortally wounded. About the middle of Auguſt an advantage was gained at Caſſel by general Luckner, who attacked and routed a body of the enemy, from whom he took a conſiderable number of men and horſes.

Mareſchal Broglio having croſſed the Weſer with his whole army, as if he had intended to fall upon the city of Hanover, prince Ferdinand made a forced march, paſſed the Dymel, and advanced to Caſſel. This movement obliged the French general to retire with the greater part of his army: then prince Ferdinand, proceeding to Paderborn, eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Buhne, from whence he extended his forces towards Hamelen. Broglio once more paſſed the Weſer, encamped near Eimbeck, and laid the whole country under contribution. In the mean time, Soubiſe having erected his ovens at Dorſten, and garriſoned the place with one battalion, the hereditary prince found means to attack and reduce the town, to make priſoners of the garriſon, to deſtroy the ovens, and burn the magazines there provided: an exploit, in conſequence of which the prince de Soubiſe retreated to the other ſide of the Lippe; but he ſoon repaſſed that river, and advanced again towards Caeffelt, from whence his detachments over-ran all the northern parts of Weſtphalia.

While prince Ferdinand lay encamped at Willhemſtall in the neighbourhood of Hamelen, and the hereditary prince, at the head of a detachment, ſcoured the open country of Heſſe-Caſſel, the mareſchal Broglio made reprizals in the Hartz, where he reduced and diſmantled the ſtrong caſtle of Schutzfels, and made the garriſon priſoners of war. A detachment, commanded by his brother the count de Broglio, and prince Xavier of Saxony, having made a forced march, took poſſeſſion of Wolfenbuttle, and then laid ſiege to Brunſwick; but before they could reduce the city, the hereditary prince being joined by general Luckner, flew to the relief of his father's capital. At his approach they relinquiſhed their enterprize, and retired out of Wolfenbuttle with ſuch precipitation as to leave ſome of their cannon behind, and about five hundred men, who were taken.

Towards the end of September, a detachment from the army of Soubiſe, commanded by the marquis de Conflans, advanced to the gates of Embden, which was garriſoned by two companies of Engliſh invalids, who obtained an honourable capitulation, and embarked from Bremen: then the French troops laid the town under contribution, and evacuated the place; but the boors of the country riſing in arms, and ſinking the pontoons on which the enemy had paſſed the river, the French general ſent a ſecond detachment, which brought off the firſt, after having diſperſed and hanged ſome of the peaſants in terrorem. Another party from the army of Soubiſe entered the city of Oſnabrug, which the ſoldiers were permitted to pillage, as the inhabitants could not pay the exorbitant contribution which was demanded. A third made an attempt upon Bremen; but the inhabitants joining the garriſon, obliged the French to retreat with precipitation; and they were afterwards reinforced by two battalions of the Britiſh legion, the better to ſecure the magazines depoſited in that place for the uſe of the allied army.

In the mean time Broglio lay inactive at Eimbeck, without attempting any thing of importance; nor was he at all diſturbed in his poſition, until the beginning of November, when prince Ferdinand had concerted a plan for attacking him ſuddenly, before he could call in his detachments; or, at leaſt, to intercept and cut off a large body of fifteen battalions poſted at Eſcherſhauſen, under the command of Monſ. de Chabot. For this purpoſe he ordered the hereditary prince and general Luckner, reinforced by the garriſon of Wolfenbuttle, to advance from their reſpective poſts, ſo as to be in the neighbourhood of Eimbeck, at a certain hour on the fifth of November. He commanded the marquis of Granby to force the French poſt at Cappelnhagen on the fourth; to proceed next day to Wickenſen, and block up a defile in that neighbourhood, on the road from Eſcherſhauſen to Eimbeck. He ſent general Hardenberg with a detachment to paſs the Weſer at Badenwerder, that he might at the appointed time take poſſeſſion of a defile at Amelunxhorn, on the other road from Eſcherſhauſen to Eimbeck.

Having taken the neceſſary precautions, he himſelf, with the main body of his army, croſſed the Weſer on the fourth near Haſtenbeck, and advanced towards Eimbeck; but, when he approached Wickenſen, he found the road occupied by a ſtrong body of Britiſh grenadiers and Highlanders: for the marquis of Granby had gallantly forced the enemy's poſt at Cappelnhagen, and blocked up the defile by the hour appointed. Chabot, perceiving himſelf intercepted, retreated immediately towards Eſcherſhauſen, and ſtruck into the other road to Eimbeck, which general Hardenberg had been ordered to ſecure: but in his march to Badenwerder, ſome of his pontoons were overturned, and this accident retarded him ſo long, that he did not arrive at the place appointed until ſeven in the morning; and by that time Chabot had paſſed the defile in his way to Eimbeck, which he reached at noon, without further interruption. Thus the plan miſcarried; and this muſt frequently be the fate of ſuch ſchemes as depend upon a variety of incidents.

Prince Ferdinand, notwithſtanding the diſappointment, advanced toward the French camp, which he found too ſtrong to be attacked with any proſpect of ſucceſs. Then he reſolved to turn their

their flanks, as if he deſigned to cut off their communication with Gottingen; a motion which, he knew, would either bring Broglio to an engagement on equal terms, or oblige him to retreat. The laſt part of the alternative he choſe to embrace, and on the ninth retired with his whole army. This was the laſt tranſaction of any conſequence that happened between the oppoſite armies in Weſtphalia. Broglio quartered his forces in Caſſel, and that neighbourhood. The troops of Soubiſe were diſtributed at Duſſeldorp, and along the Lower Rhine. The allies fixed their quarters at Hildersham, Munſter, Hamelen, and Eimbeck. The Britiſh cavalry wintered in Eaſt Frieſland, and the infantry in the biſhopric of Oſnabrug.

We have already obſerved, that the laſt campain had ended more to the advantage of his Pruſſian majeſty than the preceding one had done; for thoſe two great victories of Lignitz and Torgau, with which he then cloſed his operations, had not only reſcued his affairs in Sileſia and Saxony from impending deſtruction, but had enlarged his field for recruiting, and prepared him, in all appearance, for more early and vigorous action, than could have been expected in any of the foregoing campaigns. But every one was ſurpriſed to obſerve, that this year he had altered the ſyſtem of his conduct. An inactivity and languor was diffuſed over all his operations. He ſeemed to have adopted the caution and ſlowneſs, which had been ſo long oppoſed to his vivacity by M. Daun. The ſummer was almoſt wholly ſpent, and the king of Pruſſia had ſcarcely been mentioned. Whatever was the cauſe of this inactivity, whether it proceeded from the difficulty of providing forage, or from an opinion entertained by his Pruſſian majeſty, that it was moſt for his intereſt to remain on the defenſive, we ſhall not pretend to determine. Certain it is, he himſelf, with one part of his forces, continued quietly in a very ſtrong camp in Upper Sileſia, while his brother prince Henry, with the other, was no leſs ſecurely poſted under the walls of Leipſic, in the neighbourhood of count Daun the Auſtrian general.

While the main armies were thus diſpoſed, their partizans exerted themſelves, as uſual, in bold and ſudden incurſions. In the beginning of April the Pruſſian majors-general Schenkendorff and Sybourg, advancing with a body of troops from Gera towards Neuſtadt on the Orla, continued their march to Saalfield, where they attacked an Auſtrian detachment commanded by general Kleiſt, who was routed with conſiderable loſs. They likewiſe diſlodged a body of the army of the Empire from the village of Scwartz, which they had ſecured with two battalions, as a poſt of importance. In this expedition the Pruſſians took ſeveral pieces of cannon, colours, waggons loaded with baggage and ammunition, and above eleven hundred men, including two and thirty officers. After this exploit, the Pruſſian generals ſent a detachment to attack the corps under general Guaſco near Plaune in Voightland, who, after a ſharp diſpute, was forced to retire with the loſs of four pieces of cannon, and all his baggage. Other petty advantages of the ſame kind were obtained in the beginning of ſummer by the Pruſſian detachments; but the king in perſon undertook nothing of conſequence in the field.

In Pomerania the Swedes were not in motion till the month of Auguſt, when prince Henry, having received information that they had begun to advance towards the Pruſſian territories, detached general Stutterheim to join colonel Belling in that country with a few battalions, at whoſe approach the enemy retreated. It was in the beginning of the ſame month, that the army of the empire advancing in Saxony as if they deſigned to attack Leipſic, prince Henry ſent general Seydlitz with a detachment of ſeven thouſand men, who fell upon them with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were obliged to give way, and retreated with great precipitation to a conſiderable diſtance from the Pruſſian cantonments, which they never afterwards preſumed to approach.

The Ruſſian miniſtry, having been long ſenſible of the inconveniencies to which their operations were ſubject from their great diſtance from the ſcene of action, determined, if poſſible, to reduce Colberg, which would ſerve as a magazine and a key to Pomerania. With this view general Romanzoff was detached, in the month of July, with a conſiderable body of forces to inveſt that fortreſs by land, while it ſhould be blocked up by ſea by a ſtrong ſquadron, in which an additional number of troops with the artillery and warlike ſtores were tranſported. This was joined by the Swediſh fleet in Auguſt, and Romanzoff began to cannonade the place; but, as he did not open the trenches in a regular manner, as the town was ſtrongly fortified and defended by a numerous garriſon, under the command of an accompliſhed officer; as the Ruſſians were little accuſtomed to ſieges, and the ſeaſon was very far advanced, the Pruſſian monarch hoped it would hold out until the froſt ſhould ſet in, and render the approaches of the enemy impracticable. The Swedes, at the ſame time, ſeemed to ſecond the operations of their allies. Their army in weſtern Pomerania, having received a reinforcement, began to advance again toward the Pruſſian territories, and ſkirmiſhed with Stutterheim; but no enterprize of importance was undertaken on either ſide.

The main Ruſſian army, commanded by Butterlin, could not take the field till the ſeaſon was far advanced. In May, however, a detachment marced towards Sileſia without artillery, and formed a camp at Bojanovo: another body eſtabliſhed a conſiderable magazine at Poſen; a third, under count Tottleben, entered Pomerania in the beginning of June, and made a furious attack upon Belgarde, from whence he was repulſed with conſiderable loſs. After this miſcarriage, he ſent out detachments as far as the frontiers of the New Marche, where they took poſſeſſion of Landſberg upon the Wartha. In the month of Auguſt, while the head-quarters of the Pruſſian monarch were at Strehlen, the Ruſſian general Czernicheff advanced, with the van-gard of that army to Wohlau; and the Coſſacks, with other light troops, paſſing the Oder, ravaged the country in the neighbourhood of Jauer. Another detachment, more powerful, penetrated into Sileſia as far as Breſlau, and began to cannonade that capital: but lieutenant-general Tawſein, who commanded the garriſon, being reinforced by a body of troops under major-general Knoblock, marched out of the place, and attacked the enemy with ſuch reſolution, that they abandoned their batteries and decamped,

camped, after having ſuffered conſiderable damage.

At length general Butturlin advanced with the grand army of the Ruſſians: and, notwithſtanding all the vigilance and activity of the Pruſſian king, whoſe motions and meaſures for ſome time prevented their junction with the Auſtrian army under Laudohn, this was in the end effected; and now his affairs ſeemed altogether deſperate. Yet, far from being abandoned by his wonted fortitude, he had recourſe to expedients, which ſeem to have diſappointed the deſigns of his enemies. He detached a conſiderable body of forces into Poland under the command of general Platen, whoſe motions were conducted with ſuch ſecreſy and expedition, that he burned three Ruſſian magazines in that kingdom, before the object of his march was known; and the great magazine at Poſen narrowly eſcaped the ſame fate. Immediately after this atchievement, general Butturlin ſeparated the main body of his army from the Auſtrians, and retreated towards Poland: yet he left general Czernicheff with a conſiderable body of forces to act in concert with Laudohn, who, about this juncture, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an extraordinary exploit, which proved very detrimental to the Pruſſian monarch's affairs.

Scheweidnitz, which had changed maſters more than once in the courſe of this war, he conſidered as the moſt valuable place that remained to him in Sileſia. It was central in its ſituation, ſtrongly fortified, and contained a great magazine of military ſtores and artillery. Laudohn laid a plan for reducing it by ſurprize, and it was ſoon crowned with unexpected ſucceſs. On the firſt day of October, at three in the morning, the troops allotted for this ſervice advanced to the attack in four different places, and, under the favour of a thick fog, not only approached, but even fixed their ſcaling ladders, before they were diſcovered by the garriſon, who ſcarce had time to fire a few cannon at the aſſailants. The conteſt, however, was maintained for ſome time with ſmall arms, until a powder magazine in one of the outworks blew up, and about three hundred men on each ſide were deſtroyed by the exploſion. The Auſtrians, taking advantage of the confuſion produced by this accident, advanced to the body of the place, and burſting open the gates, entered the town without much oppoſition. At day-break they found themſelves maſters of the place; and the governor, lieutenant-general Zaſtrow, with all his garriſon, amounting to three thouſand men, were made priſoners. Thus Laudohn, at the expence of about ſix hundred men who fell in the attack, took above five times that number; and made himſelf maſter of a ſtrong important fortreſs, in which he found a vaſt magazine of meal, and a numerous train of artillery. The king of Pruſſia could not but ſeverely feel this ſtroke, which was equal to a defeat in the open field: but he bore his loſs with fortitude, contenting himſelf with declaring, he would ſuſpend his opinion of Zaſtrow's conduct, until he ſhould be better informed of the particulars. In the mean time, this event obliged him to alter his poſition, and draw nearer to Breſlau.

In the beginning of December he there cantoned his army, and the Auſtrian forces were quartered in the neighbourhood of Scheweidnitz. Immediately before the king repaired to Breſlau, he had the good fortune to diſcover a conſpiracy, which was formed againſt his perſon by the baron de Warkotch, a man of conſiderable rank and fortune in Sileſia, and one Francis Schmedt, a prieſt. Their intention was to ſeize the king when he ſhould come forth unattended, and conduct him to the Auſtrian camp; a ſcheme, in which it is confidently affirmed, they were both encouraged and aſſiſted by the court of Vienna. The diſcovery was made by one of the baron's domeſtics, who, being intruſted with a letter from the baron to the eccleſiaſtic, and ſuſpecting the contents, delivered it to the Pruſſian monarch. Thus the myſtery was unravelled: a detachment was immediately ſent to apprehend the baron, and ſeize all his papers. Both were accordingly ſecured; but he afterwards found means to eſcape through a window. His lady was, however, detained in cuſtody. Schmedt having likewiſe conſulted his ſafety by flight, the king cauſed them to be cited to appear by the twenty-firſt day of January, to anſwer the charge brought againſt them, on pain of forfeiting their lives and eſtates.

In the month of November the mareſchal count Daun, having received a large reinforcement from the army of Laudohn, formed a plan for attacking the ſtrong camp of prince Henry of Pruſſia, in the neighbourhood of Meiſſen. An attempt was accordingly made, and ſome of the Pruſſian advanced poſts were carried; but the enemy ſoon met with ſuch a vigorous reſiſtance, that their general thought proper to abandon the enterprize, and return to his camp. He then cantoned his forces, in the neighbourhood of Dreſden, while the Imperial army was put into quarters at Naumburg and Zwickaw. Theſe motions induced prince Henry to diſtribute his troops alſo in quarters of cantonment, extending on the right, to Meiſſen, and on the left, to Katzenhauſen.

The great Ruſſian army retreated beyond the Viſtula; but the corps under Romanzoff ſtill continued before Colberg, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the prince of Wurtemburg, whom the king of Pruſſia had ſent to head his forces in Pomerania. The blockade had for ſome time been turned into a regular ſiege; and colonel Heyde who commanded the garriſon, made a very obſtinate defence. In the beginning of October, the boiſterous weather obliged the Swediſh ſquadron to retire. A Ruſſian ſhip of the line was wrecked, and all the crew periſhed: their hoſpital ſhip was accidentally ſet on fire and deſtroyed: in a word, the Ruſſian fleet likewiſe withdrew, and returned to Cronſtadt; and then the garriſon of Colberg received a large ſupply of proviſion from Stetin. Theſe circumſtances concurring with the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, it was thought would compel even the Ruſſians to quit the field, and at any rate render the proſecution of the ſige impracticable; but Romanzoff ſeemed to ſet the winter at defiance, and carried on his operations with unremitting vigour, until he made himſelf maſter of a ſmall fort that commanded the harbour. By means of this acquiſition he cut off the garriſon of Colberg from all communication by ſea; ſo that they were in danger of periſhing by famine, when colonel Heyde ſurrendered, on the ſeventeenth day of December. This important conqueſt enabled

the Ruſſian miniſtry to ſupply and reinforce their armies in Germany by ſea. It likewiſe ſecured to them all the eaſtern part of Pomerania, where accordingly Romanzoff's forces were diſtributed for the winter; his own head-quarters being eſtabliſhed at Stargat, about twenty miles from Stetin.

Before we conclude the foreign tranſactions of this year, it may not be improper to take notice of an accident, that fully demonſtrates the extreme regard, which the Chriſtian powers pay to the Ottoman Porte. In the courſe of the preceding year, a large Turkiſh ſhip of the line, called the Ottoman Crown, was ſeized by the Chriſtian ſlaves on board, who roſe upon the Turks, and, having overpowered them, brought the ſhip into Malta; where, according to cuſtom, the prize was divided among the captors. The Porte demanded the reſtitution of the ſhip in the moſt inſolent terms; and the knights of Malta, who are at perpetual war with the infidels, treated this demand with contempt. The grand ſignior, incenſed at the refuſal, ſent a public manifeſto to Naples by the capuchins of Tunis, in which he bitterly complained of the Malteſe knights, and threatened their total extirpation; at the ſame time he began to equip a formidable fleet of ſhips and galleys: but as he cauſed large quantities of warlike ſtores to be tranſported by the Black Sea to the mouth of the Danube, and a rumour prevailed that he had lately concluded a treaty of alliance with the Pruſſian monarch, certain powers ſuſpected that he harboured ſome other deſign, under the pretext of an armament againſt Malta. The empreſs queen of Hungary, to avoid any occaſion of giving umbrage to the grand ſignior, forbad all the knights of Malta reſiding in her dominions, to repair to the defence of that iſland, in caſe it ſhould be attacked: a circumſtance that plainly evinces the extreme awe, in which the court of Vienna ſtood of the Ottoman Porte. The French king acted with no leſs caution and ſtill more delicacy and prudence. He purchaſed the Turkiſh ſhip which had been taken, and ſent it to Conſtantinople as a preſent to the ſultan. It was protected in the voyage by the Britiſh cruiſers; and the grand ſignior was pleaſed to ſignify that he was fully ſatisfied.

Let us return now to the proſecution of the war at home.

Even from the beginning of winter, the ſingle ſhips that cruiſed in the Channel were conducted with ſuch prudence and circumſpection, that they made prize of a great number of French privateers; a circumſtance that demonſtrated their own vigilance and the enemy's activity. In the month of January captain Elphinſton, commander of the Richmond, mounted with thirty two guns, fell in with the Felicité, a French frigate, of the ſame force, off the coaſt of Holland; and a ſevere engagement began about ten in the morning, near S' Graveſande, about eight miles from the Hague, to which place the prince of Orange, general York the Britiſh envoy, and the count d'Affry the French ambaſſador, repaired with a great multitude of people, to behold the progreſs and iſſue of the battle. About noon both ſhips ran aſhore: nevertheleſs the action was ſtill maintained, until the enemy deſerted their quarters: they afterwards abandoned the ſhip, which was entirely deſtroyed, after having loſt their captain and about one hundred men, who fell in the diſpute. The Richmond ſoon floated, without any damage; and the victory coſt her but three men killed, and thirteen wounded. The French court loudy exclaimed againſt this attack as a violation of the Dutch neutrality, and demanded ſignal ſatisfaction for the inſult and damage they had ſuſtained. Accordingly the States-General made ſome remonſtrances to the court of London, which found means to remove all miſunderſtanding on this ſubject. The Felicité was bound for Martinique, with a cargo valued at thirty thouſand pounds, in company with the Hermione, another frigate of the ſame force and value, which ſuffered ſhipwreck on the coaſt of Dunkirk.

In the courſe of the ſame month, captain Hood, commander of the Minerva frigate, cruiſing in the chops of the Channel, deſcried a great ſhip of two decks ſteering to the weſtward; and found it was the Warwick, an Engliſh ſhip, which had carried ſixty cannon, and been taken by the enemy. She was now mounted with thirty-five guns, and commanded by Mr. le Verger da Belair, with a commiſſion from the French king. Her crew amounted to about three hundred men, including a detachment of ſoldiers; and ſhe was bound to Pondicherry in the Eaſt Indies. Captain Hood, notwithſtanding her ſuperior ſize, attacked her without heſitation, and was very warmly received. Several maſts in both ſhips were ſhot away, and they fell foul of one another, while the ſea ran very high; ſo that the crews on both ſides were greatly encumbered by their broken maſts and ſhattered rigging. At length the waves ſeparated them, and the Warwick fell to leeward. Captain Hood, having cleared ſhip, bore directly down upon the enemy: then the engagement was renewed, and laſted about an hour; at the expiration of which the captain of the Warwick ſtruck his colours, having loſt about fourteen men killed outright, beſides thirty wounded. The loſs in number of men was equal on board the Minerva, and all her maſts went by the board: nevertheleſs the prize was brought in triumph to Spithead. In the progreſs of the ſame cruize captain Hood had alſo taken the Ecurneil privateer from Bayonne, of fourteen guns, and one hundred and twenty-two men.

On the thirteenth day of March, another French ſhip, called the Entreprenant, pierced for forty-four guns, but mounted with twenty-ſix only, having two hundred and three men on board, and a rich cargo, bound for St. Domingo, was encountered near the Land's-end by the Vengeance frigate of twenty-ſix guns, commanded by captain Nightingale. The action was maintained on both ſides with uncommon fury, until the Vengeance being ſet on fire by the enemy's wadding, the French reſolved to take advantage of the confuſion produced by this accident, and running their bowſprit upon the taffaril of the Engliſh frigate attempted to board her. In this deſign, however, they miſcarried, through the activity of captain Nightingale, who found means to diſengage himſelf, and ſheered off to repair his rigging, which had greatly ſuffered in the engagement. The ſhip was no ſooner in proper condition than he ranged up again cloſe to the enemy, and renewed the conteſt, which laſted a full hour: then

then the Entreprenant bore away. Captain Nightingale, though a ſecond time diſabled in his maſts and rigging, wore ſhip, ran within piſtol-ſhot, and began a third vigorous attack, which laſted an hour and a half before the enemy called for quarter. Fifteen of their men were killed, and about twice that number wounded. The victors loſt about half as many.

In April another French frigate, called the Comete of two and thirty guns, and two hundred and fifty men, juſt ſailed from Breſt, was taken to the weſtward of Uſhant by the Bedford, an Engliſh ſhip of the line, commanded by captain Deane, who conveyed her in ſafety to Plymouth. About the ſame period, and near the ſame place, a fourth frigate of the enemy, called the Pheaſant, manned with one hundred and twenty-five mariners, was engaged, taken, and brought to Spithead, by captain Brograve commander of the Albany ſloop, whoſe victory was the cheaper, as the crew of the Pheaſant had thrown fourteen of their guns over board during the chace. In the courſe of the ſame month a large Eaſt India ſhip fitted out from France with twenty-eight guns, and three hundred and fifty men, fell in with the Hero and the Venus, commanded by the captains Forteſcue and Harriſon, and, being taken without oppoſition, were carried into Plymouth.

The cruizers belonging to the ſquadron commanded by vice admiral Saunders in the Mediterranean, exerted themſelves with no leſs ſpirit and activity. In the beginning of this very month, the Oriflame, a French ſhip of forty guns, being off Cape Tres Foreas, was diſcovered by the Iſis, under the command of captain Wheeler, who overtook her at ſix in the evening, and a running fight was maintained until half an hour after ten. Captain Wheeler being unfortunately ſlain in the beginning of the action, the command devolved upon lieutenant Cunningham, who obſerving at length that the enemy's deſign was to reach the Spaniſh ſhore, boarded her without heſitation; and in a little time, her commander ſubmitting, ſhe was brought into the bay of Gibraltar. The number of her killed and wounded amounted to forty-five, out of a complement of three hundred and ſeventy: the loſs of the Iſis did not exceed four killed and nine wounded.

In July another exploit was atchieved by a ſmall detachment from the ſquadron commanded by the ſame admiral. Captain Proby, in the Thunderer, together with the Modeſte, Thetis, and Favourite ſloop, being ordered to cruize upon the coaſt of Spain, with a view to intercept the Achilles and Bouffon, two French ſhips of war, which lay in the harbour of Cadiz: they at length ventured to come forth, and on the ſixteenth day of the month were diſcovered by the Britiſh cruizers. About midnight the Thunderer came up with the Achilles, which ſtruck after a warm engagement of half an hour: yet, in this ſhort action, captain Proby had near forty men killed, and above one hundred wounded, he himſelf having ſuſtained a ſlight hurt in the right arm. About ſeven in the ſame morning the Thetis attacked the Bouffon, and the fire was maintained on both ſides with great reſolution for half an hour, when the Modeſte ranging up, and firing a few guns, the French captain ſubmitted. His ſhip and her conſort ſuffered conſiderably, both in their crews and rigging; nevertheleſs, the victors carried them ſafely into the bay of Gibraltar.

One of the moſt remarkable and gallant actions that diſtinguiſhed this war, and fully proved the vaſt ſuperiority which the Engliſh had over the French in point of naval diſcipline, was an incident with which I ſhall now entertain the reader. On Monday the 10th of Auguſt, captain Faulkner of the Bellona, a ſhip of the line, and captain Logie of the Brilliant, a frigate of thirty guns, ſailed from the river Tagus for England, having on board a conſiderable ſum of money for the merchants of London. On Thurſday in the afternoon, being then off Vigo, they deſcried three ſail of ſhips ſtanding in for the land, one of the line of battle, and two frigates. They no ſooner obſerved captain Faulkner, than they bore down upon him, until within the diſtance of ſeven miles, when ſeeing the Bellona and the frigate through the magnifying medium of a hazy atmoſphere, they miſtook them both for two-decked ſhips, and dreading the iſſue of an engagement, reſolved to decline the encounter. For this purpoſe they ſuddenly wore round, filled all their ſails, and crouded away.

Captain Faulkner being by this time convinced of their ſize, and conjecturing, from the intelligence he had received, that the large ſhip was the Courageux, which was actually the caſe, he hoiſted all the canvas he could carry, and gave chace until ſun-ſet, when one of the French frigates hauling out in the offing, he diſplayed a ſignal to the Brilliant to purſue in that direction; and his order was immediately obeyed. They kept ſight of the enemy during the whole night, and at ſun-riſe, had gained but about two miles upon them in a chace of fourteen hours; ſo that the French commodore might have ſtill ſhunned an engagement for the whole day, and enjoyed the chance of eſcaping in the darkneſs of the ſucceeding night; but he no longer declined the action. The air being perfectly ſerene, he now perceived that one of the Engliſh ſhips was a frigate; and the Bellona herſelf, which was one of the beſt conſtituted ſhips in the Engliſh navy, appeared to him, at a diſtance, to be conſiderably ſmaller than ſhe really was. The French commander therefore, being a man of ſpirit, hoiſted a red enſign on the mizen ſhrouds, as a ſignal for his two frigates to cloſe with, and engage the Brilliant. At the ſame time he hauled down his ſtudding-ſails, wore round, and ſtood for the Bellona under his top-ſails; while captain Faulkner advanced towards her with an eaſy ſail, and ordered his quarters to be manned.

The ſea was undulated by a gentle breeze, which facilitated the working of the ſhips, and at the ſame time permitted the full uſe of their heavy artillery. The two ſhips were equal in burthen, in number of guns, and in weight of metal. The crew on board of the Courageux, amounted to ſeven hundred men, able to ſtand to their quarters; and they were commanded by M. du Guy Lambert, an officer of approved valour and ability. The Bellona's complement conſiſted of five hundred and fifty choſen men, accuſtomed to diſcipline, and inured to ſervice. All the officers were gentlemen of known merit, and the commander had on many occaſions diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery and conduct. The fire on both

ſides

ſides was ſuſpended until they were within muſket-ſhot of each other, and then the engagement began with a dreadful diſcharge of fire-arms and artillery. In leſs than nine minutes, all the Bellona's braces, bowlings, ſhrowds, and rigging were cut and ſhattered by the ſhot, and the mizen-maſt fell over the ſtern, with all the men on the round top, who, nevertheleſs ſaved their lives, by clambering into the port-holes of the gun-room.

Capt. Faulkner, apprehenſive that the enemy might ſeize this opportunity of eſcaping, gave orders to board them immediately; an attempt which the poſition of the two ſhips ſoon rendered altogether impracticable. The Courageux was now falling athwart the fore-foot, or bows of the Bellona, in which caſe the Engliſh ſhip muſt have been raked fore and aft with great execution. The haul yards, and moſt of the other ropes by which the Bellona could be worked, were already ſhot away. Captain Faulkner, however, with the aſſiſtance of his maſter, made uſe of the ſtudding ſails with ſuch dexterity, as to wear the ſhip quite round, and fall upon the oppoſite quarter of the Courageux. His preſence of mind and activity in this delicate ſituation, were not more admirable than the diſcipline and diſpatch of his officers and men, who obſerving this change in their poſition, flew to the guns on the other ſide, now oppoſed to the enemy, from whence they poured in a moſt terrible diſcharge, and maintained it without intermiſſion or abatement. Every ſhot took place, and bore deſtruction along with it. The ſides of the Courageux were ſhattered and torn by every ſucceſſive broadſide, and her decks were ſtrewed with carnage. About twenty minutes did the enemy ſuſtain the havock made by this battery, ſo inceſſantly plied, and ſo fatally directed. At length it became ſo intolerable, that the French enſign was hauled down: the rage of battle ceaſed: the Engliſh mariners had left their quarters, and the officers congratulated each other on the ſucceſs of the day. At this juncture a ſhot being unexpectedly fired from the lower tier of the Courageux, the Britiſh ſeamen ran to their quarters, and, without orders, poured in two broadſides upon the enemy, who now called for quarter, and an end was put to the engagement.

The damage done to the rigging of the Bellona was conſiderable, but ſhe ſuffered very little in the hull, and the number of the killed and wounded did not exceed forty. The caſe was very different with the Courageux, which now appeared like a wreck upon the water. Nothing was ſeen ſtanding but her foremaſt, and bowſprit; large breaches were made in her ſides: her decks were torn up in ſeveral parts; many of her guns were diſmounted; and her quarters were filled with the mangled bodies of the dying and the dead. Above two hundred and twenty were killed outright, and half that number was brought aſhore wounded to Liſbon, to which place the prize was conducted. Captain Faulkner was not more commendable for his gallantry in the action, than for the humanity and politeneſs with which he treated his priſoners, whoſe grateful acknowledgment, and unſolicited applauſe, conſtitute the faireſt teſtimony that a man of honour can receive. Nor ought we to with-hold our praiſe from captain Logie, of the Brilliant, to whoſe valour and dexterity the ſucceſs of the commodore was, in a great meaſure owing. Finding it would be impoſſible for him to acquire any thing but laurels from two frigates, the leaſt of which was equal in ſtrength to the ſhip he commanded; he reſolved to amuſe them both, ſo as to prevent either from aſſiſting the Courageux. He accordingly began the action by engaging one of them, called la Malicieuſe. The other coming up, he withſtood their joint efforts, ſo as to employ their whole fire, while the great ſhips were engaged, and even above half an hour after the Courageux had ſtruck her colours. Finally, he obliged them both to ſheer off, and to conſult their ſafety in flight, after they had ſuffered conſiderably in their maſts and rigging.

Captain Faulkner returned to Lisbon with this prize, which had well nigh periſhed by accident, before he reached the Tagus. A caſk of ſpirituous liquor catching fire near one of the magazines, the ſhip muſt have blown up, had not ſhe been ſaved by the preſence of mind and reſolution of Mr. Male, the firſt lieutenant. Perceiving the flames already communicated to ſome combuſtibles that happened to be in the way, he leaped down the hatch-way into the midſt of them, and by his perſonal endeavours, they were happily extinguiſhed. The centinel who had kindled the fire by admitting a candle too near the ſpirits, was burned to death; and twenty French priſoners hearing the alarm, leaped into the ſea, where they periſhed. When the French arrived at Lisbon, they applied to their own conſul for relief, but without any effect: the gentlemen, therefore, of the Engliſh factory, moved with compaſſion for their ſufferings, and their deſtitute ſituation, generouſly raiſed a ſubſcription of two hundred and thirty pounds ſterling, for their ſupport.

No other advantage of importance, was obtained over the enemy in this part of the world; but ſome ſucceſsful exploits were performed in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies. After the reduction of Pondicherry on the coaſt of Coromandel, an armament was equipped againſt the French ſettlement of Mahie, ſituated on the coaſt of Malabar, about thirty miles to the northward of Tillicherry. A body of forces was embarked at Bombay for this expedition, under the command of major Hector Monro, who took his meaſures ſo well, in concert with Mr. Hodges, commander for the Engliſh at Tillicherry, and acted with ſo much ſpirit in the execution of the ſcheme, that in the beginning of February, Mr. Louer, commander in chief of the French garriſon at Mahie, ſurrendered the place with all its dependencies. Though this acquiſition was of no great conſequence to the Engliſh, merely as a trading port, the loſs of it was ſeverely felt by the enemy, who had fortified it at a conſiderable expence, and mounted the fortifications with above two hundred pieces of cannon.

The French officers in the Eaſt-Indies, notwithſtanding the loſs of Pondicherry, exerted themſelves with ſo much induſtry, as to intereſt in their cauſe a prince of the Mogul empire, called the Shah Zadda, who took the field at the head of fourſcore thouſand men, againſt the forces of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, commanded by major John Carnack, and reinforced by the ſuba of Bengal. This whole army conſiſted of five hundred Europeans, two thouſand five hundred ſepoys, and twenty

thouſand black troops, with twelve pieces of cannon. Both armies advanced to the neighbourhood of Guya, and on the fifteenth day of January the Mogul troops were routed in a pitched battle. All their artillery was taken, together with part of their baggage, and a number of French officers, including Mr. Law, their principal commander. The ſhah made an effort to join two rajas, who had taken up arms againſt the ſuba; but, receiving intelligence, that they were already defeated by the Engliſh troops, he ſurrendered at diſcretion to the ſuba, who treated him with great reſpect, and promiſed, with the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh company, to ſupport him in his pretenſions to the Mogul empire.

This ſeries of proſperity could hardly be ſaid to be interrupted by the ſucceſsful attempts of the count d'Eſtaign, who, with a ſmall ſquadron, had, in the year 1759, made himſelf maſter of the Engliſh fort of Bender-Abaſſi, in the gulph of Perſia, and taken two frigates, with three other veſſels belonging to the company. In the ſucceeding year the fort of Natal ſurrendered to him at diſcretion, and he found two ſhips in the road. After theſe exploits, he ſailed to Sumatra, where he reduced Bencouli, Tapanopoli, and Marlborough fort; which laſt, though in a good ſtate of defence, was, after a very weak reſiſtance, given up by the garriſon. This bold adventurer, however, could not derive ſo much honour from the ſucceſs of his expedition, as diſgrace from having made it contrary to the moſt ſacred laws of arms; for, at this period, it is well known he was no other than a priſoner on parole. Neither did the Engliſh intereſt ſuffer any thing from a revolution, which was, at this time, effected, in favour of Mir Coſſim Ali Kawn, who was placed on the throne of Bengal in the room of his father-in-law Jaffier Ali Cawn, who had been raiſed to that dignity by the celebrated lord Clive, and who was now depoſed for his cruelty and mal-adminiſtration. On the contrary, the privileges and immunities of the Engliſh company were confirmed and enlarged by the new nabob.

In the courſe of the preceding month a ſevere blow was given to the Dutch company ſettled at the iſland of Ceylon, lying off Cape Comorin, the extremity of the peninſula of Indus. This company, having diſcontinued the payment of certain duties demanded by the king of Candia, and being ſuſpected of a deſign to render that kingdom tributary to their power; the prince marched with a conſiderable army againſt their ſettlements; ſurpriſed Point de Galle, and having taken Colombo, their principal eſtabliſhment, maſſacred all that were found in it, without diſtinction of ſex or age. Then he ordered his troops to hew down all the cinnamon and other ſpice trees that grew in that part of the country to which the European traders had acceſs, and threatened to extirpate every Dutch family from the iſland.

During this campaign the Engliſh arms were no leſs ſucceſsful in America than in Aſia. In the beginning of July, colonel Grant, at the head of two thouſand ſix hundred men, began his march from Fort Prince George, on the frontiers of Carolina, for the country of the Cherokees, which he determined to ravage with fire and ſword. On the tenth day of the month, he was attacked on his march by a body of Indians, who fired for ſome time with great vivacity, but little effect; and then diſappeared. After this attempt he met with no oppoſition in traverſing their country. He reduced fifteen towns to aſhes, beſides little villages and farm-houſes; deſtroyed about fourteen hundred acres of corn, drove the inhabitants to ſtarve in the mountains, and filled their whole nation with diſmay.

This terror produced the deſired effect, and compelled them to ſue for peace. A deputation of their chiefs waited on the colonel, to explain their diſtreſſes, and ſignify their ſentiments on the ſubject, and he forwarded them to the lieutenant-governor at Charles-Town, where a new treaty was actually concluded. Sir William Johnſon made a tour round the other Indian nations, in order to quiet their fears, arouſed at the conqueſts of Great-Britain; which fears the French emiſſaries had fomented with their uſual induſtry and ſucceſs. A conference was held between the Six Nations and ſome of the American governors, in order to ratify the treaties ſubſiſting with thoſe tribes; but a warm diſpute aroſe from a demand of certain lands, made by a Delaware chief, who complained that the Engliſh ſettlers had taken poſſeſſion of them in conſequence of a fraudulent purchaſe; and tho' the riſing animoſity was ſtifled for the preſent, it ſoon gave occaſion to thoſe barbarous maſſacres, which were afterwards committed by theſe ſavages. The more northern Indians, ſettled on the frontiers of Nova Scotia, ſeemed extremely well-pleaſed with their new protectors and allies. Their chiefs in great numbers viſited the governor of Halifax, owned their dependance on the king of Great-Britain, and, in token of perpetual friendſhip and alliance, buried the hatchet with the uſual ſolemnity.

In the Weſt-Indies, rear admiral Holmes, commander of the ſquadron at Jamaica, conducted his cruiſers with equal judgment and ſucceſs. Having received intelligence in the beginning of June, that ſeveral ſhips of war belonging to the enemy had ſailed from Port Louis, and in particular, that the St. Anne had juſt quitted Port au Prince, he forthwith made ſuch a diſpoſition of his ſquadron as was moſt likely to intercept them; and on the thirteenth day of the month he himſelf in the Hampſhire fell in with the St. Anne, and chaſed her to leeward down upon the Centaur. Her captain diſcovering this laſt ſhip, hauled up between them, ran cloſe in ſhore, until he was becalmed, about a league to the northward of Donna Maria bay. Then he began to fire his ſtern-chaſe; but when the Centaur came along-ſide, he ſtruck his colours, and ſurrendered. The St. Anne was a beautiful new ſhip, pierced for ſixty-four cannon, but mounting only forty, manned with near four hundred mariners and ſoldiers, under the command of Mr. Aiguillon, and loaded with a rich cargo of coffee, indigo, and ſugar. Nor was the ſquadron ſtationed off the Leeward Iſlands, under the conduct of Sir James Douglas, leſs alert and ſucceſsful in protecting the Britiſh traders, and clearing thoſe ſeas of the Martinico privateers, of which he took a great number.

In the month of June, the Iſland of Dominique, which the French had ſettled and fortified, was attacked and reduced by a ſmall body of troops commanded by lord Rollo, and conducted thither from Guadaloupe by Sir James Douglas, with four ſhips of the line, and ſome frigates. Two officers being ſent on ſhore at Roſeau, with a manifeſto addreſſed to the inhabitants, two deputies came off in order to treat of a ſurrender; but the firſt tranſports of their fear ſubſiding, and monſieur Longprie, their governor, encouraging them to ſtand upon their defence, they afterwards refuſed to ſubmit, and manned their intrenchments with a face of reſolution. The ſhips immediately anchored cloſe to the ſhore, and a diſpoſition was made for diſembarking. The troops landed in the evening, and formed on the beach-ſide, under the fire of the ſquadron. Lord Rollo, ſeeing the forces galled by an irregular fire from trees and buſhes; conſidering that the entrenchments commanded the town, which he had already occupied; that the country was naturally ſtrong, and the enemy might be reinforced before morning, determined wiſely to attack their entrenchments without delay; and this ſervice was performed by himſelf and colonel Melville at the head of the grenadiers, with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs, that the enemy were driven ſucceſſively from all their batteries and intrenchments: Mr. Longprie, their commandant, and ſome other officers, were taken at their head quarters. Next day the inhabitants ſubmitted, delivered up their arms, and took the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic majeſty. Thus the whole iſland was conquered at a very ſmall expence, and a defenſible poſt eſtabliſhed at Roſeau by the Britiſh commander.

Very little of conſequence happened in the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, except the deſtruction of the town of Goree, which was accidentally ſet on fire; and an attempt on James fort, in the mouth of the river Gambia, by two French ſnows, one of which periſhed by running on ſhore, and the other ſailed away, after having ſuffered conſiderable damage.

With regard to the tranſactions in the Britiſh channel, a powerful ſquadron had been ſtationed all the winter in the bay of Quiberon, under the command of Sir Edward Hawke and Sir Charles Hardy. In the month of January, they took two ſmall French frigates bound to the coaſt of Guiney, and a few merchant-ſhips of little value; and in the month of March the two admirals returned to Spithead: but another ſquadron was afterwards ſent to occupy the ſame ſtation. In the month of July, while the Engliſh were employed in demoliſhing the fortifications on the iſle of Aix, the great ſhips that protected this ſervice were attacked by a French armament from the Charente, conſiſting of ſix prames †, a few row-gallies, and a great number of launches crowded with men. They dropped down with the ebb, and placing themſelves between the iſle d'Enet and fort Fouras, played upon the Engliſh ſhips in Aix road, with twelve mortars, and ſeventy large cannon; but they met with ſuch a warm reception from the Britiſh ſquadron, that in a few hours they retreated to their former ſtation, where the water was too ſhallow for the Engliſh ſhips to purſue them.

Theſe were part of that armament which had been formerly equipped for the reduction of Belleiſle, and which the Britiſh miniſtry were now determined, at all events, to ſubdue. Belleiſle lies four leagues from the point of Quiberon, about half way between Port Louis and the mouth of the Loire. It extends about ſix leagues in length, and little more than two in breadth; contains a pretty large town called Palais, fortified with a citadel, beſides a good number of villages, and the whole number of inhabitants, excluſive of the garriſon, may amount to ſix thouſand, chiefly maintained by the fiſhery of pilchards. It was ſuppoſed the reduction of this iſland would be eaſily atchieved, and the conqueſt attended with manifold advantages: that it would alarm the French nation, and oblige them to maintain a numerous body of forces on the oppoſite continent; conſequently make a conſiderable diverſion in favour of the Britiſh army in the north of Germany: that its central ſituation would render it an effectual check upon Port l'Orient, and diſable the enemy from equipping any naval armament at Breſt; as all the materials for building and fitting out ſhips in time of war, were brought thither from Port Louis, Nantz, and Rochfort, through the channel between Belleiſle and the main land, which conveyance, they could not pretend to uſe, if the Engliſh were maſters of Belleiſle: finally, that as all the French ſhips homeward bound from the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, as well as from other parts of the world, ran in with the land, ſo as firſt to make Belleiſle, the Engliſh, by keeping a ſmall ſquadron between the iſland and the main, and a good look-out in the offing, would be able to make prize of all thoſe veſſels.

The troops deſtined for this expedition, amounted to ten battalions under the command of major-general Hodgſon, aſſiſted by major-general Crauford, with proper engineers, ſome troops of light-horſe, and a detachment of artillery. The ſquadron, beſides tranſports, conſiſted of ten ſhips of the line, ſeveral frigates, two fire-ſhips, and two bomb-ketches, commanded by commodore Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle, a gallant officer, who had ſignalized himſelf on ſeveral occaſions, in the courſe of this and the laſt war. The whole armament ſailed from Spithead on the twenty-ninth day of March; and on the ſeventh of April came to anchor in the great road of Belleiſle, where a diſpoſition was made for landing the forces. The commanders having agreed that the deſcent ſhould be made on the ſandy beach, near the point of Lomaria, towards the ſouth-eaſt end of the iſland, a feint was made to attack the citadel of Palais, while two large ſhips convoyed the troops to the landing-place, and ſilenced a battery which the enemy had there erected. This ſervice being performed, the flat-bottomed boats advanced to the ſhore, and a ſmall

† A prame is a long broad veſſel of two decks, mounted with ſix and twenty large cannon below, and three mortars above. They are rigged like ketches, and draw very little water.

body

body of troops landed under the command of major Purcel and captain Osborn; but the enemy, who had intrenched themſelves on the heights, appeared ſuddenly above them, and poured down ſuch a ſevere fire, as threw them into confuſion, and intimidated the reſt of the troops from landing.

Captain Osborne, at the head of ſixty grenadiers, advanced with great intrepidity ſo near as to exchange ſeveral thruſts with the French officer, until having received three ſhots in the body, he fell dead on the ſpot. Major Purcel ſhared the ſame fate, which was extended to ſeveral other officers. In a word, this handful of men being over-powered with numbers, were totally routed, and either killed or taken priſoners; ſo that this attempt was attended with the loſs of near five hundred men, including two ſea-officers, and about fifty mariners belonging to the ſhips that endeavoured to cover the landing. This diſcouraging check was ſucceeded by tempeſtuous weather, which damaged ſome of the tranſports. When the ſtorm abated, the Prince of Orange ſhip of war ſailed round the iſland, in order to ſurvey the coaſt, and diſcover, if poſſible, ſome other place for diſembarkation; but the whole ſeemed to be ſecured by rocks and batteries in ſuch a manner, as precluded all acceſs.

Notwithſtanding this unfavourable proſpect, another ſcheme was laid, and the execution of it crowned with ſucceſs. On the twenty-ſecond day of the month, in the morning, the troops were diſpoſed in the flat-bottomed boats, and rowed to different parts of the iſland, as if they intended to land in different places; by which means the attention of the enemy was diſtracted in ſuch a manner, that they knew not where to expect the deſcent, and were obliged to divide their forces at random. Mean while brigadier Lambert pitched upon the rocky point of Lomaria, where captain Paterſon, at the head of Beauclerk's grenadiers, and captain Murray, with a detachment of marines, climbed the precipice with ſurpriſing intrepidity, and ſuſtained the fire of a ſtrong body of the enemy, until they were ſupported by the reſt of the Engliſh troops, who now landed in great numbers. Then the French abandoned their batteries, and retired with precipitation: but this advantage was not gained without bloodſhed. About forty men were killed, and a conſiderable number wounded, including colonel Mackenzie and captain Murray, of the marines, who ſeemed to vie with the marching regiments in valour and activity, and captain Paterſon of Beauclerk's grenadiers, who loſt his arm in the diſpute. Monſieur de St. Croix, the governor, perceiving that all the Engliſh troops were diſembarked, to the number of eight thouſand men, recalled all his detachments to Palais, and prepared for a vigorous defence, his forces, now joined by the militia of the iſland, amounting to four thouſand men fit for ſervice.

On the twenty-third of April, the Engliſh troops were formed into columns, and began their march towards the capital of the iſland. Next day general Hodgſon ordered a detachment of light horſe to take poſt at Sauzon; and on the twenty-fifth, a corps of infantry took poſſeſſion of a village called Bordilla, where they began to throw up an entrenchment; but they were diſlodged by a party of the enemy's grenadiers: the whole army, however, entrenched itſelf in the neighbourhood. The artillery and implements of ſiege for breaking ground, being ſtill on board the fleet, and the tempeſtuous weather rendering it impoſſible to ſend them aſhore, the French governor took this opportunity to erect ſix redoubts, to defend the avenues of Palais; and theſe were finiſhed with admirable ſkill and activity, before general Hodgſon had it in his power to begin his operations. All that he could do, in the mean time, was to publiſh a manifeſto, directed to the inhabitants, importing, that, if they would put themſelves under the protection of the Britiſh government, they ſhould be indulged with the free exerciſe of their religion, and retain all the rights and privileges, which they had ever enjoyed. This promiſe had a conſiderable influence upon the natives, a good number of whom immediately accepted the propoſal.

The next ſtep the general took was to ſummon the commandant, who continued encamped under the walls of the citadel, and declared he would defend the place to the laſt extremity; and indeed it muſt be owned, for the honour of this gentleman, that, in the courſe of the ſiege, he performed every thing that could be expected from a brave and experienced officer. About the latter end of April, ſome mortars being brought up, began to play upon the town, within the walls of which the enemy now took ſhelter; and at this time Sir William Peere Williams, a young gentleman of great merit and expectations, and captain in Burgoyne's light horſe, was ſhot by a French centinel, in reconnoitring their works.

The beſiegers broke ground on the ſecond of May; but next night the trenches were attacked by the enemy with ſuch vigour, that the piquets on the left were put in diſorder. Major-general Crawford, who commanded in the trenches, rallied the troops, and endeavoured to animate them by his own example; but on this occaſion they did not act with their uſual ſpirit; ſome hundreds were killed, and the major-general with his two aids du camp fell into the hands of the enemy, who retreated without having made any attempt upon the right, where the piquets ſtood their ground, determined to give them a warm reception. The damage they had done was next day repaired: a redoubt was begun near the right of their works; and from this period the operations of the ſiege were proſecuted with unremitting vigour, notwithſtanding a ſevere fire maintained without interruption, and a ſucceſſion of well-concerted ſallies, which were not executed without a conſiderable effuſion of blood.

The engineers giving it as their opinion that the works could not be properly advanced, until the French redoubts ſhould be taken, the general made the diſpoſition for the attack, which began on the thirteenth at day-break. A terrible fire from four pieces of cannon, and above thirty cohorns, was poured into the redoubt on the right of the enemy's flank: then a detachment of marines ſupported by part of Loudon's regiment, advanced to the parapet, drove the French from the works, and, after a very obſtinate diſpute with their bayonets fixed, took poſſeſſion of the place. All the other five were reduced, one after another, by

by the ſame detachment, reinforced by Colvil's regiment, under the command of colonel Teeſdale and major Neſbitt; and a conſiderable ſlaughter was made of the enemy, who withdrew into the citadel in great confuſion. Such was the ardour of the aſſailants, that they entered the ſtreets of Palais pell-mell with the fugitives, made a good number of priſoners, and took poſſeſſion of the town, in which they found the French hoſpital, and ſome Engliſh priſoners, who had been taken in different ſallies.

The Engliſh being now maſters of the whole iſland, except the citadel of Palais, bent all their endeavours to the reduction of this fortreſs, which was very ſtrong both by art and nature, and defended with uncommon courage and perſeverance on the ſide of the beſiegers. Parallels were finiſhed, barricadoes made, and batteries erected; and an inceſſant fire from mortars and artillery was mutually maintained, by night and by day, from the thirteenth of May to the twenty fifth, when that of the enemy began to abate. In the courſe of ſuch deſperate ſervice, a great number of men muſt have been killed, and many died of diſtemper.

The iſland was in itſelf ſo barren, and monſieur de St. Croix had taken ſuch effectual precautions to remove its produce, that the Engliſh army had neither freſh proviſion nor refreſhments, except what was brought by ſea from England. From thence, indeed, they were tolerably well furniſhed with live cattle: they were alſo reinforced by one regiment from Portſmouth, and another from the iſland of Jerſey. By the end of May a breach was made in the citadel; and notwithſtanding the indefatigable induſtry of the garriſon and the governor, in repairing the damage, the fire of the beſiegers increaſed to ſuch a degree, that great part of their defences was ruined, and the breach became practicable by the ſeventh day of June, when monſ. de St. Croix, being apprehenſive of a general aſſault, demanded a capitulation. He was indulged with the moſt honourable conditions, in conſideration of the noble defence he had made. The articles were immediately ſigned and executed, and Beauclerk's grenadiers took poſſeſſion of the citadel.

Whatever might be the opinion of politicians concerning the value of this conqueſt, and the price at which it was purchaſed, certain it is, that the rejoicings in England were ſincere and univerſal. Great and deſerved applauſe was beſtowed upon the land and ſea officers employed in this expedition, who, with ſo noble a perſeverance, had encountered and overcome ſuch mighty difficulties, and who, after ſuch a ſevere check on their outſet, had the ſpirit to renew the attack under circumſtances nearly as unfavourable as thoſe by which they had at firſt been repulſed. The citizens of London addreſſed the king on the occaſion, and their example was followed by moſt of the towns and corporations in the kingdom.

While the war thus raged, with uncommon violence, in almoſt every quarter of the univerſe, a negotiation was ſet on foot for putting an end to the troubles, which had ſo long diſtracted the ſeveral nations of Europe. I have already obſerved, that the contending powers had agreed to open a general congreſs at Augsburg; and the Britiſh plenipotentiaries were actually nominated for this purpoſe; when the French king made propoſals of a ſeparate pacification with England, under the mediation of the Spaniſh monarch. Accordingly, after the mutual exchange of ſeveral letters and memorials between the two courts, miniſters were ſent from both kingdoms; Mr. Stanley on the part of England, and M. Buſſy on that of France. In order to ſmooth as much as poſſible, the way to peace, it was previouſly reſolved by both parties, to eſtabliſh ſome certain and ſimple points that might ſerve to direct and facilitate the whole negotiation. Theſe points were only two; and even theſe ſo inſeparately connected with each other, that they ſeemed rather members of the ſame propoſition than ſeparate articles. The firſt was, "that the two crowns ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of what they had conquered one from the other." The ſecond imported, that "the ſituation in which they ſhould ſtand at certain periods, ſhould be the poſition to ſerve as a baſis for the treaty which might be negotiated between the two powers."

As France was known to have had the worſt in the war, a propoſition of this kind coming from her muſt have appeared an inſtance of moderation, altogether ſurprizing to our miniſters. It is certain, that had peace been concluded at that inſtant, and upon the ſole foundation of this article, England would have poſſeſſed all the conqueſts ſhe had made, every one of which was in a very high degree advantageous to her commerce and her power, and none of which could be conſidered as a ſubject of future diſcuſſion. On the other hand, France by continuing in poſſeſſion of the places ſhe had conquered, would have acquired no advantage that could balance the expence of keeping them; while ſhe would, at the ſame time, be expoſed to endleſs altercations, and draw upon herſelf the jealouſy and indignation of her neareſt allies. This baſis certainly gave the Engliſh a vaſt ſuperiority in the negotiation; and it was natural to expect, that when they came to talk of reſtitutions, the evacuation of the French conqueſts in Germany would be purchaſed at a much ſmaller price, than their apparent magnitude might ſeem to demand. However, theſe were ſtill a matter of ſo much anxiety, and the nature of the preciſe ſtipulations ſo uncertain, that the negotiation, though it proceeded with ſtrong appearance of a deſire for peace, met with very frequent checks and delays. Both parties were indeed unanimous in the article of 'uti 'poſſidetis;' and it muſt be admitted, that there could not be a better ground to treat upon. But as the war ſtill continued, and whilſt it continued might daily make an alteration in the fortune of the contracting powers, it was neceſſary to fix upon ſome epochas to which this poſſeſſory article ſhould refer.

The French accordingly propoſed, that the ſituation in which they ſhould ſtand on the firſt of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-one, in the Eaſt-Indies; on the firſt of July in the Weſt-Indies and Africa; and on the firſt of May following in Europe, ſhould be the poſition or baſis to the treaty which might be negotiated between the two powers. They added, that as theſe epochas might ſeem too near or too diſtant for the intereſt

of Great-Britain, they were extremely willing to enter into a negotiation upon that object.

The Engliſh miniſtry received this propoſition with leſs ſatisfaction than its apparent fairneſs deſerved. They entirely rejected the French epochas; and declared they could not admit, without prejudice to themſelves, any other epochas than thoſe which have reference to the day of ſigning the treaty of peace. Had this reſolution been ſtrictly adhered to, it was evident that the negotiation was that moment at an end: for though what was aſſerted in the French memorial in reply to this declaration, that the baſis of the propoſition of 'uti poſſidetis' was neceſſarily connected with the particular epochas propoſed, is by no means to be admitted; yet, on the other hand, it is eaſy to deny the validity of their ſubſequent aſſertion, "that "if not theſe, at leaſt ſome certain periods during "the war ought to be fixed; and that the *uti poſ-* "*ſidetis* could not reaſonably have reference only "to the time of ſigning the treaty of peace." For if the contrary principle were once admitted, it would be difficult to know, or even to gueſs with probability at the nature or the value of the poſſeſſions which by ſuch an article ſhould be mutually given away. And if thoſe difficulties occurred in the ſimplicity of a poſſeſſory article, they muſt be prodigiouſly increaſed upon every other, and at length come to ſuch a height as to preclude all poſſibility of negotiating on things of ſo intricate a nature as exchanges and equivalents. The French in their memorial inſiſted ſo ſtrongly on the propriety of eſtabliſhing theſe periods, that they threatened to recall the whole propoſition if they were refuſed.

Here it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that though the courts of London and Verſailles treated ſeparately, it was hitherto by no means propoſed, that this ſeparate diſcuſſion ſhould lead to a ſeparate peace. It was no more than a previous arrangement for the removal of thoſe difficulties, which might prevent the peace of France with England from being united with the general peace of Europe. But in proportion as the treaty advanced, it became obvious that the ſettling of any terms, which had no reference to the ſigning of ſomething obligatory between the two crowns, could at beſt be only void and illuſory, and might in the end even prove the ſource of dangerous and captious altercations. The Engliſh Miniſter therefore, before he could agree to treat definitively upon any point, and particularly upon the epochas, inſiſted upon two preliminary conditions.

Firſt, that every thing, which ſhould be happily adjuſted between the two crowns in relation to their particular war, ſhould be made obligatory, final and concluſive, independant of the ſtate of the negotiation at Augsburg.

Secondly, that the definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and France, or preliminary articles to that end, ſhould be ſigned and ratified between the date of that memorial and the firſt of the following Auguſt.

If theſe conditions were accepted, then England on her part conſented to name determinate epochas to which the uti poſſidetis ſhould refer; the firſt of July for Europe; the firſt of September for Africa and America; and the firſt of November for the Eaſt Indies. The French miniſtry, without conteſting the epochas themſelves, complained of the conditions; of the firſt, becauſe they ſaid it departed from the letter and ſpirit of the memorial of the twenty-ſixth of March, which was the foundation of the whole treaty; of the ſecond, on account of the extreme ſhortneſs of the time allotted for the diſcuſſion of ſuch difficult and momentous points; and the adjuſtment of matters which regarded a war extended over the four quarters of the globe; for the memorial which contained thoſe conditions was dated on the ſeventeenth, and was not received at Paris until the end of June, ſo that little more than a month was left to obtain the conſent of the court of Vienna to a ſeparate treaty, to ſettle the terms of that treaty, and, finally, to ratify every particular.

If a very good underſtanding had not ſubſiſted between her Imperial Majeſty and the king of France, it muſt have been very difficult to have received this conſent. But in fact it was immediately received, and upon one very ſhort and apparently reaſonable condition, "That nothing might be ſtipulated to the prejudice of the houſe of Auſtria." But when this condition came to be explained, as we ſhall ſee preſently, it was ſo far from facilitating, that it created new obſtacles to the peace. However, this acquieſcence of the principal of her allies enabled France to accept of the firſt condition without reſerve; and to the laſt ſhe alſo agreed verbally, though not in the cleareſt terms.

Every thing ſeemed for the preſent in the beſt ſituation, which in this ſtage of the treaty could be expected. The baſis of the negotiation was ſolidly eſtabliſhed. The article uti poſſidetis, after the taking Belleiſle, was a matter of leſs difficulty, and the epochas were in general ſettled in ſuch a manner, as to coincide with the deſigns and deſires of both parties. The treaty was confined to the two powers, and it was to be perfectly definitive with regard to them. A time for concluding it was alſo in a great meaſure ſettled; a circumſtance, which if it did not admit ſufficient leiſure for accurate diſcuſſion, cut off at leaſt the opportunities of chicane, and ſeemed to be the moſt ſuitable to a candid proceeding, and a ſincere deſire of peace.

The foundation being thus laid, the ſuperſtructure conſiſted in the adjuſtment of thoſe compenſations which were to be made for the reciprocal conqueſts, and here the whole difficulty of the two powers lay; a punctilio of honour might have intervened at the very firſt ſetting out, extremely pernicious to the ſalutary work in hand, from which party the firſt propoſition ſhould proceed: but in this reſpect France gave way, and that conceſſion afforded no inconſiderable proof of her pacific intentions.

The uti poſſidetis being ſettled as the baſis of the treaty, nothing could reaſonably be claimed by either party, that was not to be counterpoiſed by ſome equivalent from the other; and conſequently it was neceſſary to adjuſt and value their ſeveral poſſeſſions, pretenſions, and demands. There were ſix principal objects in this negotiation. Firſt, the limits of the two crowns in North America. Secondly, the conqueſts of Great-Britain in the Weſt-Indies, together with the neutral iſlands there. Thirdly, the Engliſh Conqueſts in Africa and in India. Fourthly, the adjuſtment of the particular affair between the Engliſh and French

in Germany. Fifthly, the conduct which the two crowns were to obſerve with regard to their reſpective allies in Germany. And, laſtly, the Reſtitution of the captures made by England, previous to the declaration of war.

On the firſt of theſe articles, France propoſed to cede and guaranty all Canada to England; ſtipulating only that the free and public exerciſe of the Roman Catholic religion ſhould be permitted under the Engliſh government, and that thoſe of the old French coloniſts who choſe to retire might have leave to tranſport themſelves from thence, and take away or diſpoſe of their effects. In compenſation for this, they required a confirmation of the privilege of what fiſhing they enjoyed on the coaſt of Newfoundland, under the treaty of Utrecht; and, that this fiſhery might be carried on with advantage, they likewiſe required the reſtitution of the iſle of Cape Breton, excluding themſelves from erecting on that iſland any kind of fortification whatſoever.

The affairs in the Weſt Indies, which made the ſecond capital object, they purpoſed to ſettle in this manner: they offered to exchange Minorca for Guadaloupe and Marigalante; and as to the four neutral iſlands, they inſiſted that two of them, Dominica and St. Vincent, were held by their natural inhabitants the Caribbees, under the protection of France, and that they ought ſtill to remain in the ſame condition. With regard to the two others, they propoſed to make a fair diviſion; that St. Lucia ſhould remain to France, and that England ſhould enter into poſſeſſion of Tobago. On this head, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that in the opinion of ſome people, the Engliſh miniſtry did not, in this treaty, ſet the juſt value on the acquiſition they had made, when they looked upon Canada as the great and leading object, and only conſidered Guadalupe and Marigalante in a ſecondary and ſubordinate light. This is a queſtion of difficulty, and has been much agitated. Thoſe who dreaded a freſh American war, from the ambition of France, and were ſtruck with the idea of extended empire, preferred the former conqueſt; thoſe who ſolely conſidered the intereſt of England as a commercial people, were generally in favour of the latter.

On the ſide of Africa, France ſatisfied herſelf with demanding either the Settlement at Senegal, or the iſle of Goree; for which, together with the reſtoration of Belleiſle, they conſented to evacuate Gottingen, Heſſe, and Hanau, and to draw off their army to the Maine and the Rhine. This was certainly a full equivalent. But with regard to the Eaſt-Indies, they had no tolerable equivalent to offer. They expatiated much in their memorial upon the diſadvantages which would ariſe to the companies of the two nations, from their entertaining views of conqueſts, ſo contrary to the true ſpirit and real intereſt of thoſe trading eſtabliſhments; and they concluded, by propoſing the treaty formerly ſettled between the ſieurs Godcheau and Saunders as a baſis for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace in Aſia. It muſt be remarked, that this treaty had been concluded at a time when the affairs of France in the Eaſt-Indies made a very different figure than during this negotiation; and therefore it ſeemed unfair to make this treaty a ſtandard under circumſtances altogether inapplicable.

The war, which had been ſo long, with ſo much bloodſhed, and ſo fruitleſsly carried on in Weſtphalia, the French ſtrenuouſly contended was from the time of, what they called, the breach of capitulation of Cloſter-Seven, a war purely Engliſh; and therefore that their conqueſts in that part of Germany, formed a proper compenſation for the Engliſh conqueſts in the other quarters of the world. The Britiſh miniſters did not attempt formally to refute this aſſertion; they rather ſeemed to admit it, and agreed accordingly, to receive the evacuation of thoſe places as an equivalent for ceſſions to be made on the footing we have already mentioned. On this point there was little difficulty.

The intricate and knotty part was on what we have ſtated as the fifth object, the conduct of the two crowns with regard to their allies. There was a real, a capital difficulty. From the beginning of the negotiation, England had declared that ſhe would inviolably preſerve her faith to the king of Pruſſia, and would act ſtrenuouſly in his ſupport. This piqued the French miniſters, who, in their turn, thought themſelves bound to make a declaration equally ſtrong in favour of the empreſs; and they had, moreover, recently contracted with the court of Vienna, to admit nothing in the treaty to her diſadvantage. However, in this difficulty, they found out a ſolution, which, it muſt be confeſſed, had a very fair and captivating appearance. They propoſed that both armies in Germany ſhould obſerve an exact neutrality; and ſhould be reciprocally bound to afford no ſort of aſſiſtance, nor to give no ſort of offence, to the allies of either of the parties. And they propoſed further, that as armies in this ſtate of inert neutrality muſt be a dead and uſeleſs expence to the power who maintains them, the French king, from the time his Britannic majeſty recalled the Engliſh forces from Germany, would cauſe double the number of French forces from the armies of the Upper and Lower Rhine to return into France; and that no French troops ſhould remain in Germany, but in proportion to thoſe which the king of England ſhould keep in his pay. It might certainly be urged, in confirmation of the propriety of this offer, that in reality theſe armies, whilſt they continued in action, though they worried each other abundantly, offered no kind of aſſiſtance to their allies; and therefore when they came mutually to entertain pacific ſentiments concerning their own particular quarrel, and were to give an example of moderation to the reſt of Europe, there ſeemed to be no reaſon why they ſhould make efforts in favour of any ally which they had not made, or been able to make in the hotteſt time of hoſtility.

The laſt article had its difficulties alſo. The French inſiſted, as a point from which they were reſolved never to recede, upon the reſtitution of the captures made before the declaration of war. This demand, they were of opinion, was grounded on the cleareſt principles of the law of nations, and the moſt expreſs ſtipulation of treaties. Without entering into thoſe various arguments with which this poſition might be maintained and attacked, it appeared to many that the honour of both nations was almoſt equally concerned, the one to claim, the other as reſolutely to refuſe this reſtitution.

On the whole, theſe propoſals, which the French ſent to London in a memorial of the fifteenth of July, formed, though in ſome reſpects undoubtedly exceptionable, a very agreeable plan for a treaty of peace. A better could not have been expected in the firſt project of an enemy, and it might be hoped, that a negotiation thus favourably begun, could not fail of adjuſting eaſily whatever appeared wrong, or ſupplying whatever was defective in this firſt draught of the propoſitions. But fatally for the repoſe of mankind, in the very inſtant that this fair propoſal was made, at the very moment when theſe ſtrong demonſtrations were given, an act was done which blew up at one exploſion, the whole baſis of the treaty that had been long and carefully laying, ſcattered the materials which had been ſo induſtriouſly collected, and ſo cautiouſly arranged, and inſtead of extinguiſhing ſpread the flames of war much further, and made them rage with new fury. From this period all the whole tranſaction was carried on with animoſity, reſentment, and miſtruſt. Before and during this negotiation, the French miniſtry had uſed every art and intrigue in their power to intereſt the king of Spain in their quarrel, and infuſe a jealouſy into that monarch of the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms. Hitherto, however, there was no apperance that th-ſe meaſures had any effect; but to the infinite ſurpriſe and indignation of the Britiſh miniſter, M. de Buſſy, the French agent, delivered with the paper which contained the above propoſitions, a private memorial, ſignifying, that in order to eſtabliſh the peace upon ſolid foundations, not to be ſhaken by the conteſted intereſts of a third power, the king of Spain might be invited to accede to guaranty the treaty; and that to prevent the differences which ſubſiſted between Great-Britain and this monarchy from being a means of producing a freſh war in Europe, with the conſent and communication of his Catholic majeſty, he propoſed, that in this negotiation, the three points which had been diſputed between the crowns of England and Spain, might be finally ſettled. Firſt, the reſtitution of ſome captures made upon the Spaniſh flag. Secondly, the privilege of the Spaniſh nation to fiſh on the banks of Newfoundland. Thirdly, the demolition of the Engliſh ſettlements made on the Spaniſh territories in the bay of Honduras.

It may be eaſily imagined, from the character of the ſecretary of ſtate, who then ſat at the helm of affairs, in what manner he received theſe propoſals: he rejected with the utmoſt contempt the offer of finiſhing a negotiation, through the mediation of an humbled enemy, relating to diſputes with a power actually in friendſhip with England. He called upon the Spaniſh miniſter to diſavow the propoſitions, which had been ſaid to be made with the knowledge of his court. He returned as wholly inadmiſſible this offenſive memorial, declaring, that it would be looked upon as an affront to the dignity of his maſter, and incompatible with the ſincerity of the negotiation, to make any further mention of ſuch a circumſtance.

He therefore immediately prepared an anſwer to the principal memorial, in a ſtile rather dictated by the circumſtances which accompanied that paper, and which ſufficiently indicated the deſigns of France, than what the propoſitions themſelves ſtrictly deſerved. He had indeed, by this time, conceived an incurable ſuſpicion of the ſincerity of France in the whole proceeding, and therefore it would not have been prudent to have made thoſe advances, which on a ſuppoſition of good faith, and pacific intentions, might poſſibly have been adviſeable: for though both powers had over and over declared, that their reſpective propoſitions, if the treaty ſhould by any accident be broken off, would be conſidered as retracted or never made; yet it is certain, that things once ſettled and agreed to, unavoidably ſtamp their own impreſſion upon any future negotiation, relative to the ſame ſubject.

Mr. Pitt's anſwer, which is dated on the twenty-ninth of July, agreed to the reſtitution of Guadaloupe, Marigalante, and Belleiſle, on the compenſations propoſed by France. It agreed alſo to receive Canada, but without any new limits or any exception whatſoever; and it added to the French the offer of all Canada, and its appurtenances. It admitted the propoſal of the partition of the neutral iſlands. It rejected the French demand of Cape Breton, or any other iſland in the gulph or river of St. Laurence, or of any power of fiſhing in that river, in that gulph, or on thoſe coaſts: but allowed the privilege of fiſhing on the banks of Newfoundland, on conſideration of the demolition of Dunkirk. But the propoſed reſtitution either of Senegal or Goree was utterly refuſed. The German neutrality was rejected with diſdain; and it was declared that Great Britain unalterably reſolved to ſupport the king of Pruſſia with efficacy and good faith. In addition to the offer made to evacuate Heſſe, &c. it was inſiſted that the French ſhould make a general evacuation of all her conqueſts in Weſtphalia, and all its countries, including her conqueſts from the king of Pruſſia on the Rhine, though France had before declared, that they were conquered for the queen of Hungary, that they were actually governed in her name, and that ſhe could not, conſiſtently with good faith, agree to deliver them to the king of Pruſſia. The treaty between Saunders and Godcheau was not admitted as a proper baſis for a treaty relative to the Eaſt-Indies. But it was agreed, that the two companies ſhould negotiate concerning their reſpective intereſts, as the king of Great Britain could not diſpoſe of the rights of the Engliſh Eaſt-India company without their conſent. As to the reſtitution of the captures made before the war, they were poſitively refuſed.

The confidence and good humour of the two courts being thus ſubverted, all that followed was rather an altercation than a treaty. It is true, that papers paſſed backward and forward; and the pretenſions of each party, the points they agreed to cede, and thoſe which they were determined to adhere to, grew more diſtinct and explicit. But all that cordiality was vaniſhed which is ſo neceſſary towards ſmoothing and clearing a road, which a long hoſtility had broken up, and ſo many intricate topics had contributed to embarraſs.

Without involving ourſelves in the detail of the ſeveral memorials which were delivered in, and without referring numerically to the ſeveral articles, it will be ſufficient that we briefly ſtate thoſe points which were, or ſeemed to be, in a fair way of adjuſtment between England and France; and afterwards

wards thoſe on which it ſhould appear that the negotiation broke off.

After ſome diſcuſſions concerning its proper limits, it was agreed, that all Canada ſhould be ceded to the Engliſh. This ceſſion comprehended, on one ſide, all the iſlands and countries adjoining to the gulph of St. Laurence. On the other, it took in all the great lakes, and the whole courſe of the Ohio, to its diſcharge into the Miſſiſſippi; a territory ſufficient for the baſis of a great empire.

In drawing this line of diviſion, another queſtion aroſe concerning the bounds of Louiſiana, and the ſtate of the intermediate Indian nations between the lakes and the Miſſiſſippi, who inhabit, or are rather ſcattered over an immenſe country, that lies along the back of the Engliſh colonies all the way from Penſylvania to Georgia. It was therefore very proper that ſomething definitive ſhould be ſettled on this article, as it might otherwiſe eaſily be made productive of a new war. England propoſed that all thoſe nations ſhould continue, under the protection of Great Britain, without ſaying any thing preciſe, as to the dominion of the ſoil.

France controverted this propoſition; ſhe on her part propoſed to divide theſe nations; that thoſe to the northward of the line drawn to aſcertain the limits of Canada ſhould be independent, under the protection of England, but that thoſe, who were to the ſouthward, ſhould enjoy the ſame independence, under the protection of France. Nothing was perfectly ſettled in relation to this point; but it does not ſeem as if there could have been any material diſagreement upon it, had the other matters in debate been adjuſted to their mutual ſatisfaction.

The African conteſt ſeemed to have been attended with ſtill leſs difficulty. The French conſented to give up both Senegal and Goree, provided Anamaboo and Acra were guarantied to them.

The important queſtion of the fiſhery was likewiſe determined. The French gave up their claim to Cape-Breton and St. John's, and were ſatisfied to receive the little iſland of St. Pierre on the coaſt of Newfoundland; but even this they were to receive on conditions ſufficiently humiliating. They were to erect no ſort of fortification, nor to keep up any military eſtabliſhment there. An Engliſh commiſſary was to reſide on the iſland, in order to ſee that theſe ſtipulations were adhered to.

As to the reſt, the French were to have the ſame privileges on the coaſt of Newfoundland, checked with the ſame reſtrictions, which before they had enjoyed under the fifteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht. In conformity to another article of that treaty, and in compenſation for the privilege of the fiſhery, they conſented that Dunkirk ſhould be demoliſhed.

Concerning the iſlands of Guadaloupe, Marigalante, Minorca, and Belleiſle, no great controverſy had ſubſiſted from the beginning. It had all along been agreed, that theſe conqueſts ſhould be reciprocally reſtored. Neither did the French ſcruple to adopt the propoſal made by the Engliſh concerning the affairs of the Eaſt Indies, nor to make ſatisfactory declarations concerning Oſtend and Nieuport.

So many delicate and intereſting points were ſettled, that it does not at firſt appear what it was that could have retarded the peace. A diſcuſſion of the ſeparate intereſts of two powers only, that are in earneſt to agree, may be ſettled without any very conſiderable difficulty. The hard and almoſt inextricable part of the knot, is that wherein the oppoſite concerns, and intereſts of allies intervene. There were two points upon which, if we may form a judgment from appearances, this negotiation unfortunately broke off. The firſt was upon the manner in which England and France might be at liberty to aſſiſt their reſpective allies; and on the reſtitution of Weſel, Gueldres, and ſuch other places as the French had conquered from his Pruſſian majeſty.

With regard to the former, the repeated propoſals of France for a neutrality in Germany had been uniformly and poſitively rejected by the Britiſh adminiſtration. They conſidered therefore theſe offers as ſo many attacks upon national integrity. And this ſcheme not being admitted, they could come to no agreement, and ſcarcely to an intelligible explanation either of the mode, or the quantity of the aſſiſtance which they ſhould be at liberty mutually to ſend to their German allies, or of the place in which ſuch ſuccours ſhould be employed. As to Weſel and Gueldres, the French obſtinately refuſed to reſtore thoſe places. They declared that ſuch a ceſſion would be directly againſt the faith by which they were bound to the empreſs queen of Hungary, for whom they inſiſted that theſe places had been conquered, and in whoſe name alone they were governed, though they had been reduced by the French arms, and were at that moment held by French garriſons.

As to the ſecond point, namely, the reſtitution of the captures made previous to the declaration of war, the negotiating powers were equally poſitive, the one to demand, the other to refuſe it. The Engliſh argued, that this claim had no foundation in the law of nations, neither was it grounded on any particular convention. That the right of all hoſtile operations reſults, not from a formal declaration of war, but from the hoſtilities which the aggreſſor had firſt offered; that the contrary of this propoſition is at leaſt conteſtible; and ſince it can by no means be clearly eſtabliſhed, it follows, that the detainment of thoſe captures muſt be conſidered on the ſide of England, as part of the "uti poſſidetis," originally propoſed as the baſis of this treaty.

France, on the other hand, ſeemed as fully convinced of the juſtice of her pretenſions, and conſidered the arguments with which ſhe ſupported them to be ſo unanſwerable, that ſhe offered to ſubmit them to the juſtice of the Engliſh tribunals. They urged that this claim of reſtitution was founded on the law of nations, and upon particular conventions. by the nineteenth article of the peace of Utrecht, and by the ſecond article of the treaty of commerce; and that this was ſtrengthened by the third article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which renewed and confirmed thoſe articles in the preceding treaties.

By theſe articles a protection is allowed to the reſpective ſubjects which may have ſhips in the ports of either of the powers, becauſe having no opportunity of knowing that a rupture has happened,

pened, they ſailed under the ſecurity of peace, and the faith of treaties. By a parity of reaſoning, the ſhips not actually in thoſe ports ought to enjoy the ſame ſecurity; elſe, as they are included in the ſame parity of circumſtances, it would follow, contrary to the principles of humanity and right reaſon, that the ſovereigns had provided for the preſervation of one part of their ſubjects from the miſeries of a ſudden rupture, to which they expoſe the reſt. The particular conventions of theſe treaties, they ſaid, had their foundation in general equity, and the law of nations; ſince, as it is impracticable for belligerant ſtates to agree amongſt themſelves which is the aggreſſor, it is proper that the ſubjects ſhould receive previous notice of the rupture, in order that they might be able diſtinctly to know when they are, or are not in ſecurity, or when they may, or may not rely upon the treaties which ſubſiſt between their ſovereigns.

Theſe topics were, as uſual, debated with great heat and little effect; and as in ſuch diſcuſſions the arguments on both ſides are plauſible, and there can be no authorized judge, the weight of the ſeveral pretenſions commonly depends upon the power of the parties to enforce them. On theſe two points, therefore, the renunciation of German alliances, and the reſtitution of captures, the negotiation from the beginning was at a ſtand: and on thoſe at length, to all appearance, it finally broke off.

We are, however, fully ſatisfied that the diſagreement even in thoſe points might have been only the pretended cauſe of the rupture. The true cauſe of the breach ſeems to have been the unſeaſonable interpoſition of the Spaniſh claims: for could France be ſuppoſed in good earneſt to deſire peace, that is, to deſire ſuch a reaſonable peace as her circumſtances might demand, when ſhe officiouſly mingled with a particular debate, the affairs of a foreign and neutral power, which had not the ſmalleſt connection with thoſe that were then properly under deliberation? It was ridiculous to urge, that this was done from a prudent foreſight, and to prevent a future war, which thoſe diſputes might poſſibly have occaſioned. The buſineſs was to put an end to the war which then actually ſubſiſted; and nothing could be farther from aſſiſting this deſign than to increaſe the ſubjects of debate. France muſt have been ſenſible of the weight of this argument, propoſed in the very beginning of this treaty, as a neceſſary precaution for carrying it on with effect, that their particular diſpute ſhould be ſeparated from thoſe of their German Allies, with which it certainly had a more natural connection than with thoſe that ſubſiſted between England and Spain; as all the former parties were then engaged directly or indirectly in the war, to which Spain had then no manner of relation.

The Engliſh miniſtry finding the French immoveable on the two capital points above-mentioned, and having no opinion of the ſincerity of their proceedings, ſent directions to Mr. Stanly to return to England, and to deſire that M. Buſſy ſhould, on the part of his court, receive the ſame orders: accordingly on the twentieth of September, an end was put to this negotiation; which being thus broken off, that propoſed at Augsburg never took place.

As nothing could have been more unprecedented, ſo nothing was more alarming than the proceeding of the court of Spain in the negotiation. It was altogether extraordinary to ſee a propoſal for accommodating diſputes that ſubſiſted between friends, coming through the channel of an enemy. It was extremely ſingular to ſee points of ſuch conſequence formally communicated and propoſed for deliberation by a French agent, commiſſioned only to negotiate a particular and diſtinct buſineſs, when the Spaniards had an ambaſſador reſiding in London, from whom no ſort of intimation had been previouſly received of ſuch a deſign.

That propoſal not only marked out a want of ſincerity on the part of France, but it manifeſted ſo ſtrange and irregular a partiality on the part of Spain, that it would very little have become the dignity of the king of Great Britain, or his attention to the ſafety of his ſubjects, to let it paſs without a full and ſatisfactory explanation. Accordingly the Spaniſh ambaſſador was called upon to diſavow this irregular procedure; but he returned a verbal, and ſoon after was authoriſed by his court to return a written anſwer, in which he openly avowed and juſtified the ſtep taken by the French agent, as entirely agreeable to the ſentiments of his maſter. He declared that the kings of France and Spain were united not only by the ties of blood, but by a mutual intereſt. He applauded the humanity and greatneſs of mind which his moſt Chriſtian majeſty demonſtrated in the propoſition that was complained of. He inſiſted much on the ſincere deſire of peace, the only motive which influenced the conduct of the two monarchs; and he added, haughtily, that if his maſter had been governed by any other principles, "his Catholic majeſty, "giving full ſcope to his greatneſs, would "have ſpoken for himſelf, and as became his dig-"nity."

It appeared evidently from the whole of this paper, that the court of Spain was regularly, as a ſort of party, appriſed of every ſtep that was taken in the negotiation; that her judgment was appealed to upon every point, and her authority called in aid to force the acceptance of the terms which were offered by France; in a word, that there was a perfect union of affections, intereſts, and councils between thoſe two courts; and the miniſter of the former, ſo far from denying or palliating this conduct, ſeemed to glory in it.

Mr. Pitt, who then took the lead in the miniſtry, was fully ſatisfied the intentions of Spain were by no means equivocal, and that this partiality, which they ſtrongly avowed, not only by declarations, but by facts, would drive them into all the meaſures of France. That a war on that account was abſolutely inevitable; and if, for the preſent moment, the Spaniards rather delayed their declaration of war, than laid aſide their hoſtile intentions, it was in order to ſtrike the blow at their own time, and with the greateſt effect; that therefore their reaſons for delaying to act were the very motives, which ought to induce us to act with the utmoſt ſpeed and vigour. That we ought to conſider the evaſions of that court as a refuſal of ſatisfaction, and that refuſal as a declaration of war. That we ought from prudence, as well as from ſpirit, to ſecure to ourſelves the firſt blow: and to be practically convinced, that the early and effective meaſures, which had ſo large a ſhare in reducing

cing France to the dependance upon Spain, would alſo be the fitteſt for deterring or diſabling Spain from affording any protection to France. That, to carry on this war with vigour, it was only neceſſary to continue our preſent efforts; no new armament would be neceſſary; and that, if any war could provide its own reſources, it muſt be a war with Spain. That their flota had not yet arrived, and that the taking of it would at once diſable theirs and ſtrengthen our hands. This procedure ſo ſuited to the dignity of the nation, and the inſults it had received, would be a leſſon to Spain, and to every other power, how they ſhould preſume to dictate in our affairs, and to intermeddle with a menacing mediation, and an officiouſneſs as inſidious as it was audacious. That we would allow our enemies, whether ſecret or declared, no time to think and recollect themſelves.

Theſe ſentiments, ſo agreeable to the reſolute and enterpriſing character of this miniſter, appeared ſhocking to almoſt all the reſt of his collegues. They admitted that we ought not to be terrified from the aſſertion of our juſt demands, by the menaces of any power. They owned that Spain had taken a very extraordinary and very unjuſtifiable ſtep, but that we ought to admit, and even to wiſh for, an explanation. This court, upon a ſober, yet ſpirited remonſtrance, might recal that raſh propoſition into which they had been perhaps unwarily ſeduced by the artifices of France; that to ſhun war upon a juſt occaſion was cowardice, but to provoke or court it, was madneſs. And, if to court a war was not in general a very wiſe meaſure, to deſire it with Spain, if poſſibly it could be avoided, was to overturn the moſt fundamental principles of the policy of both nations. That this deſire of adding war to war, and enemy to enemy, whilſt we had our hands already as full as they could hold, and whilſt all our faculties were ſtrained to the utmoſt pitch, was to over-calculate the national ſtrength of our country, which, however great, had its limits, and was not able to contend with all the world: that whilſt we were calling for new enemies, no mention was made of new allies, nor indeed of any new reſource whatſoever, To plunge into ſuch meaſures, in the manner propoſed, and upon no better grounds, could not fail to ſcandalize and to alarm all Europe; and we could poſſibly derive no advantage from this precipitate conduct, which would not be more than counterbalanced by the jealouſy and terror it would neceſſarily create in every nation near us. As to the ſeizure of the flota, it was not to be depended upon, as at the very time of that deliberation, it might be expected to be ſafe in its harbour; and perhaps if we could ſucceed in ſeizing it, we might perform a ſervice not very agreeable to neutral nations, and as little advantageous to our own commerce.

If Spain, blind to her true intereſts, and miſled by French councils, ſhould give in a more deciſive manner into the deſigns of that court, and obſtinately refuſe a reaſonable ſatisfaction, it would be then true time to declare war, when all the neighbouring and impartial powers were convinced that we acted with as much temper as reſolution, and when every thinking man at home would be ſatisfied that we were not hurried into the hazards and expences of war, from an idea of chimerical heroiſm, but from inevitable neceſſity; and that in ſuch a caſe, we might depend upon the utmoſt ſupport which the nation could give to an adminiſtration that depended upon its ſtrength, and yet dreaded to waſte it wantonly, or to employ it unjuſtly. The miniſter, warmed by this oppoſition, declared that, "this was the time for humbling the whole houſe of Bourbon; that if this opportunity were let ſlip, it might never be recovered; and if he could not prevail in this inſtance, he was reſolved that this was the laſt time he ſhould ſit in that council. He thanked the miniſters of the late king for their ſupport; ſaid he was himſelf called to the miniſtry by the voice of the people, to whom he conſidered himſelf as accountable for his conduct; and that he would no longer remain in a ſituation which made him reſponſible for meaſures he was no longer allowed to guide."

On the diviſion, the miniſter himſelf, and a noble lord cloſely connected with him, were the only voices, in favour of the immediate declaration of war; the reſt of the board were unanimouſly againſt it.

Mr Pitt and lord Temple, adhering to their firſt opinion, and having declared their reaſons in writing, reſigned their employments. This reſignation ſeemed equal to a revolution in the ſtate. An univerſal alarm was ſpread; a thouſand rumours flew abroad, and the firſt ſuggeſtions were that this great miniſter, endeavouring to avail himſelf by his firmneſs in negotiation of the advantages he had acquired by his vigour in war, was oppoſed by the whole council, who were reſolved to have a peace at any rate, and that this oppoſition had driven him to reſign the ſeals. But the true cauſe of the reſignation very ſoon came out; and on this point a violent conflict enſued, in which the popular cauſe was worſt ſuſtained, and the miniſterial better, that is with greater effect, than is uſual in ſuch diſcuſſions. Some circumſtances contributed not a little to this ſucceſs.

When Mr. Pitt reſigned the ſeals, the great perſon to whom they were delivered, received them with eaſe and firmneſs, without requeſting that he ſhould reſume his office. His majeſty expreſſed his concern for the loſs of ſo able a ſervant; and to ſhew the favourable ſenſe he entertained of his ſervices, he made him a moſt gracious and unlimited offer of any rewards in the power of the crown to beſtow. His majeſty at the ſame time expreſſed himſelf not only ſatisfied with the opinion of the majority of his council, but declared he ſhould have found himſelf under the greateſt difficulty how to have acted, had that council concurred as fully in ſupporting the meaſure propoſed by Mr. Pitt, as they had done in rejecting it: a ſentiment (in the light in which his majeſty conſidered this meaſure) grounded upon the firmeſt principles of integrity and honour, and which muſt raiſe the higheſt veneration for his royal character, not only among his own ſubjects, but amongſt all nations, when they ſee a power which has ſo little to fear from any human effort, ſo very fearful of the leaſt infringement of the ſtricteſt and moſt critical rules of juſtice.

Mr. Pitt was ſenſibly touched with the grandeur and condeſcenſion of this proceeding. "I confeſs, Sire, ſaid he, I had but too much reaſon to expect your majeſty's diſpleaſure. I did not come pre-

pared for this exceeding goodneſs. Pardon me, Sire, it overpowers, it oppreſſes me!" He then burſt into tears.

We are far from an attempt to add any colouring to ſo exquiſitely affecting a picture. We are indeed far from being able to do juſtice to perhaps one of the moſt pathetic and elevated ſcenes which could poſſibly be diſplayed, the parting of ſuch a prince and ſuch a miniſter.

The next day a penſion of three thouſand pounds a year was ſettled on Mr. Pitt for three lives, and at the ſame time a title was conferred upon his lady and her iſſue; a penſion the beſt beſtowed, and a nobility the moſt honourably acquired, and moſt truly merited. Immediately the gazette gave notice to the public of all theſe tranſactions. The reſignation made the firſt article, the honours and rewards the next; and they were followed by a letter from the Engliſh ambaſſador in Spain, containing an account of the favourable and pacific language of that court, and of the ſtrong aſſurance they gave of a deſire to accommodate all differences in an amicable manner.

Without preſuming to take any part in a controverſy which long divided the royal council, or without entering into the ſentiments of any faction, which we have always avoided, we may affirm with truth and impartiality, that no man was ever better fitted than Mr. Pitt, to be the miniſter in a great and powerful nation, or better qualified to carry that power and greatneſs to their utmoſt height. There was in all his deſigns a magnitude, and even a vaſtneſs, which was not eaſily comprehended by every mind, and which nothing but ſucceſs could have demonſtrated to be reaſonable. If he was ſometimes incorrect, he was never vulgar.

This power, as it was not acquired, ſo neither was it exerciſed in an ordinary manner. With very little parliamentary, and with leſs court influence, he ſwayed both at the council board and in parliament with an authority unknown before to the beſt ſupported miniſters. He was called to the miniſtry by the voice of the people; and what is more rare, he held it with that approbation; and under him for the firſt time, adminiſtration and popularity were ſeen united. Under him Great Britain carried on the moſt important war in which ſhe was ever engaged, alone and unaſſiſted, with greater ſplendor, and with more ſucceſs than ſhe had ever enjoyed at the head of the moſt powerful alliances. Alone this iſland ſeemed to balance the reſt of Europe.

In the conduct of the war he never ſuffered the enemy to breathe, but overwhelmed them with reiterated blows, and kept up the alarm in every quarter. If one of his expeditions was not ſo well calculated, or ſo ſucceſsfully executed, amends were made by another, and by a third. The ſpirit of the nation, once rouſed, was not ſuffered for a moment to ſubſide; and the French, dazzled as it were by the multitude and celerity of his enterprizes, ſeemed to have loſt all power of reſiſtance. In ſhort, he revived the military genius of the Engliſh; he ſupported our allies; he extended our trade; he raiſed our reputation; he augmented our dominions; and on his departure from the adminiſtration, left the nation in no other danger than that which ever muſt attend exorbitant power, and the temptation which induces the invidious exertion of it. Happy had it been for him, for his ſovereign, and his country, if a temper leſs auſtere, and a diſpoſition more compliant and conciliating, had been joined to his other great virtues. The want of thoſe qualities diſabled him from acting any otherwiſe than alone: it prevented our enjoying the joint fruit of the wiſdom of many able men, who might mutually have tempered, and mutually forwarded each other; and finally, which was not the leaſt loſs, it deprived us of his own immediate ſervices.

I now proceed to particularize the moſt remarkable events that happened in Great-Britain during the courſe of this year.

The new tax laidupon beer, excited loud clamours among the claſs of labouring people, eſpecially in the metropolis, where ſome few publicans began to raiſe the price, in conſequence of this impoſition: but, as they did not act in concert, thoſe houſes, in which the attempt was made, were immediately abandoned by their cuſtomers. Menacing letters and intimations were ſent to ſome individuals, ſuppoſed to have adviſed the new duty. The ſtreets reſounded with the noiſe of vulgar clamour and diſcontent; nor was it till after ſome time, and many experiments, that the price of ſtrong beer could be actually raiſed to the conſumer.

The eſtabliſhment of a militia, though at firſt projected in compliance with the earneſt requeſt of the people, was not, however, entirely accompliſhed, without exciting ſome dangerous commotions. As this kind of troops had already ſerved the term of three years, preſcribed by law, it was neceſſary to ballot for a ſucceſſion of men; and in the month of March the juſtices of the peace in the county of Northumberland were aſſembled at Hexham for this purpoſe. The common people being determined to oppoſe this regulation, which they conſidered as an intolerable grievance, aſſembled to the number of five thouſand of both ſexes, and of all ages, ſome of them armed with clubs, and ſome of them with fire-arms. The juſtices, apprehenſive of ſome ſuch diſorder, had procured a battalion of the Yorkſhire militia for their guard, and theſe were drawn up in the market-place. The populace being joined by a body of deſperate keelmen from Newcaſtle, began to inſult the guard with reproaches, miſſiles, and even with blows, which the militia for ſome time bore with all the patience that could be imagined. The riot act was read, and the people were exhorted to retire to their reſpective habitations. But inſtead of complying with this advice, they became more untractable. Encouraged by the forbearance of the militia, and poſſeſſed with a notion that they would not commit hoſtilities, they proceeded from one act of outrage to another; aſſaulted them as they ſtood arranged in order of battle, and killed an officer and two private men. Thus exaſperated, the militia poured in upon them a regular diſcharge, by which forty-five were killed on the ſpot, and three hundred miſerably wounded. The ſurvivors immediately betook themſelves to flight, and many dropped down upon the road in their retreat. The moſt lamentable part of this diſaſter was a circumſtance which attends all ſuch unfortunate occaſions: ſome hapleſs women and children, drawn thither by curioſity, or the more laudable motive

motive of perſuading their huſbands, parents, or kinſmen to retire, were confounded and periſhed in the undiſtinguiſhing vengeance of the day. Some of the rioters, being apprehended, were tried for high treaſon, convicted, condemned, and executed for examples.

The ſpirit of murder and aſſaſſination ſtill continued to prevail in different parts of the kingdom. Women attempted the lives of their huſbands, and huſbands embrued their hands in the blood of their wives. As the laſt year was diſtinguiſhed by an atrocious murder committed in London by a foreigner, ſo the preſent exhibited an inſtance of the ſame kind, perpetrated by another ſtranger in the capital, though attended with much more ſavage and horrible circumſtances. One Theodore Gardelle, a Swiſs painter, being provoked by ſome trivial injury, layed violent hands on Mrs. King, in whoſe houſe he lodged, near Leiceſter Square, and deprived her of life in her own apartment. The rage of paſſion, which prompted him to this exceſs, was ſucceeded by a tranſport of terror, which hurried him into ſuch meaſures for his own preſervation, as cannot fail to ſhock the humane and tender reader. He concealed what had paſſed by locking the apartment where the body lay, and by diſmiſſing the maid ſervant, who happened to be abſent when the murder was committed. He had ſent her upon ſome errand to a different part of the town, as if the murder had been a premeditated ſcheme: when ſhe returned, he told her Mrs. King was gone ſuddenly to the country, and had directed him to diſmiſs her from her ſervice. He accordingly payed her the wages that were due to her, in conſequence of which ſhe retired.

Being now in poſſeſſion of the houſe, he paſſed the night alone in his own apartment. Next morning he deſcended to the chamber where the body of the unhappy woman lay, ſeparated the head, and even diſſected it with the moſt gloomy deliberation. This he conſumed by fire: the bowels he took out, and buried in the ſoil of the privy. He then diſmembered the body, and deſtroyed the limbs with a fire made of green wood, that the ſmell of fleſh might not alarm the neighbours. He divided the trunk in ſmall pieces, and carrying part of them in a ſack, threw them into the river. This was a work of time, which he ſeemed to brood over with a kind of horrid enjoyment. In the intervals of his labour, he ſolaced himſelf with the converſation of a proſtitute, who lay with him in the houſe, and from whoſe ſide he roſe early in the morning in order to finiſh his dreadful taſk.

His guilt could not be long concealed. The ſudden diſappearance of Mrs. King, and the diſtracted behaviour of the aſſaſſin, created ſuſpicion. He found it neceſſary to employ an occaſional domeſtic, who perceived ſigns of blood. The ſervant, whom he had diſmiſſed, exerted herſelf in his detection: a warrant was granted for apprehending Gardelle; and ſearch being made in the houſe, parcels of the body were found. The murderer, being brought to trial, was convicted on the fulleſt evidence, and executed in the open ſtreet, not far from the place where the crime was committed.

I ſhall conclude this narrative of domeſtic tranſactions with an account of the marriage and coronation of their preſent majeſties.

The king, ever attentive to the great purpoſes of his elevation, and deſirous of giving all poſſible permanency to the preſent happy eſtabliſhment, reſolved to chooſe a conſort, whoſe participation might ſweeten the cares of government, and whoſe virtues ſhould make his private happineſs coincide with the ſatisfaction of his people. Struck with the character of the princeſs Charlotta-Sophia, princeſs of Mecklenburg-Strelitz *, he privately employed perſons, in whom he could confide, to aſcertain the report of her engaging qualifications; and being fully convinced of her perſonal attractions, her amiable diſpoſition, and ſuperior underſtanding, he made a formal demand of her in marriage. The propoſal of ſuch an illuſtrious alliance could not but be acceptable to the court of Mecklenburg; and the princeſs herſelf was not inſenſible to the extraordinary accompliſhments of the young monarch, who had thus diſtinguiſhed her by his affection and eſteem.

On the eighth of July, the members of the privy council being aſſembled to a very conſiderable number, the king acquainted them in a formal ſpeech, that, "having nothing ſo much at heart as to procure the welfare and happineſs of his people, and to render the ſame ſtable and permanent to poſterity, he had, ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne, turned his thoughts towards the choice of a princeſs for his conſort; and now, with great ſatisfaction, acquainted them, that, after the fulleſt information, and mature deliberation, he had come to a reſolution to demand in marriage the princeſs Charlotta of Mecklenburg-Strelitz; a princeſs diſtinguiſhed by every eminent virtue, and amiable endowment; whoſe illuſtrious line had conſtantly ſhewn the firmeſt zeal for the Proteſtant religion, and a particular attachment to his family: that he had judged it proper to communicate to them theſe his intentions, that they might be fully apprized of a matter ſo highly important to him and to his kingdoms, and which he perſuaded himſelf would be moſt acceptable to all his loving ſubjects."

This declaration was ſo agreeable to the council, that they unanimouſly requeſted it might be made public for the ſatisfaction of the nation in general. The earl of Harcourt was appointed ambaſſador-plenipotentiary to the court of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, to demand the princeſs, and ſign the contract of marriage; and the royal yachts were prepared, under convoy of a gallant ſquadron commanded by lord Anſon, to convoy the future queen to England. Meanwhile her houſhold being eſtabliſhed, the ambaſſador ſet out for the continent on this important affair. The dutcheſſes of Ancaſter and Hamilton and the counteſs of Effingham were appointed ladies of the bed-chamber, to attend her from the court of Mecklenburg in her paſſage to England; and embarking at Harwich, the whole fleet ſet ſail for Stade on the eighth day

* The dutchy of Mecklenburg lies between Lunenburg and the Baltick, and is neither rich nor extenſive. The dukes are ſaid to be deſcended from the kings of the Vandals. The people were converted to the Chriſtian religion in the twelfth century, and at preſent profeſs the Lutheran perſuaſion. The duke of Mecklenburg-Swerin, being the eldeſt branch, poſſeſſes a yearly revenue amounting to about forty thouſand pounds. The duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz does not receive above twenty thouſand pounds a-year; but he has a voice in the diet of the empire. The princeſs Charlotta-Sophia, who was then in the ſeventeenth year of her age, is ſiſter to the laſt mentioned prince, born of Elizabeth, daughter of Erneſt-Frederick, duke of Saxe Hildburghauſen.

of Auguſt. The contract of marriage being ſigned by the earl of Harcourt at Strelitz, her royal highneſs was complimented by the ſtates of the country, and the deputies of the towns. The ambaſſador and the ladies were magnificently entertained; and the event was celebrated with the moſt ſplendid rejoicings.

On the ſeventeenth day of the month, the princeſs, accompanied by the reigning duke her brother, ſet out for Mirow, amidſt the tears and prayers of all ranks of people, the poor in particular, whoſe zealous patroneſs ſhe had always ſhewn herſelf. Next day ſhe arrived at Perleberg, where the count de Gotter complimented her in the name of the Pruſſian monarch. From thence ſhe continued her journey by Leutzen to Gourde, and on the twenty-ſecond reached Stade, under a general diſcharge of cannon, and amidſt the acclamations of the people. She was received by all the burgeſſes in arms: the whole town was illuminated: triumphal arches were erected; ſeveral of the principal ladies preſented her with verſes on her approaching nuptials; and the public joy was expreſſed by every poſſible demonſtration. On the twenty-third ſhe embarked in the yacht at Cuxhaven, where ſhe was ſaluted by the Britiſh ſquadron aſſembled for her convoy. The moment ſhe entered the cabin, ſhe ſaluted the officers of the different ſhips, who had crouded the deck in order to have the pleaſure of ſeeing her, and were all charmed with her polite and eaſy behaviour.

In this interval the minds of the Engliſh people were wound up to the higheſt pitch of expectation. The king having ſignified his intention that the princeſs ſhould land at Greenwich, both ſides of the Thames were for ſeveral days lined with innumerable multitudes. The river itſelf was covered with pleaſure-boats, wherries, and other veſſels filled with ſpectators, and cruiſing between Blackwall and Graveſend, in order to meet and welcome their future queen's arrival. Seats and ſcaffolds were prepared along the ſhore for ſeveral miles; and all the publicans reſiding near the banks of the river, both in Kent and Eſſex, were enriched by an amazing conflux of company. Every individual obſerved the wind as earneſtly as if his whole fortune had depended upon the firſt change of weather; and London poured forth her ſwarms like an immenſe hive during the firſt gleams of vernal ſunſhine. All the medicinal wells, to which wealthy people reſort in the ſummer, either for health or pleaſure, were now deſerted; and numbers flocked to the metropolis from all parts of the united kingdom to ſee their ſovereign's bride, and be eye-witneſſes of the enſuing coronation. After a tedious voyage of ten days, during which the fleet was expoſed to three different ſtorms, and often in danger of being driven on the coaſt of Norway, the princeſs landed on the ſeventh day of September in the afternoon at Harwich, where ſhe was received by the mayor and aldermen in their formalities. She advanced with her attendants by the way of Colcheſter to Witham, and lodged at a houſe belonging to the earl of Abercorn, where ſhe gratified the curioſity of the people with the moſt obliging condeſcenſion. Meanwhile the king, whoſe ardour far ſurpaſſed the impatience of his ſubjects, being apprized by couriers of her arrival, diſpatched his own coaches, with a party of the horſe-guards, who met her at Rumford, and conducted her to London, through innumerable crouds of people, aſſembled on the road to gratify their curioſity and welcome her arrival. Their applauſe was ſignified in tumultuous acclamations, which attended her for ſeveral miles; and the eagerneſs of the populace was even carried to a degree of licentious zeal, which the guards could hardly reſtrain within the bounds of decent reſpect.

Thus accompanied by great numbers in carriages, on horſeback and a-foot, this amiable princeſs proceeded by Shoreditch church, up Old-ſtreet to the city-road, acroſs Iſlington, along the new road into Hyde-park, and down Conſtitution-hill, to the garden gate of the palace of St. James's, where ſhe was handed out of her coach by the duke of Devonſhire, in quality of lord-chamberlain. At the gate ſhe was received by the duke of York, and in the garden ſhe was met by the king himſelf, whoſe looks declared the tranſports of his joy. When ſhe made her obeiſance, he raiſed her by the hand, which he kiſſed, and then led her up ſtairs to the palace, where they dined together, with the whole royal family. At nine the nuptial ceremony was performed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury in the royal chapel, which had been magnificently decorated for the occaſion. Beſides the royal family, all the great officers of ſtate, the nobility, peers and peereſſes, and the foreign miniſters, attended at the ſervice, the concluſion of which was announced to the people by the diſcharge of the artillery at the Park and the Tower; and the cities of London and Weſtminſter were illuminated in honour of this auſpicious event. Nothing was now ſeen at court but ſplendor and feſtivity, exhibiting all the marks of mirth and ſatisfaction. The great acceſſion of domeſtic happineſs that the king enjoyed in this connection, enabled him to ſupport the fatigue of receiving freſh addreſſes of felicitation, which were uſhered in as uſual by the city of London, and preſented to him by the clergy, the univerſities, the diſſenters, the cities, towns, and corporations in all parts of the Britiſh dominions.

The ceremony of the nuptials was ſoon ſucceeded by that of the coronation, which could not fail of being extremely irkſome and diſagreeable to a prince of true taſte and ſentiment. A commiſſion had long ago paſſed the ſeal, conſtituting a court to decide the pretenſions of a great number of people, who laid claim to ſeveral offices and privileges, in the celebration of this neceſſary form; and many of theſe, being derived from the moſt remote antiquity, carried with them an uncouth and ridiculous appearance to a modern reader. Weſtminſter-hall was prepared for the coronation-banquet, by removing the courts of judicature, boarding the floor, erecting canopies, and building three rows of galleries for the accommodation of ſpectators. A platform was laid between this Hall and the Abbey-church, where the king is actually crowned. All the houſes and ſtreets within ſight of the proceſſion were faced and crowded with benches and ſcaffolding, which extended on both ſides within the Abbey from the Weſtern entrance almoſt up to the choir. The proſpect formed by theſe occaſional erections, which were ſurpriſingly calculated for ſecurity and convenience, could not

fail to awaken the expectation of the ſpectator for ſomething ſolemn and ſublime: but when all theſe benches were filled with above two hundred thouſand people, of both ſexes, arrayed in gay apparel, they filled the mind with an aſtoniſhing idea of the wealth and populoſity of Great Britain, and entirely eclipſed the proceſſion, notwithſtanding the incredible profuſion of jewels and finery, and all the other circumſtances of pomp by which it was diſtinguiſhed. The principal objects, however, ſtill maintained their importance in the eyes and boſoms of all the ſpectators, who could not without the moſt lively emotions of admiration and joy behold ſuch attractive accompliſhments in the royal pair, whoſe virtues adorned the crowns they were deſtined to wear.

The oſtentation of this year was cloſed with the anniverſary pageants that celebrate the election of a new lord mayor in the city of London. As the kings and queens of Great-Britain are always entertained at Guildhall by the magiſtrate who happens to be choſen in the year of the coronation, extraordinary preparations were made for the reception of their majeſties; who, with a great number of the nobility, honoured the banquet, in the midſt of the moſt tumultuous expreſſions of loyalty and attachment that ever were known on any former occaſion.

On the third of November the new parliament was opened at Weſtminſter; and, as no miniſterial influence had been uſed in electing the members of which it was compoſed, it undoubtedly deſerved the appellation of a free parliament; a phænomenon which had not appeared in the meridian of Great Britain for the ſpace of above forty years before this period. The king, being ſeated on the throne, commanded the attendance of the commons; to whom he ſignified his pleaſure, by the mouth of the high-lord-chancellor, that they ſhould return to their houſe, and chuſe a new ſpeaker. Accordingly their unanimous choice fell upon Sir John Cuſt, baronet, a gentleman of extenſive knowledge and diſtinguiſhed probity, qualified in all reſpects to ſupply the room of Mr. Onſlow, who had ſo long and ſo worthily diſcharged that important office. His majeſty, repairing again to the houſe of peers on the ſixth, approved of the ſpeaker, and harangued the parliament in theſe words.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"At the opening of the firſt parliament, ſummoned and elected under my authority, I with pleaſure take notice of an event, which has made me completely happy, and given univerſal joy to my loving ſubjects. My marriage with a princeſs, eminently diſtinguiſhed by every virtue, and amiable endowment, whilſt it affords me all poſſible domeſtic comfort, cannot but highly contribute to the happineſs of my kingdoms; which has been, and always ſhall be, my firſt object in every action of my life.

"It has been my earneſt wiſh that this firſt period of my reign might be marked with another felicity; the reſtoring of the bleſſings of peace to my people, and putting an end to the calamities of war, under which ſo great a part of Europe ſuffers. But though overtures were made to me, and my good brother and ally the king of Pruſſia, by the ſeveral belligerant powers, in order to a general pacification, for which purpoſe a congreſs was appointed; and propoſitions were made to me by France, for a particular peace with that crown, which were followed by an actual negotiation; yet that congreſs hath not hitherto taken place, and the negotiation with France is entirely broken off.

"The ſincerity of my diſpoſition to effectuate this good work has been manifeſted in the progreſs of it; and I have the conſolation to reflect, that the continuance of the war, and the farther effuſion of Chriſtian blood, to which it was the deſire of my heart to put a ſtop, cannot with juſtice be imputed to me.

"Our military operations have been in no degree ſuſpended or delayed; and it has pleaſed God to grant us farther important ſucceſſes, by the conqueſts of the iſlands of Belleiſle and Dominique; and by the reduction of Pondicherry, which hath in a manner annihilated the French power in the Eaſt Indies. In other parts, where the enemy's numbers were greatly ſuperior, their principal deſigns and projects have been generally diſappointed, by a conduct which does the higheſt honour to the diſtinguiſhed capacity of my general prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, and by the valour of my troops. The magnanimity and ability of the king of Pruſſia have eminently appeared in reſiſting ſuch numerous armies, and ſurmounting ſo great difficulties.

"In this ſituation, I am glad to have an opportunity of receiving the trueſt information of the ſenſe of my people, by a new choice of their repreſentatives. I am fully perſuaded you will agree with me in opinion, that the ſteady exertion of our moſt vigorous efforts, in every part where the enemy may ſtill be attacked with advantage, is the only means that can be productive of ſuch a peace, as may with reaſon be expected from our ſucceſſes. It is, therefore, my fixed reſolution, with your concurrence and ſupport, to carry on the war, in the moſt effectual manner, for the intereſt and advantage of my kingdoms; and to maintain, to the utmoſt of my power, the good faith and honour of my crown, by adhering firmly to the engagements entered into with my allies. In this I will perſevere, until my enemies, moved by their own loſſes and diſtreſſes, and touched with the miſeries of ſo many nations, ſhall yield to the equitable conditions of an honourable peace; in which caſe, as well as in the proſecution of the war, I do aſſure you, no conſideration whatever ſhall make me depart from the true intereſts of theſe my kingdoms, and the honour and dignity of my crown."

"Gentlemen of the houſe of Commons,

"I am heartily ſorry, that the neceſſity of large ſupplies appears ſo clearly from what has already been mentioned. The proper eſtimates for the ſervices of the enſuing year ſhall be laid before you; and I deſire you to grant me ſuch ſupplies, as may enable me to proſecute the war with vigour, and as your own welfare and ſecurity, in the preſent critical juncture, require, that we may happily put the laſt hand to this great work. Whatſoever you give ſhall be duly and faithfully applied.

"I dare ſay your affectionate regard for me and the queen makes you go before me in what I am next to mention; the making an adequate and honourable proviſion for her ſupport, in caſe ſhe ſhould

ſhould ſurvive me. This is what not only her royal dignity, but her own merit calls for, and I earneſtly recommend it to your conſideration.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I have ſuch confidence in the zeal and good affect ons of this parliament, that I think it quite ſuperfluous to uſe any exhortations to excite you to a right conduct. I will only add, that there never was a ſituation in which unanimity, firmneſs, and diſpatch, were more neceſſary for the ſafety, honour, and true intereſt of Great Britain."

Theſe expreſſions of confidence and eſteem, which flowed from the heart of a patriot king, met with the moſt cordial returns of gratitude and affection. The two houſes unanimouſly reſolved to addreſs their ſovereign in the warmeſt terms of zeal and attachment. The commons, having thanked him for this moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne, preſented their congratulations on the joyful and auſpicious event of his nuptials, with a princeſs deſcended from an illuſtrious proteſtant line, diſtinguiſhed by the moſt eminent graces and endowments, worthy to be the partner of a throne, by poſſeſſing every virtue by which it could be adorned. They expreſſed their deep ſenſe of the affectionate regard he had manifeſted for his people, by conſulting, on this important and intereſting occaſion, as on every other, the happineſs of them and their poſterity. They aſſured him, that with hearts full of gratitude for this ſignal inſtance of his royal attention to the welfare of his ſubjects, and thoroughly ſenſible of the exalted merit of his illuſtrious conſort, his faithful commons would not fail to make ſuch honourable and ample pro viſion as might enable her to ſupport her royal dignity with proper luſtre, in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive his majeſty *; for the long continuance of whoſe life they ſhould offer up their moſt ardent vows to Providence, without ceaſing. They thanked his majeſty for having expreſſed his concern for the proſperity of his people, in wiſhing to reſtore them the bleſſings of peace. They declared their admiration of that humanity ſo becoming the royal breaſt, which, amidſt the ſucceſſes of his own kingdoms, felt for the calamities of other nations. They profeſſed themſelves fully perſuaded, that thoſe beneficent diſpoſitions which induced his majeſty to propoſe a congreſs for a general pacification, and to engage in a negotiation with France for a particular peace, could not have failed of the deſired effect, if the enemy, influenced by the ſame motives, had ſhewn the ſame good intentions, and would have complied with ſuch conditions as were requiſite for the accompliſhment of that ſalutary work. They teſtified the moſt grateful acknowledgment of his majeſty's vigilance and firmneſs, in not ſuffering the hopes and expectations of peace to produce the leaſt ſuſpence or relaxation in the exertion of his arms; and congratulated his majeſty on thoſe happy ſucceſſes, which, under the good providence of God, they aſcribed to the wiſdom and vigour of his majeſty's meaſures: to theſe they owed the reduction of Dominique, the conqueſt of Belleiſle, atchieved with ſo much reputation to the Britiſh arms, and the deſtruction of the enemy's power in the Eaſt Indies, by the acquiſition of Pondicherry, their laſt remaining ſettlement of any ſtrength in thoſe countries. They obſerved, that the wiſe and able conduct of his ſerene highneſs prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, whereby he had ſucceſſively defeated the projects of the enemy, and prevented their making that progreſs, which, from their ſuperior numbers, they expected; together with that gracious approbation which his majeſty had been pleaſed to expreſs of the valour of his troops; could not but give the higheſt ſatisfaction to his faithful commons. They ſaid, they ſaw with juſt admiration repeated proofs, in every campaign, of that unſhaken reſolution, and of thoſe aſtoniſhing efforts, which alone could have enabled his majeſty's great ally, the king of Pruſſia, to reſiſt the numerous forces of his enemies. They aſſured him, he might depend upon their intire concurrence and ſupport, in the moſt effectual proſecution of the war, for the intereſt and advantage of Great Britain; and in maintaining, to the utmoſt of their power, the good faith and honour of his majeſty's crown, and the engagements entered into with his allies: and they declared themſelves truly ſenſible, that the conſtant care and attention of his majeſty to purſue the moſt vigorous meaſures, in every part, where any ſucceſsful impreſſion could ſtill be made upon the enemy, were the only means to attain that deſirable object, an honourable and laſting peace. They acknowledged with the deepeſt gratitude, that moſt endearing expreſſion of his majeſty's unbounded goodneſs and affection towards his native country, in the ſolemn declaration which he had been pleaſed to make, that, as well in the proſecution of the war as in the concluſion of the peace, no conſideration whatever ſhould induce him to depart from the true intereſts of his kingdoms, and from the honour and dignity of his crown. They gave him to underſtand, that his faithful commons would chearfully grant ſuch ſupplies as the nature and extent of the ſeveral ſervices ſhould be found to require, firmly relying on his majeſty's wiſdom and juſtice, that they would be applied with the ſtricteſt œconomy, and in ſuch a manner as might moſt effectually anſwer the great ends for which they ſhould be granted. They expreſſed their earneſt deſires, that this firſt parliament convened by his authority, might, by their conduct, give his majeſty a happy proof of the zeal, the loyalty, and the affection of his people. They concluded with ſaying, that, ſenſible of the difficult criſis in which they were aſſembled, they were determined to concur, with the greateſt firmneſs and unanimity, in whatever might contribute to the public welfare, might tend to defeat the views and expectations of their enemies, and convince the world, that there were no difficulties which his majeſty's wiſdom and perſeverance, with the aſſiſtance of his parliament, could not ſurmount.

The ſupplies of the year, which amounted to eighteen millions, two hundred twenty nine thouſand, one hundred thirty-five pounds, eighteen ſhillings and eleven-pence halfpenny, were juſt pro-

* They afterwards reſolved, that in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive his majeſty, ſhe ſhould enjoy a proviſion of one hundred thouſand pounds per annum during her life, together with the palace of Somerſet-houſe, and the lodge and lands at Richmond old Park.

vided,

vided, when the public attention was called off to an incident of national importance. The king of Great Britain had directed the earl of Briſtol, his ambaſſador at Madrid, to demand of the Spaniſh miniſtry an explanation of the late treaty concluded between the kings of France and Spain; and particularly to require a categorical declaration with reſpect to the part his catholic majeſty intended to act in the diſputes between the courts of London and Verſailles. His inſtructions imported, that thoſe queſtions ſhould be put with all the delicacy which the nature of ſuch demands could admit, that Spain ſhould have no cauſe to complain that ſhe was treated with want of decorum. The demands were made accordingly, with all imaginable demonſtrations of reſpect; but as the anſwers given appeared evaſive and unſatisfactory, he became more peremptory in his remonſtrances; and at length plainly declared, that if the court of Spain ſhould refuſe a poſitive explanation whether the catholic king intended to ally himſelf with France againſt England, he ſhould interpret the refuſal into an aggreſſion and declaration of war, and, in conſequence, be obliged to retire from the court of Madrid. The Spaniſh monarch had already taken his meaſures in concert with the court of Verſailles, and waited only for an opportunity to provoke Great-Britain into an immediate rupture. In anſwer therefore to this declaration, Mr. Wall, the Spaniſh Miniſter, replied, that ſuch a ſtep could only be ſuggeſted by the ſpirit of haughtineſs and of diſcord, which, for the misfortune of mankind, ſtill reigned but too much in the Britiſh government; that it was in that very moment the war was declared, and the king's dignity violently attacked; and the earl might retire how and when he ſhould think proper. Nothing could be more idle and frivolous than this pretence for taking umbrage. Had the Engliſh Miniſter failed in point of punctilio, and made an abrupt demand, unauthorized by the law of nations, the court of Madrid might have reſented his perſonal behaviour, and complained of it by their ambaſſador at London; but, even in that caſe, the affront would have been, by all the reaſonable part of mankind, deemed too inconſiderable a cauſe for involving the two nations in the horrors and miſery of war: yet even this plea was wanting. The Earl of Briſtol proceeded with delicacy and caution, and did not inſiſt upon a categorical anſwer until every milder method had been tried without ſucceſs. The moſt extraordinary circumſtance attending this rupture was the purport of a paper delivered to the earl of Egremont, who had ſucceeded Mr. Pitt as ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department, by the count de Fuentes, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at the court of London. It ſeems to have been calculated for ſowing jealouſies and fomenting diviſions among the ſubjects of Great-Britain, and may be termed, "His catholic majeſty's declaration of war againſt the perſon of Mr. Pitt, late ſecretary of ſtate, and miniſter to the king of Great-Britain."

No meaſures were now to be kept with Spain. The earl of Briſtol was recalled: the count de Fuentes retired from England. His Britannic Majeſty granted a commiſſion, impowering the admiralty to iſſue letters of marque, and commiſſions for privateers to act againſt the ſubjects of Spain. War was declared in form on the fourth day of January; and on the nineteenth the king communicated it in a ſpeech to both houſes of parliament. He ſaid he had ſo often aſſured them of his ſincere diſpoſition to put an end to the calamities of war, and to reſtore the public tranquility on ſolid and laſting foundations, that no impartial perſon, either at home or abroad, could ſuſpect him of unneceſſarily kindling a new war in Europe. He acquainted them, that, ſince their receſs, he had found himſelf indiſpenſably obliged to declare war againſt Spain, for the cauſes ſpecified in his public declaration. He obſerved, that his own conduct, ſince his acceſſion to the throne, as well as that of the late king his grandfather, towards Spain, had been ſo full of good will and friendſhip, ſo averſe to the laying hold of ſeveral juſt grounds of complaint, which might have been alledged, and ſo attentive to the advantages of the catholick king and his family, that it was matter of the greateſt ſurprize to find that engagements had, in this conjuncture, been entered into between that crown and France; and a treaty made to unite all the branches of the houſe of Bourbon in the moſt ambitious and dangerous deſigns againſt the commerce and independency of the reſt of Europe, and particularly of theſe kingdoms. He expreſſed his reliance on the divine bleſſing on the juſtice of his cauſe, on the zealous and powerful aſſiſtance of his faithful ſubjects, and the concurrence of his allies, who muſt find themſelves involved in the pernicious and extenſive projects of his enemies. He left theſe conſiderations with his parliament, full of the juſteſt confidence, that the honour of his crown, and the intereſts of his kingdoms, were ſafe in their hands.

This ſpeech being taken into conſideration, each houſe apart preſented an addreſs, containing aſſurances of conſtant ſupport, conveyed in the moſt endearing expreſſions.

Here I muſt interrupt the narrative of parliamentary proceedings, to take notice of the reduction of the iſland of Martinique, which happened during this period.

The late miniſter had determined to employ a very conſiderable part of the force of the nation againſt the French colonies in the Weſt-Indies, and a ſtrong ſquadron was accordingly equipped. This armament ſailed from Spithead in the month of October in the preceding year, having under their convoy a number of tranſports, with four battalions from Belleiſle, to join at Barbadoes a ſtrong body of forces from North America, together with ſome regiments and volunteers from Guadalupe and the Leeward iſlands, and proceed in concert with the fleet already on that ſtation, and make a conqueſt of Martinique, which, ſince the attempt of general Hopſon, had been ſtrengthened with new fortifications, and a ſtrong body of troops. The militia were well regulated, commanded by experienced officers, and the iſland had plenty of proviſions, artillery and ammunition.

It may be neceſſary to inform the reader, that Martinique is the largeſt of all the Caribbee iſlands, ſituated between the fourteenth and fifteenth degrees of north latitude, about the middle between Barbadoes and Guadaloupe, to the windward of Antigua and St. Chriſtopher's. It extends twenty leagues in length, and may be about one hundred and

and thirty miles in circumference; indented by a great number of creeks and harbours, diverſified with hill and dale, ſhaded with woods, watered by many ſtreams; in climate ſultry, in ſoil fertile, producing a very conſiderable quantity of ſugar, indigo, coffee, cotton, ginger, aloes, and pimento. Here the governor-general of all the French iſlands in this part of the world reſides; and here is eſtabliſhed the ſovereign council, whoſe juriſdiction extends over all the French Antilles, and even to the ſettlements of that crown in the iſlands of St. Domingo and Tortuga. In a word, Martinique is the moſt populous and flouriſhing of all the colonies which the French nation poſſeſs in the Weſt-Indies. Its towns and harbours were ſtrongly fortified: the country itſelf is almoſt inacceſſible on account of woods, paſſes, rivers, rocks, and ravines; and was defended by a body of regular troops, reinforced by a diſciplined militia, ſaid to conſiſt of ten thouſand white natives; and to theſe might be added four times that number of negroes, whom they could arm in caſes of neceſſity. The reduction of this iſland was an object of the greateſt conſequence to Great-Britain, not only on account of its intrinſic worth, and the detriment which the loſs of it muſt occaſion to the enemy, but likewiſe for the ſecurity of the Engliſh iſlands, amongſt which it is ſituated, and of the Britiſh trading ſhips, which were conſtantly moleſted by the privateers of Martinico.

The armament from North America and England under the command of major-general Monckton and rear-admiral Rodney, amounting to eighteen battalions, and as many ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, bombs, and fire-ſhips, having rendezvouſed at Barbadoes in the month of December, proceeded from thence on the fifth day of January; and on the eighth the fleet and tranſports anchored in St. Ann's Bay, in the eaſtern part of Martinique, after the ſhips of war had ſilenced ſome batteries, which the enemy had erected on that part of the coaſt. In the courſe of this ſervice, the Raiſonable, a ſhip of the line, was, by the ignorance of the pilot, run upon a reef of rocks, from whence ſhe could not be diſengaged, though the men were ſaved, together with her ſtores and artillery.

The general, however, judging this an improper place for a diſembarkation, two brigades, commanded by the brigadiers Haviland and Grant, were detached under convoy to the bay of Petite-Anſe, where a battery was cannonaded and taken by the ſeamen and marines. Theſe brigades were ſoon followed by the whole army, and the reſt of the ſquadron; and other batteries being ſilenced, general Monckton and the forces landed without further oppoſition on the ſixteenth, in the neighbourhood of the Cas des Navires. The brigadiers Haviland and Grant had made a deſcent in the other place, and marched to the ground oppoſite to Pidgeon-iſland, which commands the harbour of Fort-Royal; but the road being found impaſſable for artillery, Mr. Monckton altered his firſt deſign. The two brigades, however, with the light infantry under lieutenant-colonel Scot, while they remained on ſhore, were attacked in the night by a body of grenadiers, freebooters, negroes, and Mulattoes, who had been tranſported from Fort-Royal; but they met with ſuch a warm reception, as compelled them to retreat with precipitation, after having loſt a great number of men.

The troops being landed at Cas des Navires, and reinforced with two battalions of marines, which were ſent from the ſquadron, the general determined to beſiege the town of Fort-royal; but, in order to make his approaches, he found it neceſſary to attack the heights of Garnier and Tortueſon, which the enemy had fortified, and ſeemed reſolved to defend to the laſt extremity. The Engliſh commander, having raiſed a battery to protect the paſſage of a ravine which ſeparated him from thoſe heights, made a diſpoſition for the attack, which was put in execution on the twenty-fourth day of January. In the dawn of the morning, brigadier Grant, at the head of the grenadiers, ſuſtained by lord Rollo's brigade, attacked the advanced poſts of the enemy, under a briſk fire of the batteries; while brigadier Rufane, with his brigade, reinforced by the marines, marched up on the right to attack the redoubts that were raiſed along the ſhore; and the light infantry under colonel Scot, ſupported by the brigade of Walſh, advanced on the left of a plantation, in order, if poſſible, to turn the enemy.

They ſucceeded in their attempt, while the grenadiers were employed in driving the French from one poſt to another; and this motion contributed in a great meaſure to the ſucceſs of the day. By nine in the morning they were in poſſeſſion of the Morne Tortueſon, and all the redoubts and batteries with which it was fortified. The enemy retired in confuſion to the town of Fort Royal, and to the Morne Garnier, which being more high and inacceſſible than the other, was deemed impregnable. During the conteſt for the poſſeſſion of Tortueſon, brigadier Haviland, at the head of his brigade, with two battalions of highlanders, and another corps of light infantry, under major Leland, was ordered to paſs the ravine a good way to the left, and turn a body of the enemy poſted on the oppoſite heights, in hope of being able to divide their forces; but the country was ſo difficult of acceſs, that it was late before this paſſage was effected. In the mean time, the general, perceiving the enemy giving way on all ſides, ordered colonel Scot's light infantry, with Walſh's brigade, and a diviſion of the grenadiers, to advance on the left to a plantation, from whence they drove the enemy, and where they took poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt oppoſite to the Morne Garnier. They were ſuſtained, on the right, by Haviland's corps, when they paſſed the ravine; and the road between the two plantations, which they occupied, was covered by the marines.

Next day the Engliſh began to erect batteries againſt the citadel of Fort-Royal: but were greatly harraſſed from Morne Garnier. On the twenty-ſeventh, about four in the afternoon, the enemy made a furious attack, with the greateſt part of their forces, on the poſts defended by the light infantry and brigadier Haviland; but met with ſo warm a reception, that they ſoon retired in diſorder. Such was the ardour of the Engliſh troops, that they paſſed the ravine with the fugitives, ſeized their batteries, and took poſſeſſion of the ground, being ſuſtained by the brigade of Walſh, and the grenadiers under Grant, who marched up to their aſſiſtance when the attack began. Major Leland,

with his light infantry, finding no reſiſtance on the left, advanced to the redoubt which was abandoned; and the brigadiers Walſh, Grant, and Haviland, moved up in order to ſupport him; ſo that by nine at night the Britiſh troops were in poſſeſſion of this very ſtrong poſt, that commanded the citadel, againſt which their own artillery was turned in the morning.

The French regular troops had fled into the town, and the militia diſperſed in the country. The governor of the citadel, perceiving the Engliſh employed in erecting batteries on the different heights by which it was commanded, ordered the chamade to be bear, and ſurrendered by capitulation. On the fourth of February the gate of the citadel was delivered up to the Engliſh; and next morning the garriſon, to the number of eight hundred, marched out with the honours of war. Immediately after the reduction of Fort Royal, deputations were ſent from different quarters of the iſland, requeſting a capitulation: but the governor-general, M. de la Touche, retired with his forces to St. Pierre, which he propoſed to defend to the laſt extremity. On the ſeventh, Pidgeon iſland, which was ſtrongly fortified, and eſteemed one of the beſt defences of the harbour, ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons, and was favoured with a capitulation ſimilar to that of the citadel. It was agreed, that the troops of the French king ſhould be conveyed to Rochfort in France; that the militia ſhould lay down their arms, and remain priſoners of war, until the fate of the iſland ſhould be determined. This conqueſt was atchieved at the ſmall expence of about four hundred men, including a few officers, killed and wounded in the different attacks; but the loſs of the enemy was much more conſiderable. The moſt remarkable circumſtance of this enterprize was the ſurpriſing boldneſs and alacrity of the ſeamen, who, by force of arm, drew a number of heavy mortars and ſhips cannon up the ſteepeſt mountains to a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea, and acroſs the enemy's line of fire, to which they expoſed themſelves with undaunted reſolution. Fourteen French privateers were found in the harbour of Port Royal; and a much greater number, from other parts in the iſland, were delivered up to admiral Rodney, in conſequence of the capitulation with the inhabitants, who, in all other reſpects, were very favourably treated.

Juſt as general Monckton was going to ſet out for the reduction of St. Pierre, a very large and populous town, ſituated to the leeward of Fort-Royal, two deputies arrived with propoſals of capitulation for the whole iſland on the part of M. de la Touche, the governor-general. On the fourteenth the terms were ſettled, and the capitulation ſigned: on the ſixteenth the Engliſh commander took poſſeſſion of St. Pierre, and all the poſts in that neighbourhood; while the governor-general, with Mr. Rouille, the lieutenant-governor, the ſtaff officers, and about three hundred and twenty grenadiers, were put on board ſome tranſports, to be carried to France. That ſuch an important conqueſt ſhould be atchieved almoſt without bloodſhed, was in a great meaſure owing to the favourable capitulation which the iſland of Guadaloupe had obtained, and the good faith with which the articles of that capitulation had been obſerved by the conquerors. Indeed the inhabitants of Martinico, who were indulged with nearly the ſame terms, muſt have found themſelves conſiderable gainers by their change of ſovereign; inaſmuch as, together with the enjoyment of their own religion, laws, and property, they had now an opportunity of exporting their produce to advantage, and of being ſupplied with all neceſſaries from the dominions of Great Britain; whereas, before they fell under the Engliſh government, their commerce was almoſt entirely interrupted, and they were obliged to depend even for ſubſiſtence on the moſt precarious methods of ſupply. By the reduction of Martinico, the iſland of Antigua, St. Chriſtopher's, and Nevis, together with the ſhips trading to theſe colonies, were perfectly ſecured againſt the depredations of the enemy; and Great-Britain acquired an annual addition in commerce, at leaſt to the amount of one million ſterling.

The ſurrender of Martinique naturally drew on the ſurrender of all the dependent iſlands. Granada, a fertile iſland, and poſſeſſed of ſome good harbours, was given up without oppoſition. St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, the right to which had ſo long been objects of contention between the two nations, followed its example. The Engliſh were now the ſole and undiſturbed poſſeſſors of all the Caribbees, and held that chain of innumerable iſlands which forms an immenſe bow, extending from the eaſtern point of Hiſpaniola almoſt to the continent of South America. And though ſome of theſe iſlands are barren, none of them very large, and not many of them well inhabited, they boaſt of more trade than falls to the lot of many reſpectable kingdoms.

Before we proceed any further in relating the tranſactions of the preſent campaign, it may not be improper to take notice of ſome other particulars which diſtinguiſhed this ſeſſion of parliament.

In the courſe of the foregoing year it had been found neceſſary to lay an additional duty of three ſhillings on every barrel of beer; and as this did not immediately take place, it made little impreſſion on the minds of the people: but now that the brewers began to raiſe the price of their liquor, and the publicans in conſequence reſolved to demand one halfpenny extraordinary on every quart of ſtrong beer, the cities of London and Weſtminſter were filled with tumult. The populace denounced vengeance againſt the brewers for exacting a higher price than uſual from the victuallers; and even threatened to pull down the houſes of thoſe publicans who ſhould charge the additional halfpenny on their beer. Under the apprehenſion of theſe dangers, they petitioned the houſe of commons for ſecurity and relief: and a new law was made in their favour. It enacted, that no brewer or retailer of ſtrong beer or ale ſhould be liable to be ſued, impleaded, or moleſted, by indictment, information, popular action, or otherwiſe, for advancing the price; and that, on the other hand, they ſhould not be allowed to mix it, on any pretence whatſoever, after the gauge of it ſhould be taken by an officer of the exciſe.

Another act was paſſed to explain, amend, and reduce into one act, the ſeveral laws relating to the militia, which had been found hitherto ineffectual. By this regulation perſons liable to ſerve in the militia, may be choſen by ballot, as before; or otherwiſe the pariſh officers, with the conſent of the inhabitants, may provide volunteers, to be approved

of

of by two deputy-lieutenants and one juſtice of the peace; and whatever expence they incur, by providing ſuch volunteers, they are impowered to reimburſe themſelves by a rate on the pariſh, to be made in proportion to that for the relief of their poor, and the overplus, if any, to go in aid to the poors rate. It is further decreed, that pariſh officers ſhall pay to every perſon choſen by lot, and ſworn in, or ſubſtitute, ſuch ſum of money, not exceeding five pounds, as any two deputy-lieutenants and a juſtice of the peace ſhall adjudge to be one half of the current price then paid for a volunteer in the county where ſuch perſon ſhall be choſen. It is likewiſe ordained, that no perſon under the age of eighteen, or above forty-five, articled clerk, apprentice, or poor man with three children born in wedlock, ſhall be compelled to ſerve: and that every perſon, who ſhall contract or agree with any other liable to ſerve, to inſure him from ſerving in the militia, by providing a ſubſtitute, or paying the penalty of ten pounds, ſhall, for ſo doing, be fined in the ſum of one hundred pounds, one half to the proſecutor, the other to the poor of the pariſh. This act was to take place from the time of its being paſſed, and is to continue in force for the ſpace of ſeven years, and from thence to the end of the next ſeſſion of parliament, and no longer. And nothing in the ſaid act is to be conſtrued to extend to the preventing perſons of the ſame pariſh, town, or place, from entering into ſubſcriptions among themſelves, for paying jointly for any ſubſtitute or ſubſtitutes, who may be provided for one or more of the ſubſcribers, who may happen to be choſen by lot. By this wiſe and wholeſome alteration in the militia-laws, which obliges, and very juſtly, every man to pay his quota, all pariſhes have it in their power to keep their good and uſeful hands at home, and by a ſmall and equitable tax, to be raiſed only twice in ſeven years, to ſend the idle and diſſolute to ſerve their king and country for three years in the militia.

By a new law for the preſervation of the game, it was decreed, that after the firſt day of June next enſuing, no partridge, pheaſant, heath-fowl, or grouſe, ſhould be killed, taken, or ſold, any year, between the twelfth day of February and firſt of September, for partridges; between the firſt of February and the firſt of October, for pheaſants; between the firſt of January and the twentieth of Auguſt, for heath-fowl, commonly called black game; and between the firſt of December and the twenty-fifth day of July, for the grouſe, commonly called the red game.—The perſon offending againſt this law to forfeit five pounds for every bird, to the proſecutor. A new act paſſed for the better lighting and paving the ſtreets of Weſtminſter, which were neither very ſafe nor commodious. A new law was alſo made for ſecuring the additional ſalaries to the puiſne judges, whom the king had rendered independent, in the courſe of the preceding ſeſſion; and by another bill, an annuity of three thouſand pounds was ſettled and ſecured for the uſe of Arthur Onſlow, Eſq; late ſpeaker of the houſe of commons.

The mutiny bill was paſſed as an annual regulation; and the parliament enacted an explanatory law for a further encouragement to thoſe who ſhould make any progreſs towards the diſcovery of a certain method for finding out the longitude at ſea, that great deſideratum in the art of navigation. Mr. Harriſon, a clock maker of London, had contrived a curious time-piece, which, under the direction of his ſon, was tried in a voyage to the Weſt-Indies, and found to ſucceed in all experiments infinitely beyond any thing which had hitherto been invented on the ſame ſubject. Mr. Irwin, a native of Ireland, had alſo contrived a marine chair, by means of which it was found practicable, in the roughеſt weather at ſea, to take obſervations of the immerſions and emerſions of Jupiter's ſatellites, from which the longitude may be aſcertained. This machine had been found ſucceſsful upon trial; and a board of longitude being now held at the Admiralty, to conſider the merit of theſe improvements, Mr. Harriſon and his ſon were gratified with a reward of fifteen hundred pounds; and five hundred were given to Mr. Irwin.

The public buſineſs being finiſhed, the king repaired to the houſe of lords on the ſecond day of June, and put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he expreſſed the higheſt approbation of the zeal, unanimity and diſpatch, which had ſo ſignally appeared in the courſe of their proceedings. He ſaid, he had informed them at the opening of the ſeſſion, that it had been his earneſt wiſh to reſtore the bleſſings of peace to his people; but that it was his firm reſolution, with their concurrence and ſupport, to carry on the war in the moſt effectual manner, till that deſirable object could be obtained upon equitable and honourable terms: that his ſentiments in both theſe reſpects continued invariably the ſame, and he had the ſatisfaction to find them confirmed by the unanimous voice of his parliament. He obſerved, that the ſignal ſucceſs of his arms, in the conqueſt of Martinique, and the acquiſition of many other valuable ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies, had, under the bleſſing of God, been the happy conſequences of theſe meaſures. He expreſſed his truſt in the divine providence, that they would be attended with ſtill further advantages, until the enemy ſhould be diſpoſed to ſuch terms of accommodation, as the dignity and juſt rights of his crown, and the future ſecurity and commercial intereſts of his ſubjects would permit him to accept. He ſaid, when he conſidered the ample ſupplies which they had ſo unanimouſly granted, he could not but lament the heavy burthens, which the neceſſities of the public ſervice had obliged them to impoſe upon his people: that, from theſe conſiderations, he had endeavoured, in every inſtance, to confine his demands within as narrow bounds, as the difficulties, in which he found himſelf involved, would allow: and that, from the ſame motive, his utmoſt care ſhould be employed in obſerving the moſt exact œconomy, conſiſtent with the ſafety of his kingdom, and the good faith and honour of his crown. He returned them his particular thanks for the proof, which they had given, of their regard to him and his family, in the ample proviſion they had made for the queen; whoſe virtues and affections to this country would, he was confident, be found to deſerve it. He added, he had the fulleſt perſuaſion, that they would continue to diffuſe, in their ſeveral counties, th ſpirit of concord, which they had themſelves ſo ſteadily exerted in parliament: and he aſſured them, that he would, on his part, return their zeal and affection for his perſon and govern-

ment, by a conſtant attention to whatever might contribute to the eaſe of his ſubjects; and that it was his ardent wiſh to found the glories of his reign on the union of his parliaments, and on the welfare and proſperity of his people.

The moſt remarkable tranſaction that diſtinguiſhed this ſeſſion in the parliament of Ireland, was a generous reſolution in favour of their lord-lieutenant the earl of Halifax, whoſe conduct they entirely approved of, and whoſe character they held in the utmoſt veneration. They unanimouſly reſolved on an addreſs to his excellency, deſiring he would repreſent to the king the ſenſe of the houſe, that the appointments of the lord-lieutenant were become inadequate to the dignity of that office; and that it was the humble deſire of the houſe, that his majeſty would be pleaſed to grant ſuch augmentation to the lord lieutenant for the time being, as ſhould raiſe the whole to the annual ſum of ſixteen thouſand pounds. At the ſame time they expreſſed their ſatisfaction at the pleaſing hope that this augmentation ſhould take place during the adminiſtration of a chief governor whoſe many great and amiable qualities, whoſe wiſe and happy adminiſtration in the government of that kingdom, had univerſally endeared him to the people of Ireland. The earl received this glorious teſtimony of their approbation with all ſuitable acknowledgments; but, with a delicacy peculiar to himſelf, declined their propoſal that the augmentation ſhould take place during his government.

The peace of that kingdom had been for ſome time diſturbed by a ſet of licentious people, who aſſembled in the night in arms, and committed many outrages in different parts of the kingdom. They were indiſcriminately known by the name of White Boys and Levellers, becauſe they wore linen ſhirts over their cloaths, the better to diſtinguiſh each other in the dark; and levelled all the incloſures which had encroached upon commons. This, indeed, was the principal grievance of which they complained. They looked upon every diminution of a common as an injury to the poor, who had uſed to enjoy the benefit of that common. They therefore not only deſtroyed the fences which had lately been made, but alſo robbed and maltreated the authors and proprietors of thoſe encroachments. They even made head againſt ſome parties of regular troops, and ſome few lives were loſt. A report began to prevail that thoſe were no other than malcontents taking meaſures againſt the eſtabliſhed government: that they were already increaſed to a formidable number, well armed and diſciplined by officers, who had come for that purpoſe from France and other foreign countries. Theſe ſurmiſes, however, were afterwards found to have been abſolutely groundleſs, and all thoſe petty inſurrections were quelled by the vigilance and wiſe conduct of the lord-lieutenant, who, nevertheleſs, was obliged to make ſome examples of juſtice, in order to prevent ſuch diſturbances for the future.

If England was free from theſe domeſtic inſurrections, yet her internal tranquillity was diſturbed by the furious diſputes which prevailed among the miniſtry. The whole council had been almoſt unanimous to oppoſe Mr. Pitt in his ſcheme for precipitating a declaration of war againſt Spain. They thought his principles were too violent, and they did not perfectly like his perſon. When he retired from public buſineſs, it ſeemed as if they breathed more freely, and had got rid of a burthen that oppreſſed them. But he was not long removed, when it appeared, that the remaining part of the ſyſtem was framed upon principles ſo very diſcordant in themſelves, that it was by no means likely to ſtand.

The D. of N——, firſt lord of the treaſury, by his early zeal in favour of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, by the liberal and public uſe he had made of a great fortune, by the obligations, which, in a courſe of many years, and in a ſucceſſion of great employments, he was enabled to confer on ſome of the moſt conſiderable people in the kingdom, had attached a great number to his fortunes, and formed a party in the parliament and the nation, which it was extremely difficult to overturn, or even to ſhake. He came to be conſidered as the head of the Whigs, and he was, in reality, well qualified, in many reſpects, for the chief of a party, by his unbounded liberality, by his affability, magnificence, and perſonal diſintereſtedneſs. Even the defects and faults, which might have appeared in his character, were rather of ſervice to him, as they tended to ſoften reſentments, and helped to give that great power, of which he was poſſeſſed, an appearance leſs formidable.

During a great part of the late king's reign, his family had directed all affairs without controul. On the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty, his ſituation ſeemed more doubtful; but, in a little time, he appeared outwardly as well eſtabliſhed as ever, not only in his former high employments, but in that ſhare of influence which is ſuppoſed to attend it. There was, however, very little reality in this ſpecious appearance; for he did not poſſeſs the r—— confidence, upon which all the eſſential of power depends. Neither his age, nor his ſituation in the former reign, had allowed him an opportunity of cultivating an intereſt with the preſent k——. Another noble perſon had been in an employment near his perſon; and having formed his mind with much attention and ſucceſs to thoſe virtues which adorn his ſtation, deſerved and obtained a very uncommon ſhare of his confidence.

This nobleman was firſt groom of the ſtole; afterwards engaging more openly in the conduct of affairs, he accepted the ſeals as ſecretary of ſtate. On the removal of Mr. P—, who preſerved a kind of union in the adminiſtration by their common dread of him, the only competition was between the D. of N—— and the E. of B—. The former could not well endure that decay of influence, which, on a thouſand occaſions, he muſt have ſenſibly felt, and which the great rank he held muſt have rendered only more painful. L. B—, on the other hand, could not bear to ſee the treaſury board, which, under whatever limitations, was attended with ſo much power, in the hands of his rival. It is indeed a department, the entire conduct of which is abſolutely neceſſary to the perſon, who has any pretenſions to be at the head of the Britiſh adminiſtration.

Theſe principles ſoon produced their natural effect. In a ſhort time the D. of N— thought himſelf obliged to reſign, and L. B— was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury. Mr. George Grenville, brother to earl Temple, became ſecretary of ſtate in the room of his lordſhip; and the place of firſt com-

miſſioner of the admiralty being vacated by the death of lord Anſon, that office was beſtowed upon the earl of Halifax, now returned from Ireland. No one was ſurpriſed at the ferment occaſioned by theſe alterations; in which perſonal reſentment, party violence, and national or rather local prejudices, were all united, to throw every thing into confuſion.

In this ſtate of parties, a number of thoſe called Whigs, who had loſt their places, being highly irritated at the late changes, and even many of thoſe, who ſtill continued in employments, being ſuppoſed attached to the intereſt of the D. of N—, and therefore not to be depended on by the new adminiſtration, it became neceſſary to have recourſe to thoſe called Tories, or country gentlemen.

From the beginning of this reign, it had been propoſed, with the general applauſe of all good men, to aboliſh thoſe odious party diſtinctions, and to extend the royal favour and protection equally to all his majeſty's ſubjects. The perſons called Tories had, beſides, been before active in ſupport of thoſe gentlemen, who now clamoured at the very meaſures, which they had themſelves, more than once, adopted. Occaſion, however, was taken from thence to endeavour at the revival of this almoſt exploded diſtinction. The two parties were inflamed againſt each other with the moſt violent animoſity; and this was artfully blown up into a general combuſtion by every art and inſtrument of falſehood, which had ever proved effectual upon ſimilar occaſions.

Whilſt the nation was thus diſtracted, the conduct of a war became difficult; its continuance unſafe; and its ſupplies uncertain. If the adminiſtration failed, their failure would be conſtrued into incapacity: if they ſucceeded, their ſucceſs would be converted into an argument for ſuch terms of peace, as it would be impoſſible for them to procure. Above all, the ancient and known connection between the chiefs of the moneyed intereſt and the principal perſons in the oppoſition, muſt have been a ſubject of great anxiety to the adminiſtration.

Theſe cauſes co-operated to render the intentions of the Britiſh miniſtry towards peace altogether cordial and ſincere: nevertheleſs, far from relapſing in their warlike operations, they proſecuted them with redoubled vigour, that the enemy might be the ſooner reduced to the neceſſity of propoſing equitable terms of accommodation. His majeſty had already ſignified to the king of Pruſſia, that he would not renew the annual treaty, in conſequence of which a very large ſubſidy had been granted to that prince; but, at the ſame time, gave him to underſtand that he ſhould for the enſuing campaign, be ſtill accommodated with pecuniary aſſiſtance; which was refuſed on any other condition than a renewal of the treaty. With regard to the Britiſh army in Weſtphalia, he gave orders that it ſhould be ſupplied with all neceſſaries, and augmented to the number of one hundred thouſand effective men. The French were already diſpoſſeſſed of all their ſettlements in North America, except that of Louiſiana, which was not conſidered as a very important object. It was determined therefore to tranſfer the ſeat of war from that continent; to attack the French iſlands the conqueſt of which I have already deſcribed; and to make a vigorous impreſſion upon Spain, not only by attempting the reduction of the Havanna, which may be regarded as the key of the bay of Mexico; but alſo by making a deſcent on the iſland of Manilla, in the Eaſt-Indies, a country in which the French had now nothing left to be conquered.

The firſt of theſe expeditions was committed to the care of the earl of Albemarle, commander of the land forces, recommended for this ſervice by the duke of Cumberland, under whoſe auſpices he had been trained up to arms; and the ſhips of war appointed to co-operate in the attack, were commanded by Admiral Sir George Pococke, who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his gallantry in the Eaſt-Indies; his ſecond was Mr. Keppel, brother to the earl, an able officer, who had reduced the iſle of Goree, on the coaſt of Africa. They ſailed from Portſmouth in the beginning of March; and arrived at the place of their deſtination without any conſiderable obſtruction. Their proceedings ſhall be particularly related in their proper place. The expedition againſt Manilla was conducted by rear-admiral Corniſh. He had ſometime before ſailed with an intention to reduce the French iſland of Bourbon or Mauritius. He was to have been joined by a reinforcement of ſhips from England, which, however, did not arrive at the place of rendezvous; and the greater part of his men being diſabled by diſtempers, he was obliged to poſtpone the undertaking, which thus miſcarried: I ſhall in due time give an account of the other, which proved more ſucceſsful.

For the ſecurity of the Britiſh coaſt, and in order to anſwer the emergencies of war, a powerful ſquadron was kept in readineſs at Spithead, under the direction of Sir Edward Hawke; another rode at anchor in the Downs, under the command of rear-admiral Moore; and from theſe two were occaſionally detached into the Channel, and all round the coaſts of the iſland, a number of light cruiſers, which exerted themſelves with ſuch vigilance and activity, that not a ſhip could ſtir from any of the French ſea-ports, without running the moſt imminent riſque of being taken; and ſcarce a day paſſed without ſeeing ſome privateer of the enemy, either French or Spaniſh, brought into the harbours of Great-Britain. Some large ſhips of war were ſtationed in the bay of Baſque, to watch the coaſt of Brittany, and in particular to have an eye upon Breſt, where ſome of the enemy's ſhips of war lay at anchor.

Sir Charles Saunders was reinforced in ſuch a manner as enabled him to maintain his ſuperiority in the Mediterranean, and either to prevent a junction of the French and Spaniſh fleets, or, if that ſhould be found impoſſible, to give them battle when joined. Lord Colville continued with his ſquadron at Halifax in Nova-Scotia, in order to protect the coaſt of North America, and the new conqueſt in the gulph and river of St. Laurence. Sir James Douglas ſtill commanded the ſhips of war appointed for the defence of the Leeward iſlands; and captain Foreſt, ſince the death of admiral Holmes, directed the ſmall ſquadron at Jamaica. Such was the general diſpoſition for the offenſive as well as the defenſive meaſures of the

campaign, and, indeed, it muſt be owned, in juſtice to the miniſtry, that it was planned with ſagacity, and proſecuted with vigour.

I ſhall, as uſual, begin my narrative of military tranſactions with deſcribing the progreſs of the war on the continent of Europe.

The Bourbon alliance, it was ſtrongly ſuſpected, would ſoon be productive of ſome fatal conſequences to the reſt of Europe. It was not, however, altogether certain, where the ſtorm that was gathering would firſt fall. There were ſome apprehenſions for the peace of Italy; Holland had not a few cauſes of dread; and menaces were even uſed in that quarter. But Portugal ſeemed to be the moſt endangered, on account of her cloſe and natural connection with Great-Britain, her internal weakneſs, the ancient claims of the Catholic king, and the opportunity of invaſion; that kingdom being on all ſides, except to the ſea, in a manner incloſed by Spain.

Public conjecture was not miſtaken in fixing upon Portugal. No mention was made, indeed, of the Spaniſh pretenſions to that crown; but a reſolution was taken to oblige her not only to renounce all friendſhip, but to violate her neutrality with Great-Britain. No ſcheme was ever projected with leſs appearance of juſtice; no propoſition was ever made with more arrogance and preſumption to an independent ſovereign; and no enterprize ſeemed, according to every human appearance, ſo certain of ſucceſs.

The kingdom of Portugal, on the recovery of her liberty, which happened in the year 1640, found herſelf ſtripped of the greateſt part of thoſe acquiſitions, in both Indies, which had been the principal ſources of her wealth, and the great monuments of the capacity of her former kings and commanders. During the interval of her ſubjection, new commercial powers had riſen, ſome on the ruins of her fortune, and others upon different but not leſs ſubſtantial foundations. Though the Brazils were recovered, and Goa, and ſome other places in India, ſtill remained to Portugal, her maritime power, and the ſhare of trade, on which it depended, was altogether irrecoverable. Contrary to the fate of other nations, who have ſhaken off a foreign yoke, ſhe did not owe her liberty to the exertion of any great abilities. Whilſt the United Provinces were firſt freed, and afterwards aggrandized, by the capacity of the princes of Orange; and whilſt Pruſſia, from an inconſiderable and dependent principality, grew, by the genius of her ſovereigns, into a formidable monarchy, Portugal continued to languiſh in a ſtate of mediocrity. Without any ſymptoms of danger to her exiſtence, ſhe ſuffered a gradual decay of her power and former influence. The principles of her government were narrow and bigotted, and the whole ſyſtem of her commerce prepoſterous. If, on the one hand, a long peace added to the reſources of her revenue, it, on the other, abſolutely annihilated the ſpirit of her militia; and no country in the world had an army ſo incomplete in numbers, ſo ill furniſhed with arms, ſo deficient in diſcipline, and ſo wholly unprovided of able and experienced officers.

In this condition ſhe ſuffered a fatal blow from the earthquake in 1756. The wealthy and flouriſhing city of Liſbon was laid level with the ground: near thirty thouſand of the inhabitants were buried in the ruins; and thoſe who remained, with the court itſelf, were reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs and miſery. As if this earthquake, which had overturned their capital, had alſo ſhaken and diſtracted the frame of their government, and the temper of their minds, the moſt dreadful diſtempers broke out in the ſtate. A ſeries of horrid crimes, and of cruel puniſhments, ſucceeded to this calamity. The moſt noble and wealthy family of Portugal, having engaged itſelf in a ſacrilegious attempt on the life of their ſovereign, was cut off at once with very little diſtinction of ſex or age, by a bloody and dreadful exertion of juſtice. Many others, who were accuſed or ſuſpected, ſuffered death, or exile, or impriſonment. Among theſe, and from the ſame cauſes, one of the moſt conſiderable religious orders for wealth, influence, and policy, was ſtripped of its poſſeſſions, and entirely driven out of the country.

Theſe and the like circumſtances had thrown this unhappy kingdom into a ſtate of the moſt dangerous and dreadful confuſion. All thoſe, and they were not a few, who were attached, by connection of blood or intereſt, to the nobles that had ſuffered, or, by religious prejudice, to the jeſuits, who had been expelled, could never be cordially relied upon by the crown, and were probably but little willing to make any very vigorous efforts in favour of a government, which their reſentments muſt have repreſented to them as no better than a bloody tyranny. The Bourbon confederates had ſome ground to ſuppoſe, that Portugal, in this ſituation, would not have courage to withſtand their menaces, and much leſs ability, for any long time, to reſiſt their efforts. The Spaniſh army overſpread the frontiers of Portugal; the commerce of corn between the two kingdoms was prohibited, and every thing ſeemed to threaten a ſudden invaſion.

In the midſt of theſe hoſtile preparations the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors at the court of Lisbon preſented to the Portugueſe miniſtry a joint memorial, importing, that the two ſovereigns of France and Spain, being obliged to ſupport a war againſt the Engliſh, had found it proper and neceſſary to eſtabliſh ſeveral mutual and reciprocal obligations between them, and to take other indiſpenſable meaſures to curb the pride of the Britiſh nation, which, by an ambitious project, to become deſpotic over the ſea, and conſequently over all maritime commerce, pretended to keep dependent the poſſeſſions of other powers in the new world, in order to introduce themſelves there, either by an underhand uſurpation, or by conqueſt: that the firſt meaſure which the kings of France and Spain had agreed on, was to have the moſt Faithful king in their offenſive and defenſive alliance, and to deſire him to join their majeſties forthwith: that they expected, that the moſt Faithful king would acquieſce therein, conformably to what he owed to himſelf, and to his kingdom, ſince his ſubjects felt, much more than other nations, the yoke which Great-Britain laid upon them, and which ſhe meant to extend over all thoſe, who had poſſeſſions beyond ſea: that it would be unjuſt for France and Spain to ſacrifice themſelves for an object, in which Portugal was ſo much intereſted; and that, inſtead of aſſiſting them, ſhe would make it impoſſible for them

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FRANCE
WESTERN OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
PART OF AFRICA
GALLICIA
ASTURIAS
OLD CASTILE
NEW CASTILE
LEON
NAVARRE
ARRAGON
CATALONIA
VALENCIA
MURCIA
ANDALUSIA
GRANADA
PORTUGAL
ESTRAMADURA
ALENTEJO
ENTRE DOURO E MINHO
TRAS MONTES
BEIRA
ALGARVE
MAJORCA I.
MINORCA I.
IVICA I.
MADRID
LISBON
Str.t of Gibraltar
British Statute Miles
Longitude West from London
Longitude East from London

them to ſucceed, by allowing the Engliſh to enrich themſelves by her commerce, and to enter her ports, not only to make uſe of them as an aſylum, but to be more at hand to hurt the defenders of Portugal: that in this ſpirit, the ambaſſador of Spain, and the miniſter plenipotentiary of France, deſired the moſt Faithful king to declare himſelf united with their Catholic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties in the preſent war againſt the Engliſh, to break off all correſpondence and commerce with that power, as the common enemy of all the three, and even of all maritime nations; to ſend away from his ports, and to ſhut them againſt all their men of war and merchant-ſhips; and to join to the forces of France and Spain, thoſe which the Moſt High had put in his hands, in order to make them equal to thoſe of the enemy: that this declaration was made by the two monarchs of France and Spain, as being agreed and concerted between them; his Catholic majeſty had, in the mean time, inſtructed his ambaſſador to make this reflection to the moſt Faithful king (in order that his magnanimous breaſt might the more eaſily and the more ſpeedily determine, without being ſtopped by other impreſſions, to take the part the moſt conſonant to his advantage and to his glory) that it was the brother of the queen his wife, a true friend, and a moderate and quiet neighbour, who had made this propoſal to him, and who had agreed to it, conſidering the intereſts of the moſt Faithful king as his own, and wiſhing to unite the one with the other, ſo as that, either in peace or in war, Spain and Portugal might be conſidered as belonging to one maſter; and in order to that, if any power ſhould think of making war with Spain, they might not imagine they ſhould find, in his own houſe, ſhelter and ſuccours to attack her, as it happened, with regard to Portugal, in the wars, which king Philip the fifth, his father, and father-in-law of the moſt Faithful king, was obliged to ſupport againſt England: how much more glorious, he aſked, and more uſeful would it be for the moſt Faithful king to have, for his ally, a Catholic king, a near relation, his neighbour in Europe and America, to aſſiſt each other mutually with eaſe, than the Engliſh nation, incapable, by their haughtineſs, of conſidering other ſovereigns with equality, and always deſirous to make them feel the influence of their power? and what occaſion could the moſt Faithful king have for the aſſiſtance of England, when, by an offenſive and defenſive league, he ſhould be united with Spain and France? That theſe conſiderations were ſo ſtrong, that the Catholic king thought there could be no doubt, but that the moſt Faithful king, his brother-in-law, would yield to them, without ſtopping a moment; ſo much the more, as his Catholic majeſty, before making this invitation, and in order to prevent the danger which the maritime places of Portugal might run, when the part taken by his moſt Faithful majeſty ſhould come to the knowledge of the Engliſh, had cauſed his troops to march to the frontiers of Portugal, ſo that, in a very few days, they might garriſon the principal ports of the kingdom, and they would do it, after the anſwer of the moſt Faithful king, which, doubtleſs, would be as ſpeedy, as clear, and as deciſive as the neceſſity, and the poſitive determination of his Catholic majeſty to prevent the deſigns of his enemies, required.

To this extraordinary memorial the two miniſters added, that they were ordered by their courts to demand a categorical anſwer in four days; and that any delay, beyond that period, would be conſidered as a negative.

The ſituation of Portugal was at this time truly deplorable. If contrary to her known intereſts, contrary to her ancient connections, and to the faith of treaties, ſhe ſhould engage in this offenſive alliance, ſhe muſt expect to ſee her territories and her colonies expoſed to the formidable navies of England. This dangerous condeſcenſion however, would not have ſecured her: by her own act, ſhe would have put herſelf, bound hand and foot, into the power of the Bourbon alliance; and having received foreign garriſons into all her places of ſtrength, would have reduced herſelf to the condition of a province of Spain. If, on the other hand, ſhe adhered to her faith, and attempted to maintain her independency, an army of ſixty thouſand men was ready to enter her territories, which contained no place of real ſtrength, and which had not twenty thouſand troops, and thoſe ill armed, and worſe diſciplined, to defend them.

In this emergency, the firmneſs of the king of Portugal was eminent, and ſuch as muſt tranſmit his name to poſterity with the moſt diſtinguiſhed advantage. He reſolved ſteadily to adhere to his ancient and natural alliance, and to brave all dangers and difficulties, that he might preſerve his fidelity inviolable; following that noble maxim of king John of France, that if good faith were to be baniſhed from all other parts of the world, it ought to be found in the breaſt of ſovereigns.

His anſwer to this inſulting propoſition was humble and moderate, but firm. He obſerved, that the ties, which equally united him to Great-Britain, and the two crowns, rendered him as proper a mediator to them all, as they made it improper for him to declare himſelf an enemy to any of them: that his alliance with England was ancient, and therefore could give no offence at this juncture: that it was purely defenſive, and therefore innocent in all its circumſtances: that the late ſufferings of Portugal diſabled her, (in caſe ſhe were willing) from taking part in an offenſive war, into the calamities of which, neither the love his Faithful majeſty bore his ſubjects as a father, nor the duty by which he was bound to them as a king, could ſuffer him to plunge them. Finally, he reminded the Catholic king of his pacific diſpoſitions, by which on former occaſions, he had yielded ſo much to preſerve peace between the two crowns.

This reaſonable and moderate anſwer drew on replies, which more and more diſcloſed the true ſpirit of the Bourbon confederacy. They denied that the alliance with England was purely defenſive or entirely innocent; and for this unheard of reaſon, that the defenſive alliance was converted into an offenſive one, "from the ſituation of the Portugueſe dominions, and from the nature of the Engliſh power." They ſaid, that the Engliſh ſquadrons could not keep the ſea at all ſeaſons, nor cruize on the principal coaſts for cutting off the French and Spaniſh navigation, without the ports and aſſiſtance of Portugal: that theſe iſlanders could not inſult all the maritime powers of Europe, if all the riches of Portugal

did

did not pass into their hands: that therefore Portugal furnished them with the means of making war; and that, of consequence, their alliance with the court of Great-Britain was offensive.

This most certainly is the first time, that ever the situation of a country was given as a reason, however it may have served as a secret motive, for declaring war against it. Nor was it ever before heard, that the common advantages of trade, derived from a neutral nation, could be considered as an act of hostility. These were rather insults than arguments; and the whole proceedings of the Bourbon family were in the same strain. They undertook to judge for Portugal of the pretended yoke which was imposed upon her by England, and which she could not herself discover; to resent some injuries for her, which she had never felt; and to avenge others, for which she had received and accepted satisfaction: and as if this kind of indignity was not sufficient, they insultingly informed the king of Portugal, "that he ought to be glad of the necessity, which they laid upon him, to make use of his reason, in order to take the road of his glory, and the common interest." This necessity was the immediate march of their army to take possession of his dominions.

So extraordinary a treatment could neither divert the king from the firmness of his resolution, nor provoke him to depart from the moderation of his language. He maintained, that the treaties of peace and commerce, which subsisted between Portugal and Great-Britain, were such as the law of God, of nature, and of nations, had always deemed innocent. He intreated their most Christian and Catholic majesties to open their eyes to the crying injustice of pursuing against Portugal, the war kindled against Great-Britain. He desired them to consider, that they were giving an example, which would produce the destruction of mankind; that there would be an end of the public safety, if neutral nations were to be attacked, because they had defensive treaties with the belligerant powers: that a maxim so destructive would occasion the desolation of all Europe, the moment a war was kindled between any two states: that, therefore, if their troops should enter his dominions, he would, in defence of his neutrality, endeavour to repulse them with all his forces, and those of his allies; and he concluded with this magnanimous declaration, "that it would affect him less, though reduced to the last extremity, of which the Great Judge was the sole arbiter, to let the last tile of his palace fall, and to see his faithful subjects spill the last drop of their blood, than to sacrifice, together with the honour of his crown, all that Portugal held most dear; and to submit, by such extraordinary means, to become an unheard of example to all pacific powers, who would no longer be able to enjoy the benefit of neutrality, whenever a war should be kindled between other powers, with which the former were connected by defensive treaties." When this final resolution was thus spiritedly signified, passports were demanded for the ambassadors of the two crowns, who immediately departed, and in the month of June, France and Spain, jointly, declared war against Portugal.

By this time the British succours had arrived in Portugal, to the number of about eight thousand troops, partly drawn from Belleisle, and partly from Ireland, where two regiments of Roman catholics had been raised for this service, and a fine train of artillery was provided, together with large supplies of stores and ammunition. The king of Portugal had bestowed the supreme command of his army upon the count de Lippe Buckebourg, an officer of distinguished abilities, who had directed the artillery of the British army in Westphalia during the whole course of this war. He was accompanied by one of the princes of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, brother to the queen of Great-Britain, who resolved to make this campaign in the Portuguese service. The English auxiliaries were conducted by the lord Tyrawley and the earl of Loudon; lieutenant-general Townshend, who had served with such reputation in America, was the next in command; and the subordinates were lord George Lenox, with the brigadiers Crawford and Burgoyne; the former of these last had been governor of Belleisle, where he was now succeeded by colonel Forrester, an accomplished officer, equally distinguished for his wit, politeness, and humanity; the other commanded a regiment of light horse, which were now numbered among the English troops who served in Portugal. Besides these, several natives of North-Britain, who had learned the art of war in the English or foreign service, were recommended for their merit to his Portuguese majesty, who promoted them to the command of regiments in his army.

Lord Tyrawley, disgusted at the behaviour of the court of Lisbon, and greatly disappointed in his expectations of the exertion they had promised to make of their own force, as well as of the use they had made of the succours from England, desired, in a short time, to be recalled to his own country, and was succeeded, in command, by the earl of Loudon, who, in conjunction with the count de la Lippe, resolved to begin the campaign without further delay.

The Spanish forces had been divided into three separate bodies, with a view to penetrate into Portugal by as many different avenues. The marquis de Sarria, who commanded the bulk of their army, consisting of thirty-six battalions and thirty-five squadrons, passed the rivers Douro and Essa, below Zamora. The body assembled in Galicia amounted to eight battalions of regular troops, six of militia, and two squadrons of horse; and the third in Andalusia amounted to four battalions regular, and the same number of militia, with eight squadrons of cavalry. The design was to form one camp between Villa-real, Braga and Oporto; a second under Abrantes; and a third in the neighbourhood of Elvas; so that their principal objects seemed to be Lisbon and Oporto, the two most important cities and sea ports of Portugal, and the centers of the whole English commerce with that kingdom.

The first attempt of consequence they made was the siege of Miranda, which they invested in the beginning of May; but, before any battery could be erected, the magazine of the place taking fire by accident, and blowing up, made two large breaches in the walls, and about five hundred men of the garrison lost their lives by the explosion.

In consequence of this misfortune, the Portuguese garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war,

war, and the Spaniſh troops took poſſeſſion of the city. From hence the marquis de Sarria ſent a detachment to attack the town of Braganza; but the garriſon retired with precipitation at their approach, and the magiſtrates preſented the keys of the town to the Spaniſh commander. No ſteps had been taken for putting thoſe two places in a proper poſture of defence. In the courſe of the ſame month, colonel Alexander O Reily, being detached by the marquis of Sarria with a body of light armed horſe and infantry, to make an attempt upon Chaves, that officer executed his orders with equal activity and ſucceſs. He marched through bye-roads above fourteen leagues in two days, and ſhewed himſelf all of a ſudden at the gates of the place: but it was already abandoned by the garriſon, though it conſiſted of two thouſand effective men, and the town was well provided with artillery, ammunition, ſtores, and proviſion for a vigorous defence. Theſe, however, were rendered uſeleſs by the ruinous ſtate of the fortifications, which had been long neglected.

After theſe exploits, the Spaniſh forces made an attempt to enter the province of Minho; but finding the paſſes of Monte Allegre defended by ſome regiments of militia, under the command of Don John de Lancaſtro, and Don Franciſco Joſeph Sarmiento; they changed their route, and reſolved to paſs the mountains of Maran and Amarante, that they might advance directly to the city of Oporto: precautions however had been taken to obſtruct their paſſage, and ſome regular troops were ordered to garriſon the city thus menaced. Part of the enemy that remained at Miranda had, in attempting to paſs the river Douro, near Villa nova de Foſcoa, been repulſed by the inhabitants, ſupported by ſome militia, who were now reinforced by a detachment of regular forces, under the command of the marquis de Angeja, and the count de Arcos. On the ſide of Almeida, the enemy, to the number of eight thouſand, paſſed the frontier in the beginning of June, and encamped between Val-de-la-mula, and Val de Coelha, from whence they had detached parties to lay waſte the country. In the province of Tralos-montes, the Spaniſh army was divided into three ſeparate bodies, the principal of which was encamped in the neighbourhood of Miranda, the other at Torre de Moncorvo.

The army of Portugal, when aſſembled, was in no condition to face the enemy in the open field. All that could be done was to harraſs them in their advances through a barren country, rendered almoſt impaſſable by ſteep mountains and narrow paſſes. In ravaging the open country, the Spaniſh detachments committed ſome barbarities upon the peaſants, and theſe were retaliated with intereſt; for an inveterate enmity has for a long time ſubſiſted between the common people of theſe two nations, inflamed by former wars, and maintained by a long courſe of mutual rapine and other offices of bad neighbourhood. That body which had encamped near Val-de la-mula, being conſiderably reinforced from Eſtremadura, and ſupplied with a train of artillery and other implements of ſiege, inveſted Almeyda in the month of July. On the twenty-fifth their trenches were opened, and next day they were joined by the French auxiliaries, to the number of eight thouſand. On the twenty-fifth day of Auguſt the garriſon capitulated, and the Spaniards took poſſeſſion of the place, which made a much better defence than was expected.

The count de la Lippe, from the moment of his arrival in Portugal, took every ſtep which military ſkill and prudence could dictate to form the troops to a regular diſcipline by the example of the Engliſh auxiliaries, who were mingled in due proportions with the different detachments poſted in ſundry parts of the kingdom, ſo as to guard the paſſes of the mountains, harraſs and annoy the enemy in their progreſs, intercept their convoys, and cut off their parties.

He then reſolved to attack Valencia d'Alcantara, on the frontiers of Portugal, where, according to the intelligence he had received, the enemy had eſtabliſhed large magazines of flour and forage. The place was at a conſiderable diſtance, and the deſign required uncommon courage, conduct, and expedition. The execution of this enterprize he committed to brigadier Burgoyne, who, on the twenty-fifth day of July, croſſed the Tagus at midnight, with four hundred of his own dragoons, and put himſelf at the head of all the Britiſh grenadiers, commanded by lord Pulteney, and eleven companies of Portugueſe grenadiers, with two pieces of light artillery, and two howitzers. Having marched through the country to Apallem, on the morning of the twenty-fifth he advanced to Caſtel-Vida, where, arriving late at night, he was joined by ſome infantry, and irregular cavalry, with forty-eight armed peaſants; and here he made his final diſpoſition, in conſequence of the advices he received with regard to the ſituation and the ſtate of the place he was determined to attack. Notwithſtanding all the diſpatch he could make in the night, he found himſelf overtaken by day-light, before he could reach Valencia; ſo that he was obliged to alter the diſpoſition he had made, and advance with the cavalry at full gallop, in hopes of ſurpriſing the place. He accordingly entered the town ſword in hand, diſperſed the guards that were in the great ſquare, and occupied the ends of the ſtreets, having met with little or no reſiſtance. Some deſperate parties attacked the regiment when it was drawn up in the ſquare, but they were all killed or taken. When the grenadiers arrived they ſuſtained ſome loſs by firings from windows, which however ſoon ceaſed, when the brigadier declared that he would ſet fire to the town at the four quarters of it, if they would not deſiſt. A detachment of dragoons being ſent out to ſcour the country, brought in ſome priſoners, with a good number of horſes. A Britiſh ſerjeant and ſix men only, falling in with a ſubaltern of the enemy, at the head of twenty-five dragoons, unbroken and prepared for action, killed ſix, made all the reſt priſoners, and took the horſes of the whole party. Major general Don Michael d'Iruniberri, and Kalanca his aid-de-camp, one colonel with his adjutant, two captains, ſeventeen ſubalterns, fifty-nine ſoldiers, with three pair of colours, a great quantity of arms and ammunition, fell into the hands of the victor, who brought away hoſtages for the care of the wounded, and the payment of the king's revenue for one year, which he exacted as a conſideration for having ſpared the town and convents. Lieutenant colonel Somerville, lord Pulteney, and major

Singleton, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this action, which coſt the Britiſh troops but one lieutenant, one ſerjeant, and three men killed, with ten horſes, and about twenty private men wounded. The information which the count had received about the magazine, was groundleſs; but the Spaniſh major-general d'Iruniberri was to have invaded Alentejo in a few days, with a conſiderable detachment, and when taken was actually employed in reconnoitring the entrance into that province.

The Spaniſh army, now commanded by the Conde de Aranda, having left garriſons in Almeyda and Caſtel Rodrigo, advanced by Alfayates to Caſtel Branco; and this motion conſtrained the count de la Lippe to relinquiſh his ſtrong camp at Ponte de Murcella in the Beira, from whence he marched back into Eſtremadura. On the eighteenth day of September, he arrived at Abrantes; and lord Loudon, with a ſeparate corps, encamped at Sardoel in the neighbourhood. The buſineſs now was to prevent the Spaniards from forcing a paſſage through the mountains in their front, and from croſſing the river Tagus at Villa-velha. For theſe purpoſes the marſhal count de la Lippe ordered the count St. Jago, with four battalions, ſix companies of grenadiers, and a regiment of cavalry, to occupy the ſtrong paſs of Alvito, which had been always deemed impregnable; and brigadier general Burgoyne, with part of his own regiment, the royal volunteers, and the Engliſh grenadiers, encamped on the ſouthern bank of the Tagus, over-againſt Villa-velha, where the great road from Caſtel Branco croſſes the river into Alentejo.

Such was the diſpoſition, when the enemy, on the firſt day of October, made ſeveral movements towards both theſe advanced bodies: they placed ſix thouſand men over-againſt the corps of the count St. Jago, and attacked upon his right the old Mooriſh caſtle of Villa-velha, at the ſame time aſſaulting a poſt upon his left, commanded by a major at the defile of St. Simon. Though brigadier Burgoyne for ſeveral days protected the caſtle of Villa-velha, by his cannon acroſs the river, it was at length reduced, and the poſt of St. Simon taken: the enemy likewiſe made themſelves maſters of the paſſes of the mountains; ſo that the corps commanded by the count St. Jago was in the utmoſt danger of being attacked by ſuperior forces, in front and rear.

In this emergency, the mareſchal ordered lord Loudon to advance and cover the retreat of the count, who had inſtructions to retire. His lordſhip immediately proceeded with great expedition by the ſhorteſt road through the mountains, to Soubrira-formoſa, where he was joined by major Macbean of the artillery, with four regimental field-pieces. The enemy, perceiving their intention to retreat, detached a ſtrong body over the river Alvito, to attack the rear-guard, which was formed of four Engliſh regiments, ſix companies of Portugueſe grenadiers, a few light dragoons, a regiment of Portugueſe cavalry, with the four field-pieces, the whole under his lordſhip's command. The retreat was conducted with ſuch good order and countenance, that not a man was loſt, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the enemy, who, being terribly annoyed by the artillery, thought proper to deſiſt, while the forces of Portugal continued their march unmoleſted towards Cardegas.

The enemy having, by theſe motions, weakened their corps at Villa-velha, brigadier Burgoyne ſeized this favourable opportunity to ſurpriſe them in their quarters. He directed lieutenant-colonel Lee, with a detachment of Britiſh troops, to ford the Tagus in the night, and fall upon the Spaniſh camp. This gallant officer executed the plan with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs, while the brigadier pointed his cannon, and made a falſe attack on the other ſide, to amuſe and diſtract the enemy. The colonel having happily croſſed the ford, and made himſelf maſter of a little village near the mountain of Villa-velha, where the Spaniſh magazines were eſtabliſhed, entered their camp without being perceived, and a conſiderable ſlaughter enſued. The enemy being at length alarmed, began to make a confuſed and irregular defence; but being vigorouſly puſhed by the grenadiers and volunteers, who uſed their bayonets without firing, they found it impoſſible to form, and were obliged to ſubmit. The only part of them that made a regular ſtand was a body of horſe, which lieutenant Maitland, at the head of Burgoyne's dragoons, attacked and routed in a few minntes. Moſt of the Spaniſh officers, including a brigadier-general, were killed in endeavouring to rally their forces. Four cannon were ſpiked up in their camp: their magazines were deſtroyed; ſome priſoners were taken, together with a good number of horſes and mules, and a conſiderable quantity of valuable baggage. The loſs of the Engliſh on this occaſion, amounted only to ten men and horſes.

This advantage being obtained in a critical moment, was attended with important advantages. The ſeaſon was now far advanced; immenſe rains fell at this time; the roads were deſtroyed; the country became impracticable; and the Spaniards, having ſecured no advanced poſts in which they could maintain themſelves during the winter, and being eſpecially unprovided with magazines for the ſupport of their horſe, every where fell back to the frontiers of Spain, where their ſupplies were at hand, and where they were not liable to be harraſſed by the efforts of the combined army.

In this manner Portugal was ſaved, at leaſt for that campaign, by the wiſe conduct of the count de la Lippe, and the diſtinguiſhed valour of the Engliſh commanders and ſoldiery: all that was wanting towards their deliverance was accompliſhed by the ſucceſs of the Engliſh army in more diſtant quarters, and by the peace, in which ſo valuable and expoſed an ally was not neglected. There never was, probably, ſo heavy a ſtorm of national calamity, ready to fall upon an unprovided people, ſo happily averted, or ſo ſpeedily blown over. Every thing, at the beginning of the campaign, bore the moſt lowering and ominous aſpect to the affairs of Great-Britain. As it advanced, the ſky continually cleared up; and the fortune of no nation, towards the cloſe of it, was enlivened with a more brilliant and more unclouded proſperity.

Having thus related, with as much brevity as was conſiſtent with perſpicuity, the military operations in Portugal, I ſhall now take notice of the ſtate of the ſeveral courts of Europe, and then proceed to deſcribe the progreſs of the war in Germany, which ſtill continued to be the principal object of attention.

The States general of the United Provinces ſtill perſiſted in maintaining their neutrality, and in endeavouring to allay the heats occaſioned by the miſunderſtanding between their Eaſt-India company and that of England. Their Eaſt-India factors had publiſhed an account of the mutual hoſtilities which had been committed in the river of Bengal; and this piece, which was artfully calculated to throw the blame of aggreſſion upon the Engliſh, was fully refuted by an anſwer publiſhed at London, under the ſanction of authentic documents. At length the directors of the Dutch company propoſed an accommodation. The propoſal was accepted by the Engliſh directors, and a deputation of merchants from Amſterdam were ſent over to London for this purpoſe, which was happily accompliſhed. The merchants of Holland ſtill murmured at the capture of their ſhips by the Engliſh cruiſers, and, in the courſe of this year, loudly complained that their neutrality was again violated by a Britiſh ſloop, which drove on ſhore and deſtroyed a French privateer on the coaſt of Scheveling: but the ſtates were too wiſe to enter into the reſentments of the people; they knew their merchants had provoked this treatment, by carrying on a contraband commerce ever ſince the beginning of the war, in favour of the enemies of Great-Britain; nor would they allow ſuch a petty inſult as that of the Britiſh cruiſer, to come in competition with the friendſhip of the Britiſh monarch, which, therefore, they continued aſſiduouſly to cultivate.

The domeſtic tranquillity of France was ſtill diſturbed by the diſpute between the parliaments and the Jeſuits. We have already remarked, that the ſociety had been condemned by arrets or decrees of the parliaments of Paris, Normandy, and Bretagne, in conſequence of the doctrines which they taught and promulgated in favour of equivocation and mental reſervation, excuſing regicide, homicide, perjury, profanation, impurity, and irreligion; in ſhort, the breach of every moral duty, upon certain occaſions. The edict iſſued by the king for ſuſpending the execution of the ſentence againſt the Jeſuits, the parliaments refuſed to regiſter. That of Paris publiſhed a new arret in April, containing extracts from the books of the Jeſuits to the amount of a large quarto volume, which was preſented to the king at Verſailles by the firſt preſident, at the head of twenty members. Mean while the Jeſuits, truſting, in all probability, to their great intereſt among the clergy, and their own addreſs, which had ſeldom failed them, ſtill delayed the payment which they had been condemned to make to their creditors; and in conſequence of this delay, the parliament of Paris iſſued a new arret in the courſe of the ſame month, for ſequeſtrating all their effects within their juriſdiction. Nevertheleſs, they ſtill continued to ſell their merchandize for ready money until a guard was placed upon their college in the Ruë St. Jaques; and places were appointed for taking informations concerning their effects. In a word, they were now become ſo unpopular with the nation in general, and the clamour againſt them grew ſo loud, that the king found it neceſſary to give them up to juſtice. All their colleges were ſeized; all their effects confiſcated; and, with reſpect to France, the order itſelf was annihilated.

As the navy of France had, for ſome time, been almoſt totally annihilated, ſeveral communities of that kingdom engaged to build ſhips of war for the king's ſervice; and large ſums were ſubſcribed by individuals for the purpoſe. After the concluſion of the laſt campaign, the court of Verſailles became the ſcene of intrigues, between the prince of Soubiſe and the mareſchal duke de Broglio, who accuſed each other, and, in all appearance, were both equally guilty, of having retarded and impeded the operations of the laſt campaign, by their mutual jealouſies and animoſity. In this civil conteſt, the prince de Soubiſe, being ſupported by the intereſt of madame de Pompadour, gained a complete victory over his rival, who was deprived of his command, and, together with his brother, baniſhed from court, to the great mortification of the people, who looked upon the mareſchal as a general of ſuperior abilities. It was now reſolved that the prince de Soubiſe ſhould command the army in Weſtphalia, in conjunction with the count d'Eſtrees, who was eſteemed an excellent officer; and that another army ſhould be aſſembled on the lower Rhine, under the command of the prince de Condé, whoſe high rank was not the greateſt of his qualifications.

The king of Spain was ſo bent upon proſecuting the war againſt Portugal, that he ſeems to have taken little pains in ſecuring his Weſt Indian ſettlements from the reſentment of Great-Britain, which he had ſo injudiciouſly provoked. True it is, the moment his council reſolved upon a war with England, he ſent three ſhips of war, with four tranſports, having on board two battalions of troops, with artillery and ammunition from Ferrol to the Weſt-Indies; and diſpatched ſeveral veſſels with advice of the rupture to his American colonies; but conſidering the riſque of their being intercepted by the Britiſh cruiſers, who covered the ſea, he ought not to have ruſhed precipitately into the war, until his ſettlements had been put into a proper poſture of defence, and every other neceſſary precaution had been taken.

We have ſeen, in the cloſe of the laſt year, that, by the taking of Colberg, on the one hand, and Schweidnitz, on the other, the king of Pruſſia's dominions were intirely at the mercy of his enemies: his forces were worn away, and even his efforts had gradually declined: a complete victory, though this was an event not at all probable, could not ſave him. The Ruſſians, by wintering in Pomerania, and by the poſſeſſion of Colberg, which inſured them ſupplies by a ſafe and expeditious channel, were in a condition to commence their operations much earlier than uſual, as well as to proſecute them with greater ſpirit and perſeverance. No reſource of policy could be tried with the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs. After ſuch a reſiſtance, for five years, of which the world had never furniſhed another example, the king of Pruſſia had nothing left but ſuch a conduct as might cloſe the ſcene with glory, ſince there was ſo little likelihood of his concluding the war with ſafety.

In the midſt of theſe gloomy appearances, his inveterate and inflexible enemy, the empreſs of Ruſſia, died, in the ſixty-third year of her age, and the twenty-ſecond of her reign.

She was ſucceeded on the throne by her nephew Charles-Peter-Ulric, a prince of the houſe of Holſtein,

ſtein, who had been created by his aunt grand duke of Ruſſia, and now aſſumed the ſceptre under the name of Peter III. None but thoſe who were intimately acquainted with the character and diſpoſition of the new Czar, could have any reaſon to imagine, that he would abandon the ſyſtem of his predeceſſor, which was certainly founded on the true intereſts of the country ſhe governed. The king of Pruſſia himſelf ſeemed, for ſome time, to have entertained no great hopes from this change. The Czar had, however, on many occaſions, diſcovered marks of eſteem for the character of that monarch. He was a knight of the black eagle, of which order the king of Pruſſia is grand maſter. His Pruſſian majeſty, however, could derive no great hopes from this circumſtance.

The eyes of all Europe were now fixed upon the ſteps which the new Czar might take. With regard to the government of his country, nothing could be more popular and auſpicious than his firſt meaſures. The earlieſt uſe he made of his abſolute power, was to ſet the Ruſſian nobility and gentry free, and to put them on the ſame footing with thoſe of their rank in the other more moderate governments of Europe. Almoſt all the exiles were recalled to court, and among the reſt the unfortunate count Biron, who, from a ſovereign prince, had been reduced to the moſt wretched condition, in the moſt wretched country on the globe. He had been many years a peaſant of Siberia, and is now once more become a ſovereign prince. It is in theſe deſpotic governments we ſee the moſt ſtriking exceſſes, and diſmal reverſes of fortune; in which one day a perſon is raiſed to ſomething almoſt above man, and the next is, perhaps in a moment, degraded to the loweſt ſtation of humanity.

The new emperor proceeded, in his reformation, to aboliſh ſome ſevere and tyrannical juriſdictions; and extending the ſame benign diſpoſition to all degrees of his ſubjects, he leſſened the tax upon the ſalt, to the very great and univerſal relief of the poor.

Thoſe beginnings gave the moſt favourable impreſſions of his domeſtic government; but Europe was principally concerned in his foreign politics; nor was it long before his diſpoſitions to peace became apparent. What aſtoniſhed the world moſt, was the high rate at which he valued this bleſſing. In a memorial which he cauſed to be delivered, on the twenty-third day of February, to the miniſters of the allied courts, he declared, "that in order to the eſtabliſhment of peace, he was ready to ſacrifice all the conqueſts made by the arms of Ruſſia in this war, in hopes that the allied courts would, on their part, equally prefer the reſtoration of peace and tranquillity to all the advantages which they might expect from the continuance of the war, but which they could not obtain but by a continuance of the effuſion of human blood."

The allies praiſed the diſintereſtedneſs, ſpirit, and humanity of this declaration; but recommended to his attention the fidelity to treaties, which conſtitutes a no leſs valuable part of the royal character, and a no leſs conſiderable branch of the duty of a monarch to his ſubjects. They ſhewed a diſpoſition to imitate his deſire for peace, but by no means to follow his example in purchaſing it by a ceſſion of all the advantages, which they had acquired or hoped to acquire by the war.

The Czar having thus far complied with decency, and being of a temper little fitted to wait the ſlow procedure of a joint negociation, gave way to his ardent deſires for peace, and to the ſentiments of that extravagant admiration which he had conceived for the king of Pruſſia. A ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities was concluded between them on the ſixteenth of March; and it was followed, not long after, by a treaty of peace and alliance. Nothing was ſtipulated by the Czar in favour of his former confederates, whom he entirely abandoned. He even agreed to join his troops to thoſe of the king of Pruſſia, to act againſt them. In a little time a Ruſſian army was ſeen with one of Pruſſia, to drive out of Sileſia thoſe very Auſtrians, who had been a few months before brought into that province by the Ruſſian arms.

This was a miraculous revolution. Fortune, who had ſo long abandoned the king of Pruſſia to the reſources of his genius, after having perſecuted him for near five years, and overwhelmed him with the whole weight of her anger, at length made him amends, and did for him at one ſtroke, the only thing, by which he could poſſibly be ſaved.

Sweden, who, ſince ſhe has recovered her liberty, has loſt her political influence, and for a long time acted entirely under the direction of Ruſſian councils, followed, on this, as on all other occaſions, the example of the court of Peterſburg, and on the twenty-ſecond of May, ſigned a treaty of peace with the king of Pruſſia.

In order to account for whatever was not the reſult of mere perſonal character in this extraordinary revolution of politics in Ruſſia, it will be neceſſary to take notice, once more, that the Czar Peter the third was duke of Holſtein; and that the dukes of Holſtein had pretenſions to the dutchy of Sleſwick. Theſe pretenſions were given up by a treaty in 1732. But as the ceſſion made by the houſe of Holſtein in this treaty was the effect of neceſſity, it had been always apprehended, that ſhe would make uſe of the firſt fair opportunity of re-aſſerting her ancient rights. The Czar ſeized eagerly on the great once, which the poſſeſſion of the whole Ruſſian power afforded him, and he reſolved to enter into an immediate war for this object, to which his predilection for his native country gave, in his eyes, a far greater importance than to all the conqueſts of his predeceſſor. As long as the war with the king of Pruſſia laſted, it was impoſſible that his deſigns againſt Denmark could be proſecuted with any hope of ſucceſs. Wholly indifferent, therefore, to all others, and paſſionately fond of this object, as ſoon as he came to the throne, without any diſpute or negociation, he offered the king of Pruſſia in his great diſtreſs every thing he could have hoped from a ſeries of victories; and whilſt he joined his arms to thoſe of that monarch in Sileſia, he cauſed an army to march towards Holſtein.

Thus the peace with Ruſſia, far from conducing to the general peace of Europe, did very little more than change the face of the war. It brought in new ſubjects of diſpute, and new parties, and by threatening Denmark, left not a ſingle power in the North in a ſtate of aſſured tranquillity.

The king of Denmark, though menaced by ſo formidable a power engaged in purſuit of a favourite object, was not terrified into any mean conceſſions. He recruited his army, repaired his fortifications, and prepared for his defence, with temper and magnanimity. As money muſt be neceſſary for the ſervices of ſo important a war; as his country could furniſh no great ſupplies; and the borrowings in every part of Europe, together with the ſudden invaſion of his dominions, could enable him to form no ſanguine hope of public credit; he turned his eyes towards the city of Hamburgh, which had grown rich by its induſtry and neutrality during the whole war, and by the number of wealthy individuals who had fled thither for refuge from the calamities, with which all the neighbouring countries had been afflicted.

His Daniſh majeſty had always kept alive a claim of ſovereignty over that city, which, however founded, he had taken care to exerciſe whenever he found it convenient. The preſent appeared to him to be one of thoſe conjunctures. Accordingly, without any previous notice, he appears with a ſtrong army before Hamburgh, ſeizes the ſuburbs, and threatens the city with an immediate ſiege, if they did not immediately agree to a loan of one million of rixdollars. The magiſtrates of this trading city, unaccuſtomed to war, unprepared for defence, having no ally at hand, and dreading equally the neighbourhood of an ally, who ſhould be able to protect them, prudently ſubmitted, and furniſhed the king with ſuch a ſupply as his affairs required.

While the king of Denmark took thoſe bold and vigorous meaſures for the defence of his dominions, the affairs of his enemy were running faſt into confuſion. From the moment of the late Czar's acceſſion to the throne of the Ruſſias, ſomething extraordinary was expected. His diſpoſition ſeemed to lead him to make changes in every thing; and having ſet before him two great examples, that of the king of Pruſſia, and of his predeceſſor Peter the firſt, it was apprehended, that this vaſt empire was going once more, almoſt within the life of a man, to aſſume a new face; a circumſtance, which could not fail of having a mighty influence on the affairs of Europe. Peter the third made more new regulations in Ruſſia in a few weeks, than wiſe and cautious princes undertake in a long reign. It was to be feared, that his conduct proceeded rather from a raſh and irregular turn of mind, and a ſpirit of innovation, than from any regular and well-digeſted plan, for the improvement of his extenſive dominions. True it is, his firſt actions, on coming to the throne, were laudable, and ſeemed well calculated to acquire him the affections of his people. But if in ſome inſtances he conſulted their intereſts, in many he ſhocked their prejudices; and he loſt thereby that good opinion of his ſubjects, which is ſo uſeful on all occaſions, but abſolutely neceſſary for carrying ſuch uncommon deſigns as his into execution.

The preference he ſo manifeſtly gave to the uncertain hope of inconſiderable conqueſt, in Holſtein, over the ſolid and valuable poſſeſſions which the fortune of his predeceſſor had left him, muſt have diſguſted all the politicians of his country. His intimate connection with, and boundleſs admiration of that prince, with whom Ruſſia had been, ſo lately, and ſo long, in a ſtate of violent hoſtility, could not add to the opinion of his prudence. They thought he departed from his imperial dignity, in ſoliciting, with ſo much anxiety, a command in the Pruſſian ſervice. When he received it, he dreſſed himſelf in the Pruſſian uniform, made a grand feſtival, and diſplayed all the marks of an immoderate and puerile ſatisfaction. He puſhed his extravagance in this point ſo far, that he made preparations, in this immature ſtate of his government, to quit Ruſſia, and to go into Germany, in order to have an interview with that great monarch, whoſe genius, principles, and fortune, he ſo greatly admired.

Although this proceeding was, almoſt in every reſpect, extremely impolitic, it did not threaten ſuch dangerous conſequences, as the other ſteps which he took about the ſame time. The ſoldiery and the clergy are the great ſupports of all abſolute rule; and they are certainly the laſt bodies, upon which a prince of this kind would chuſe to exert any invidious act of authority. But the Czar was indiſcreet enough, very early in his reign, highly to provoke both thoſe bodies; the ſoldiery, by the manifeſt preference he gave to his Holſtein guards, and to all the officers of that nation; and by the change he made in favour of the Pruſſian uniform to the excluſion of that, in which the Ruſſians believed they had ſo often aſſerted the honour of their country, and gained many ſignal advantages over the troops diſtinguiſhed by thoſe regimentals which were now preferred.

Theſe trifles had very important conſequences; but what he did in matters of religion, was ſtill more dangerous. This prince had been educated a Lutheran; and though he conformed to the Greek church, in order to qualify him for the ſucceſſion, he never ſhewed much reſpect to that mode of religion, to the rules and doctrines of which his ſubjects had been always extremely attached. He ſeized upon the revenues of the eccleſiaſtics, whether monks or ſeculars, whether biſhops or inferiors; and, for compenſation, allowed them ſome mean penſion, in ſuch a proportion as his fancy ſuggeſted. He even ventured to attack the beards of the clergy, which were no longer allowed to grow to their uſual length; an innovation, which, though ſeemingly trifling, was productive of the moſt fatal effects. He made likewiſe ſome regulations concerning the images and pictures in their churches, which gave them reaſon to apprehend his intention of accompliſhing a total change in the ſyſtem of religion, and introducing the doctrines of Luther.

While he was taking theſe meaſures to alienate the minds of his people in general, and eſpecially of thoſe bodies, with whom it was the moſt his intereſt to be well, he had not the good fortune to live in harmony with his own family. He had long ſlighted his conſort, a princeſs of the houſe of Anhalt Zerbſt, a woman of a maſculine temper, bold, politic, ambitious, and vindictive. He maintained an amorous correſpondence with the counteſs of Woronzoff, niece to the chancellor of that name, and ſeemed attached to her with ſo ſtrong a paſſion, as to occaſion a ſuſpicion of his intending to throw his empreſs into a monaſtery, and raiſe this lady to the throne of all the Ruſſias.

What ſeemed to confirm this ſuſpicion, was his omitting formally to declare his ſon, the grand duke Paul Petrowitz, his ſucceſſor. This omiſſion in a country where the ſucceſſion is eſtabliſhed and regular, would have been of no conſequence: the punctual obſervance of ſuch a ceremony would have betrayed ſome doubt of the title. But the nature of this government, as well as poſitive conſtitutions, had made it neceſſary in Ruſſia, and the omiſſion of it was certainly alarming.

That unfortunate prince having, in this manner, affronted his army, irritated his clergy, offended the nobility, and alienated his own family, without having left himſelf any firm ground of authority, in perſonal eſteem, or national prejudices, proceeded with his uſual precipitation to new changes. In the mean time a moſt dangerous conſpiracy was forming againſt him. The cruel puniſhments, inflicted in Ruſſia on ſtate criminals, tend only the more to harden the minds of men already fierce and obdurate, and ſeldom deter them from the moſt deſperate undertakings. Roſamouſki, Hetman or chief of the Coſſacks, a perſon of importance by that command, Panin, governor of the great duke Paul, marſhal Butterlin, the chamberlain Teplow, the attorney-general Glebow, baron Orlow, major of the guards, and many other of the great officers and firſt nobility of the empire, engaged in a conſpiracy to dethrone the Czar, who was now univerſally hated; and what was more fatal to him, univerſally deſpiſed.

They aſſured themſelves that their project could not be diſagreeable to the empreſs; whoſe conduct had always been the very reverſe of that of her conſort. This princeſs, finding that the affections of her huſband were irrecoverably alienated, endeavoured to ſet up a ſeparate and independent intereſt in her own favour, and for aſſerting the rights of her ſon. She therefore aſſiduouſly cultivated the affections of the Ruſſian nation, and paid a reſpect to their manners and religion, in the ſame degree as her huſband ſeemed to contemn both.

So ill was the Czar ſerved, that this conſpiracy was grown general, without his receiving the leaſt notice of it; and he remained in perfect ſecurity, while the ſenate and the clergy were aſſembled to paſs the ſentence of his depoſition. At this time the empreſs and he were both abſent from the capital at different country-ſeats. The empreſs was no ſooner informed that the deſign was ripe for execution, than ſhe got on horſeback, and repaired with all poſſible ſpeed to Peterſburg. She immediately harangued the guards, who cheerfully and unanimouſly declared in her favour, and proclaimed her empreſs of Ruſſia, independently of her huſband. She then addreſſed herſelf to the clergy, and the chief of the nobility, who applauded her reſolution; and all orders immediately took the oath of allegiance to her as ſole empreſs. No ſooner was ſhe acknowledged in this manner, than, without loſing a moment's time, ſhe marched from Peterſburg towards the emperor, at the head of a body of troops.

This prince was indulging himſelf in indolent amuſements, and lulled in the moſt profound ſecurity at a houſe of pleaſure, called Oranienbaum, on the ſea-ſhore, when a ſoldier brought him an account that his kingdom was taken away from him.

Aſtoniſhed, and wholly unprepared for this event, he was ſome time ſenſeleſs, and intirely at a loſs what part to take. When finally arouſed from this trance by the approaching danger, his firſt reſolution was to defend the place with his Holſtein guards; but, though ſatisfied of their attachment, he doubted their ſtrength, and he knew it was in vain to hope for any effort in his favour from the Ruſſians.

Nothing then remained but flight, by which he might eſcape to Holſtein, and wait ſome favourable turn of fortune. This late lord of powerful fleets and armies embarked in a ſmall veſſel, with a few attendants, and rowed towards Cronſtadt; but he had not proceeded very far, when he was informed that this fortreſs was in the hands of his enemies, and that every avenue for eſcape was ſhut againſt him. Dejected and deſponding, he returned to Oraniebaum. After ſome ſhort and tumultuous deliberation, he reſolved to abandon all thoughts of defence, and to throw himſelf on the compaſſion of the empreſs.

On her march ſhe met his meſſengers, who brought letters containing a renunciation of the empire, and ſtipulating no other terms than leave to return to Holſtein, and the ſatisfaction of taking with him, as the companions of his retreat, the counteſs of Woronzoff and one ſingle friend.

Reaſons of ſtate could not permit the empreſs to conſent to the firſt of thoſe terms; and the laſt ſhe conſidered as an inſult on her honour. His terms were rejected; and he was required to ſign an unconditional reſignation of his crown, according to a form that was prepared for him. Not ſatisfied with depriving him of his crown, they even reſolved to make him the murderer of his own reputation; and this unfortunate prince, moved with the vain hope of life, ſigned a paper, declaring his conviction of his inability to govern the empire, either as a ſovereign, or in any other capacity, and his ſenſe of the diſtreſs, in which his continuing at the head of affairs would inevitably involve it. After he had ſigned this abdication, he gave up his ſword, and was conducted to priſon, where, in a ſhort time, but according to what had been univerſally expected, he died. The diſorder, which killed him, was called an hemorrhoidal cholic.

Thus was a revolution of ſuch immenſe importance effected in a ſingle day, and without ſhedding a ſingle drop of blood. The unfortunate emperor enjoyed the power of which he had made ſo imprudent and impolitic an uſe, no longer than ſix months. His conſort, without any hereditary title, is ſovereign miſtreſs of the Ruſſian empire; and the moſt abſolute power on earth is now held by an elective monarch.

Immediately after this revolution a number of manifeſtoes appeared, in which the conduct of the late emperor was condemned, the weakneſs of his perſonal character expoſed, and deſigns of the blackeſt nature, even that of murdering his conſort, attributed to him. Theſe manifeſtoes were at the ſame replete with the ſtrongeſt declarations of affection from the empreſs to the people of Ruſſia, of regard to their intereſts, and of attachment to their religion; and they were all filled with ſuch unaffected and fervent ſtrains of piety, as muſt have been extremely edifying to thoſe who were

were acquainted with the religious diſpoſition of the empreſs, her moderate and unambitious temper, and particularly her innocence as to the death of her huſband, which, yet, the malicious and incredulous part of the world obſtinately perſiſted in laying to her charge.

Whatever truth there might be in theſe ſurmiſes, certain it is, that nothing could be more prudent and circumſpect than the conduct of the empreſs. In almoſt every reſpect it was the very reverſe of that of her huſband. She diſmiſſed all foreigners from her confidence and ſervice; ſhe ſent away the Holſtein guards, and choſe Ruſſian, whoſe ancient uniform was revived with new luſtre, the empreſs herſelf frequently condeſcending to appear in it. The clergy were reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their revenues and their beards. She conferred all the great poſts of the empire on native Ruſſians, and entirely threw herſelf on the affections of that people, to whom ſhe owed her elevation.

This great change in the government of Ruſſia, it was univerſally feared, would be followed by a total change of ſyſtem with regard to foreign affairs. The peace and alliance with the king of Pruſſia were very unpopular meaſures in Muſcovy; nor was it probable that the cloſe and intimate connection, which had ſubſiſted between that prince and the late Czar, would greatly recommend him to the ſucceſſor. And as it was imagined, that this revolution muſt have been, in a great degree, owing to the machinations of thoſe courts, whom the Czar had provoked by withdrawing from their alliance, there was the greater reaſon to apprehend, that the power, which was now ſet up, would be exerted in their favour.

There were alſo great advantages on the ſide of Ruſſia, if the empreſs ſhould not hold the peace, concluded by her late huſband, to be binding on her, as none of the conqueſts were at this time evacuated. In a word, every thing ſeemed to conſpire towards replunging the king of Pruſſia into the abyſs of his former diſtreſſes, after he had emerged from them only for ſuch a time, and in ſuch a manner, as to make the renewal of them more bitter and inſupportable.

Fortunately, however, for this wonderful man, the empreſs, who had come to the Ruſſian throne in the manner we have related, could not look upon herſelf as ſufficiently ſecure to undertake again a war of ſo much importance as that which had juſt been concluded. It was neceſſary, for ſome time at leaſt, that ſhe ſhould confine her attention ſolely to her own ſafety. For this purpoſe it was expedient to collect, within itſelf, all the force of the empire, in order to oppoſe it to the deſigns of the many male-contents, with which that empire always abounds, and who, though not attached to the intereſts of the Czar, and little inclined to revenge his fate, would find now both inducement and opportunity for raiſing troubles and attempting new changes. Very plauſible pretences for ſuch attempts exiſted from the time of Peter the Great, who, while he improved and ſtrengthened his kingdom, left in it, at the ſame time, the ſeeds of civil wars and revolutions.

Theſe conſiderations induced the Czarina, however unwillingly, to continue ſo much of the ſyſtem of her predeceſſor, as coincided with her ſituation. She therefore declared to the king of Pruſſia's miniſters, that ſhe was reſolved to obſerve inviolably, in all points, the perpetual peace concluded under the preceding reign; but that, nevertheleſs, ſhe had thought proper to bring back to Ruſſia, by the neareſt roads, all her troops, in Sileſia, Pruſſia, and Pomerania.

This moderation was not owing to the critical ſituation alone of the Czarina: the prudent behaviour of his Pruſſian majeſty, during the time of his connection with the late Czar, contributed likewiſe, in a great meaſure, to reconcile to him the mind of this empreſs, and to perpetuate ſomething like the ſame friendſhip, with intereſts ſo very different. The Ruſſian ſenate, flaming with reſentment againſt this monarch, and againſt their late ſovereign; and the empreſs, full of ſuſpicion, that the conduct of the latter might have been influenced by the councils of the former, ſearched, eagerly, among the papers of the late emperor, for elucidation or proofs of this point. They found, indeed, many letters from the king of Pruſſia; but in a ſtrain abſolutely different from what they apprehended. The king of Pruſſia had, as far as prudence would admit, kept a reſerve and diſtance in regard to the raſh advances of this unhappy ally. Too experienced to be carried away by his inconſiderate impetuoſity, he gave him much ſalutary, though fruitleſs, advice. He counſelled him to undertake nothing againſt the empreſs his conſort; to deſiſt from the war with Denmark; to attempt no changes in the religion and fundamental laws of the country; and to lay aſide all thoughts of coming into Germany.

On hearing theſe letters read, the empreſs is ſaid to have burſt into tears of gratitude, and made, in conſequence, the ſtrongeſt declarations in favour of this prince. Nor were they without effect. Orders had been given with relation to Pruſſia, which threatened a renewal of hoſtilities; but theſe were ſoon countermanded. The army of the Ruſſians was, indeed, ſeparated from that of Pruſſia; but all the important places, which the Ruſſians had, with ſo much bloodſhed, and through ſo many difficulties, acquired, and which gave them the command of every thing elſe that remained to the king, were inſtantly reſtored. An immediate end was likewiſe put to the war between Pruſſia and Denmark; and every thing in relation to Holſtein replaced upon its former footing.

Having thus given a conciſe and, I hope, a faithful account of the revolutions in Ruſſia, I ſhall now proceed to relate the tranſactions of the war as it was carried on in Germany.

In the beginning of the year, the Auſtrian and Pruſſian armies continued very quiet in their winter quarters: but prince Henry, who conducted the troops in Saxony, extended his forces, in January, by driving the Imperial army to a greater diſtance, and occupying Naumberg, Zeits, Altenburg, and Gera. On the other hand, the Imperial and Saxon troops diſlodged the Pruſſians in February, from the poſt of Lamatch, and deſtroyed the magazine which had been tranſported thither from Magdeburg. In the beginning of May, this active prince ſuddenly croſſing the Mulda in three columns, at Roſwin, Dolbeling, and Leiſnig, attacked the left wing of the Imperial and Auſtrian army; on which occaſion, general Zetwitz was taken with twelve officers, fifteen hundred men, and three

pieces of cannon. After this exploit, the prince took poſſeſſion of Freyberg, where he found a conſiderable magazine. In the beginning of June, an attempt was made upon his out poſts by the Auſtrians, who had been reinforced for that purpoſe; but they were repulſed with conſiderable loſs.

About the ſame time the king of Pruſſia aſſembled the main body of his army in the neighbourhood of Breſlau; while that of the Auſtrians, under count Daun, occupied ſeveral ſtrong eminences, that enabled him to communicate with Schweidnitz, which was conſidered as the king's chief object.

Towards the latter end of June, the Ruſſian troops under general Czernichew, paſſing the Oder, joined the Pruſſian army, in conſequence of the late treaty between the king and the Czar Peter. Thus reinforced, his majeſty took poſſeſſion of the heights of Sackwitz; and this motion conſtrained count Daun to withdraw in the night to the hills of Kuntzendorff. The king continued to advance, and drove the Auſtrians from ſeveral hills; but his attack upon the hill of Engel, defended by general Brentano, proved ineffectual. Count Daun however, thought proper to decamp from Kuntzendorff, and take poſt at Tanhauſen, in order to ſecure his magazine at Friedland, and maintain his communication with Bohemia, into which the Pruſſian general Weid actually penetrated with a detachment, as far as Weiſſe. Marſhal Daun no ſooner abandoned the hills of Kuntzendorff, than they, together with the heights of Zieſken and Juſtenſtein, were occupied by the Pruſſian forces. In the midſt of theſe tranſactions, many ſkirmiſhes were fought with various ſucceſs, by detached parties, which traverſed the open country in Auſtria, Sileſia, and Moravia, as well as in Bohemia.

The king of Pruſſia did not long enjoy the aſſiſtance of his new allies. The revolution in Ruſſia was no ſooner effected, than orders arrived in the allied camp from Peterſburgh for the Ruſſians to ſeparate themſelves from his army, and return immediately to their own country. The king, without being confounded by this ſudden event, and inſtead of ſlackening his efforts on account of this deſertion, reſolved to fall with vigour, and without delay, upon mareſchal Daun, and to attack him before the news of this change could reach him. Since he could no longer profit by the arms of the Ruſſians, he endeavoured to profit at leaſt by their appearance in his camp. The very next day, therefore, he attacked the Auſtrian army, whoſe right wing occupied the heights of Buckerſdorff, drove them from that eminence, and from ſome villages where they were advantageouſly poſted. The ſucceſs was not owing only to the ſpirit of the actual attack, but to an apprehenſion of the Auſtrians, that the whole united army of the Pruſſians and Muſcovites was on the point of engaging them. The king of Pruſſia made an uſe of thoſe allies, in the moment they deſerted him.

This lively attack was made with the loſs of only three hundred men on the ſide of the Pruſſians: the number of the Auſtrians killed is not known. The priſoners amounted to one thouſand: and fourteen pieces of cannon were taken. It was indeed no more than an affair of poſts; but its conſequences were important; for the communication of the Imperialiſts with Schweidnitz was now entirely and finally cut off: they could not attempt any thing conſiderable for the relief of that place. Prince Henry held them in continual alarm for Bohemia; and a great part of their attention, and no ſmall part of their forces, were kept conſtantly engaged on that ſide. The king of Pruſſia, having thus puſhed back mareſchal Daun, inveſted Schweidnitz, and laid ſiege to that important fortreſs before his face. In the night between the ſeventh and eighth of Auguſt, the trenches were opened, and the operations of the ſiege carried on with ſuch vigour, that by the fourteenth, nine batteries played againſt the town. Schweidnitz was undoubtedly ſtrong, both by nature and art, and moreover defended by a garriſon of nine thouſand men, who exerted themſelves with courage and activity: but ſuch was the determined reſolution of the beſieger, and ſo formidable was the proviſion he had made for this enterprize, that the Auſtrian general thought it neceſſary to make ſome bold attempt to diſturb him in his operations. The Pruſſian infantry were encamped on the heights behind Schweidnitz. The cavalry formed a chain in the plains of Keintzerdorff, extending to a detached corps, under the prince of Wirtemberg, ſo ſituated as to prevent any interruption from the county of Glatz; and the prince of Bevern commanded a ſtrong body advantageouſly poſted near Caſſel.

Theſe diſpoſitions were made to protect the convoys as well as to fruſtrate any attempts which might be made for the relief of Schweidnitz. On the ſixteenth day of Auguſt, the Auſtrian generals Laudohn, O'Donnel, and Beck, were detached with thirty-three battalions, and eighteen regiments of cavalry, to attack the poſt of the prince of Bevern, and they executed their orders with great celerity and reſolution: but the prince, being upon his guard, maintained his ground without flinching, until the king arrived in perſon, with eight battalions of infantry, and a ſtrong body of dragoons and huſſars. Theſe falling upon the Auſtrian cavalry, ſoon routed them with conſiderable ſlaughter, upon which Laudohn deſiſted from his attack, and retreated towards Silberberg, with the loſs of two thouſand men killed or taken by the enemy,

After this victory the king returned to the ſiege, which he proſecuted with redoubled vigour; while general Guaſco, who commanded the garriſon, with the aſſiſtance of two able engineers, left no ſtep untaken which could retard his progreſs. Repeated ſallies were made with conſiderable effect; mines were ſprung, breaches repaired, and the fire from the ramparts was maintained with great ſpirit and perſeverance. Count Daun found it impracticable to take any effectual meaſures for the relief of this fortreſs; yet in Saxony, the Imperial and Auſtrian troops under general Haddick, by three ſucceſſive attacks upon the Pruſſian poſts, compelled prince Henry to abandon Zwickau, Chemnitz, and Wilſdruff. Encouraged by this gleam of ſucceſs, he made an attempt upon the front of the prince's army; but met with a ſevere repulſe.

In the night, between the eighth and ninth of October, the beſiegers of Schweidnitz ſprung a mine; in conſequence of which, great part of the wall was thrown into the ditch, and a diſpoſition was

was made for a general aſſault. In this emergency general Guaſco, conſidering it would be madneſs any longer to think of reſiſtance, ordered the chamade to be beat, and ſurrendered himſelf and his garriſon, to the number of eight thouſand men, priſoners of war. This ſiege is ſaid to have laſted the longer, as the attack was conducted, and the defence made, by two engineers, who had written on the attack and defence of places; and they were now practically engaged to prove the ſuperiority of their ſeveral ſyſtems.

The king, having taken poſſeſſion of this fortreſs, which had four times changed maſters ſince the commencement of the war, ſent a ſtrong reinforcement to his brother in Saxony, and returned to his former quarters at Peterſwald. Before this reinforcement arrived, the prince of Stolberg and general Haddick attacked the Pruſſian general Belling, who was poſted in the wood of Rats, from whence he was diſlodged after two ſucceſſive actions, in which a great number were ſlain on both ſides. The Pruſſians, after a moſt obſtinate defence, were not only driven from the wood, but alſo compelled to abandon Freyberg, with the loſs of nine pieces of cannon, ſeven colours, a conſiderable quantity of ſtores, and about a thouſand men taken priſoners, excluſive of thoſe who were killed in the action. The victors having taken poſſeſſion of Freyberg, general Haddick repaired to Dreſden.

Their triumph was of no long continuance. On the twenty-ninth day of October, prince Henry of Pruſſia, even before the arrival of the reinforcement from Sileſia, attacked the Imperial and Auſtrian forces under the command of prince Stolberg. The action began at day-break, and laſted till two in the afternoon, when the enemy being thrown into irreparable diſorder, abandoned the field of battle and the town of Freyberg, with the loſs of five thouſand priſoners, thirty cannon, and many colours and ſtandards. They withdrew to Plauen, complaining that they were betrayed by the perfidy of a ſuperior officer, who had, during the whole campaign, diſcovered their diſpoſitions to the Pruſſian general. He was at laſt detected by an intercepted letter, directed to general Kleiſt, and conveyed under a ſtrong guard from Dippoldeſwalde to Dreſden. In the beginning of November, the king of Pruſſia joined his brother in Saxony, leaving a ſtrong garriſon in Schweidnitz, under the command of major-general Knoblock, and his army in Sileſia, to the conduct of the prince of Bevern, whoſe camp formed a chain on the mountains from Steinfeiſſendorff to Borſdorff, while part of the cavalry encamped on the plain. General Werner was detached with a ſmall corps into the Upper Sileſia. As for marſhal Daun, he ſent a large detachment into the ſame country, and reinforced the Auſtrian troops in Saxony, he himſelf remaining at Scharffnick, in the county of Glatz. Immediately after the victory at Freyberg, a detachment of Pruſſians, under the command of general Kleiſt, made an incurſion into Bohemia, laying waſte the country to the very gates of Prague, and deſtroyed ſeveral Auſtrian magazines of great value.

The court of Vienna, alarmed by the ſucceſs of this partiſan, was glad to agree to a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, propoſed by the king of Pruſſia, for the reſpective armies in Sileſia, to continue in force during the winter. This being accordingly concluded, the Auſtrian and Imperial troops retired into their winter quarters, in hope of enjoying ſome repoſe, which, however, was of a very ſhort duration.

General Kleiſt immediately advanced at the head of a ſtrong body of forces into Franconia, where he obliged a great number of men to inliſt in the king's ſervice, and laid the whole country under exorbitant contributions. From the city of Nuremberg alone, they are ſaid to have exacted to the amount of two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. The king, being reſolved on theſe meaſures, had declared by his miniſter to the diet aſſembled at Ratiſbon, that as all his former remonſtrances to the ſtates of the empire had produced no effect, he was determined to employ more effectual means to make them recall their troops from the Auſtrian army: that he had ordered one body of his forces to enter Franconia; another to take the route of Suabia; and a third to penetrate into Bavaria: that they ſhould every where conduct themſelves according to the exigencies of war: but that the diet of the empire ſhould not be diſturbed. It has been ſuppoſed, that, in theſe incurſions, the Pruſſians raiſed a ſum equal to the annual ſubſidy, which had formerly been paid by Great-Britain to their ſovereign.

In Weſtphalia the war was proſecuted with great ſpirit and activity. The deſign of the enemy was to keep poſſeſſion of Heſſe, and extend their conqueſts into the electorate of Hanover, where they were ſtill maſters of Goettingen, which they had been at great pains and expence to fortify. The buſineſs of prince Ferdinand was to ſtop their progreſs, and if poſſible drive them back to the banks of the Mayne.

In the beginning of March, before the armies began their operations, a detachment of four thouſand men from the French garriſon of Goettingen, made a forced march to the poſts of Gittel and Kahlfeldt, in hope of ſurpriſing the eaſt chain of the allied cantonments; but the troops withdrew from theſe places ſo ſeaſonably, that the enemy could only make a ſmall impreſſion on their rear, and next day returned to their quarters. Immediately after this attempt, the eaſt chain of the allies was ſtrengthened by a reinforcement of three thouſand men, who took poſt at Eimbeck.

In April, general Luckner, a famous Hanoverian partiſan, gained a conſiderable advantage over the marquis de Lortange, who had marched out of Goettingen, at the head of eighteen hundred horſe and two thouſand infantry, to intercept the other in one of his excurſions: but Luckner, being appriſed of his deſign, procured a ſtrong reinforcement of horſe, with which he attacked the marquis unexpectedly, and obliged him to retire into Goettingen with great precipitation and no ſmall loſs. About the ſame time major Witzingerode, commander of the Heſſian huſſars, made a party of French irregulars priſoners at Eichsfeld. In the courſe of the ſame month, the hereditary prince of Brunſwick, at the head of a ſtrong detachment, with a train of artillery, laid ſiege to the caſtle of Arenſberg ſituated on one of the heads of the Roer, which the French had occupied, in order to maintain a communication between their

forces on the Rhine, and thoſe they had upon the Weſer. In a few hours after the batteries of the beſiegers began to play, the caſtle was ſet on fire, and the flames raged with ſuch violence, that Monſieur de Mutet, with his garriſon of two hundred and thirty men, were obliged to leap over the walls, and ſurrender at diſcretion. After this exploit, the prince made a progreſs as far as Elvervelt and Solingen, in the neighbourhood of Duſſeldorp, and met with conſiderable ſucceſs in levying recruits and contributions.

The French generals, Soubiſe and d'Etrees, arriving at Franckfort in April, aſſembled their forces in May, on the banks of the Weſer, while the prince of Condé conducted a ſeparate army at Duſſeldorp, on the Lower Rhine. Prince Ferdinand, with the main body of the allies, lay encamped behind the Dymel, to make head againſt the two marſhals; the hereditary prince was poſted with a conſiderable corps, in the biſhopric of Munſter, to obſerve the motions of the prince of Condé; and general Luckner, with a third detachment, encamped near Eimbecke on the Leine, to watch prince Xavier of Saxony, who had taken poſt with a corps de reſerve, between the river Werra and the town of Gottingen. The French camp of the marſhals being ſituated between Graebenſtein and Meinbrexen, prince Ferdinand made a diſpoſition for attacking them on the twenty-fourth day of June; and the plan was immediately put in execution. General Luckner, leaving his Heſſian huſſars to amuſe prince Xavier and conceal his route, ſet out from Hollenſtadt on the twenty-third in the morning, croſſed the Weſer in the evening, and by three o'clock next morning arrived between Mariendorff and Udenhauſen. At four general Sporcken paſſed the Dymel at Sielem, with twelve battalions of Hanoverians, and part of the cavalry of the left wing, and advanced between Nombrexen and Udenhauſen, with a view to fall upon the enemy's flank at Carlſdorff, while Luckner ſhould attack them in the rear. At the ſame time prince Ferdinand, paſſing the river with twelve Britiſh battalions, eleven of the Brunſwick troops, eight regiments of Heſſians, with the Engliſh cavalry, and part of the German horſe of the left wing, drew them up, in order, behind the ponds of Kalſe. The vanguard on the left was compoſed of the piquets of the army, and that on the right of the chaſſeurs of the Engliſh and German infantry, commanded by lord Frederick Cavendiſh, and Freytag's Hanoverian chaſſeurs, who had orders to occupy the mountain of Langenberg. The marquis of Granby, who conducted the body of the reſerve, croſſed the Dymel at Warburg, and proceeded by Zieremberg and Zieberſhauſen, to an eminence oppoſite to Furſtenwalde, in order to fall upon the left wing of the enemy. Theſe preparations were made with ſo much judgment, celerity, and good order, that the French had not perceived the approach of the allies, when they found themſelves attacked with infinite impetuoſity in front, flank, and rear. Confounded at this unexpected aſſault, they thought of nothing but a retreat, which they immediately began, and which, conſidering the ardour with which they were attacked, would in all probability have ended in a total rout, had not Mr. de Stainville, at the head of a choſen body, ſacrificed them to the ſafety of the army. This gallant officer threw himſelf into the woods of Willemſtahl, with the grenadiers of France, the royal grenadiers, the regiment of Aquitaine, and ſome other troops that conſtituted the flower of the French infantry. With theſe he made a noble ſtand, effectually covering the retreat of the mareſchals, who retired under the cannon of Caſſel, and part of their forces paſſed the Fulda in the utmoſt precipitation. Lord Granby attacked the troops of Stainville with his uſual impetuoſity; and the whole body was either killed or taken, except two battalions that found means to eſcape. Upon this occaſion the number of priſoners amounted to two thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty, including one hundred and ſixty-two officers, together with ſome ſtandards and colours; while the loſs of the victors did not exceed three hundred men, and no Britiſh officer of diſtinction loſt his life, except colonel Townſhend, who had behaved with great gallantry in this and ſeveral other actions ſince the commencement of the war.

Every thing in the conduct of prince Ferdinand appears the effect of a well digeſted plan; and one great action completed always helps to diſcloſe a ſeries of bold, maſterly, and connected deſigns.

While the French army lay in their ſtrong camp, under the cannon of Caſſel, prince Ferdinand determined, if poſſible, to cut off their communication with Franckfort, which was at preſent preſerved by Mr. de Rochambeau, who had occupied a ſtrong poſt near Homburg, with a body of horſe and ſome brigades of infantry. The marquis of Granby and lord Frederick Cavendiſh advanced to diſlodge him at the head of the Britiſh grenadiers, two regiments of Engliſh cavalry, four Hanoverian ſquadrons, the chaſſeurs of the infantry, and the huſſars of Bauer and Riedeſel. The enemy beginning to retreat as they approached, the marquis ordered his horſe to attack their rear, and this ſervice was gallantly performed by the regiment of blues and Elliot's dragoons, led on by the colonels Hervey and Erſkine: but the French cavalry ſuddenly facing about, and falling upon them ſword in hand, with great reſolution, they muſt have been overpowered by ſuperior numbers, had not the infantry come up to their aſſiſtance. Then the French cavalry retired, and were hard preſſed by the Britiſh grenadiers and Highlanders; ſo that they muſt have been entirely routed, had not they been ſupported by their infantry, which had taken poſt in a hollow way. At length they accompliſhed their retreat, with the loſs of about four hundred men; while the huſſars of Bauer and Riedeſel, advancing to Rothemburg, ſet fire to a conſiderable magazine which the enemy had there collected.

In the month of July, prince Ferdinand formed a deſign of attacking the French mareſchals in their camp at Melſungen, to which place they had withdrawn in order to maintain their communication with Franckfort, and to facilitate their junction with the prince de Condé, who had orders to advance from the Lower Rhine for that purpoſe. The general of the allied army, having made an excellent diſpoſition for attacking the enemy, croſſed the Eder on the twenty-fifth, and joined the marquis of Granby on the heights of Falkenberg; but examining the ſituation of the enemy, he found them too advantageouſly poſted to

to attack them with any proſpect of ſucceſs. Obſerving, however, that there were ſigns of confuſion among them, he advanced in columns, and forming at eight in the evening, began to cannonade their camp. At night he retired and repaſſed the rivers Schwalm and Eder, leaving the marquis on the heights of Falkenberg. At the ſame time the enemy croſſed the Fulda, and leaving a body of troops under Mr. de Guerchy, oppoſite to the camp which they abandoned, they withdrew towards Caſſel, while the marquis of Granby took poſſeſſion of the poſt of Melſungen. Thus their communication with Frankfort ſeemed to be once more cut off. Their conduct at this period appears to have been equally imprudent and irreſolute. They ſuſtained a new check in the misfortune of Mr. de Stainville, who, advancing with four regiments of dragoons towards Rothenburn, fell into an ambuſcade at Morſchen, where his troops were routed and diſperſed by a body of troops, under the command of general Freytag. They now relinquiſhed Goettingen, after having deſtroyed the fortifications of the place, which they themſelves had erected at a very great expence. They ſent repeated orders to the prince of Condé, to join them without delay; and, in the mean time, ſecured themſelves in a ſtrong camp on the banks of the Fulda; while prince Ferdinand laid bridges over that river, as if he intended to ſeize the firſt opportunity of hazarding another battle.

On the ſixteenth of July, the prince of Condé began his march from Coesfeldt, in order to join the mareſchals, and paſſed the Lippe at Halteren; but was obliged to take a large circuit, in which he was conſtantly followed by the hereditary prince of Brunſwick, at the head of a ſtrong body detached from the allied army.

On the thirtieth day of Auguſt, being informed that a large body of the enemy were on their march to join the prince of Condé on the heights of Joanneſberg, he determined to attack him before the junction could be effected. At firſt his ſucceſs was anſwerable to his own expectations, and the courage of his troops. He drove the enemy entirely from the high grounds into the plain; but while he purſued his advantage, the body he attacked was reinforced by the main army. The action, which began ſo favourably for the allies, ended in a defeat. They loſt about three thouſand men in killed, wounded, and priſoners. The hereditary prince, who had, through the whole action, made the moſt powerful efforts, and expoſed himſelf to the greateſt dangers, received a wound from a muſket-ball in his hip-bone, from which his life was, for a long time, doubtful, and his recovery lingering and tedious. Whilſt his life continued in danger, the concern was univerſal, and common to both armies; both taking an intereſt in the preſervation of a prince, as much endeared by his humanity, as admired for his valour and military genius.

A victory of the greateſt importance could not have more fully diſplayed the ſuperiority of prince Ferdinand's capacity, in the conduct of a war, than his meaſures after this defeat. The French were not ſuffered to derive the ſmalleſt advantage from their victory; nor did the allies loſe a foot of ground.

As prince Ferdinand ſeemed to have a deſign upon Caſſel, where the French mareſchals had left general Dieſbach with a numerous garriſon; the prince of Condé attempted to open march-routes towards Frankberg, on the Eder, through which he intended to turn the right of the allied army, paſſing by the country of Waldeck. Through theſe very roads prince Ferdinand advanced to Wetter, which was abandoned by the French garriſon, and the prince of Condé was obliged to paſs the Lahne. Then the allied army proceeded to the Ohme, and took poſſeſſion of the camp at Kirchayne, extending to Erneſthauſen, while general Luckner occupied Frankenberg on the Upper Eder. The French mareſchals having endeavoured, in vain, to interrupt his march, between Horloff and Ohme, croſſed the Lahne in the neighbourhood of Gieſſen, and encamped near Marburgh: the prince of Condé took poſt at Groſeln and general Levis at Wetter: but this laſt was diſlodged, and his place occupied by a detachment under the generals Luckner and Conway. Many poſts were diſputed on both ſides with uncommon reſolution. The general of the allies had determined to undertake the ſiege of Caſſel; and the enemy made repeated efforts to throw freſh ſupplies into the place; but they were effectually prevented by the diſpoſition of his forces.

Part of the French army, under the generals de Caſtries and Saarsfeldt, was poſted on one ſide of the Ohme; and on the other, oppoſite to them, was a ſtrong detachment of the allies, commanded by the marquis of Granby and general Zaltrow, in the neighbourhood of the caſtle of Amenebourg, which the allies furniſhed with a garriſon of about ſeven hundred men, under the conduct of captain Cruſe. The enemy reſolved to make themſelves maſters of this fortreſs; and in order to amuſe the allies, attacked a poſt which they occupied at the Brucker-muhl, for the defence of a bridge over the Ohme. It was defended by a detachment of two hundred men, the greateſt part of whom were poſted in a ſmall redoubt they had raiſed for the purpoſe. On the twenty firſt day of September, about ſix in the morning, the weather being extremely foggy, the enemy attacked the poſt at the Brucker-muhl with muſquetry and ſome pieces of cannon, having ſtationed a body of horſe and infantry on the eminence beyond the bridge. A cannonade immediately began on both ſides, while a warm diſpute with ſmall arms was maintained between the aſſailants and the Hanoverians, who defended the redoubt. General Waldegrave, being ordered to ſuſtain this party at the Brucker-muhl, detached the firſt battalion of Britiſh guards to relieve the Hanoverians, who had by this time ſuffered great loſs, and expended all their ammunition. The enemy continuing to throw freſh troops into a ſmall work, which they had beyond the bridge, and to bring up more cannon; prince Ferdinand alſo reinforced his artillery with ſix large cannon, and three howitzers from the army; and four Heſſian battalions advanced to ſupport thoſe who were engaged. Both ſides fought with the moſt determined reſolution, and a prodigious fire of artillery and ſmall arms was maintained for fifteen hours, without intermiſſion; yet no attempt was made on either ſide to paſs the bridge. At length the darkneſs put an end to the action, which coſt the allies about

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ſix hundred men in killed and wounded. The loſs of the enemy was much more conſiderable.

They likewiſe began to detach ſome parties on the right and left of the allied army, in order to open their communication with Caſſel; but all their efforts were rendered ineffectual by the vigilance and activity of the allied generals, who obtained ſeveral advantages over them, between the twenty-ſeventh of September and the firſt day of October, when prince Ferdinand's quarters were ſtill at Kirchayn, his army extending on the right to Watzenbach, and on the left, behind Merlan. The marſhals of France had their right at Merlan, and their left at Caldern. This was the period at which the ſiege of Caſſel was undertaken. The trenches were opened on the ſixteenth day of October; and the operations proſecuted with ſuch vigour, that, notwithſtanding the activity and reſolution of a very numerous garriſon, commanded by the baron de Dieſbach, they were obliged to capitulate on the firſt day of November, and marched out with all the honours of war. Prince Ferdinand intended to have finiſhed his operations with the ſiege of Ziegenhayn, which was the only place in Heſſe now poſſeſſed by a French garriſon; but his preparations were interrupted by the ceſſation of arms, which took place immediately after the ſigning of the preliminaries of the peace between France and Great Britain.

This campaign, though not diſtinguiſhed by any great deciſive victory, was not leſs honourable, than any of the former, to the commander or the troops. A connected ſeries of judicious and ſpirited operations produced all the effects which could have been propoſed from a ſingle and brilliant ſtroke. At this time, the French, after having, for ſix years, exerted almoſt the whole undivided ſtrength of their monarchy upon this ſingle object, were, in the end, very little more advanced, than they were the day they firſt ſet their foot in Germany. The poſſeſſion of three or four poor unimportant places was all they had purchaſed by many millions of treaſure expended, and poſſibly near two hundred thouſand lives thrown away. The whole body of the allies acquired great and juſt glory in this war; but the Engliſh had all along the poſt of honour, and obtained the higheſt reputation. As to their commander, prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, having begun his operations almoſt without an army, having continued the war with an army always inferior in numbers, having experienced every variety of fortune, his capacity and his firmneſs carried him with credit through all; and enabled him to conclude the war with a triumphant ſuperiority. He may now enjoy, in the honourable repoſe, which his exploits have purchaſed for himſelf and his country, the beſt of rewards, the conſciouſneſs of having merited and obtained the approbation of the public. Poſterity will conſider him as the deliverer of Germany.

Having now concluded the account of the tranſactions of the war on the continent of Europe, I ſhall next deſcribe the exploits of the Britiſh arms by ſea, during the courſe of the year.

In the month of December of laſt year, an unſucceſsful attempt was made by the enemy, to burn the Britiſh ſhips of war at anchor in the road of Baſque. They provided three fire-veſſels, which being chained together, were towed out of the port, but the wind luckily ſhifting, drove them clear off the ſhips they were intended to deſtroy. They continued burning ſome time, after having blown up with a terrible exploſion, and every perſon on board periſhed.

In the beginning of April, captain Gambier, commander of the Burford, arrived at Plymouth with a large French Eaſt-India ſhip from the iſle of Bourbon, laden with coffee and pepper, which had been taken by one of Sir George Pococke's ſquadron, in the Chops of the Channel.

In May, two Britiſh frigates, cruiſing off Cape St. Vincent, made prize of the Hermione, a Spaniſh regiſter-ſhip, bound from Lima to Cadiz, loaded with treaſure and valuable effects, by which all the captors were enriched. Her cargo amounted to about one million ſterling, which was conſiderably more than had ever been before taken in any one bottom; and the loſs of ſo much treaſure in the beginning of ſuch an expenſive war, muſt have been a ſevere ſtroke on the court of Madrid. The prize was brought from Gibraltar to England, and the gold and ſilver being conveyed in covered waggons to London, was carried in proceſſion to the Bank amidſt the acclamations of the people, who conſidered it as an happy omen of ſucceſs in the war with Spain, againſt which the nation was enraged to a remarkable degree of animoſity.

About the latter end of May, intelligence being received that a French ſquadron under the command of Mr. de Ternay had eſcaped from Breſt in a fog, and its deſtination being uncertain, Sir Edward Hawke, with the duke of York, as rear-admiral, ſailed from Spithead with ſeven ſhips of the line, and two frigates, in hopes of falling in with the enemy; but, after having viſited the coaſt of France, and cruiſed for ſome time in the Chops of the Channel for the protection of the trade, they returned to Portſmouth, without having ſeen Mr. de Ternay. He had been diſcovered however, on the eleventh day of May, about fifty leagues to the ſouth-weſt of the Lizard, by captain Rowley, who had ſailed with three ſhips of war as convoy to a fleet of merchant-ſhips bound to the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, and the continent of America. Captain Rowley, though inferior in ſtrength to the enemy, no ſooner obſerved them to windward, than he made a diſpoſition for battle, and lay to, waiting their approach. They accordingly bore down upon him: then he hoiſted Britiſh colours, and fired at the neareſt, when ſhe was within little more than random ſhot. They immediately hoiſted Engliſh enſigns, and tacked to the northward. He gave them chace till three in the afternoon, when they were ſcarcely in ſight; but having no hope of overtaking them, he now diſcontinued the purſuit and rejoined his convoy.

The French commander ſteered his courſe to Newfoundland, and, on the twenty-fourth day of June, entered the bay of Bulls, where he landed ſome troops without oppoſition. Having taken poſſeſſion of an inconſiderable ſettlement in that bay, they advanced to the town of St. John's, which being in no condition of defence, was ſurrendered upon capitulation. One company of ſoldiers, which compoſed the garriſon of the fort, were made priſoners of war, together with the officers and crew of his majeſty's ſloop the Gra-

mont, which was in the harbour. They alſo took ſeveral other veſſels, demoliſhed many ſtages erected for curing cod, and did conſiderable injury to the Engliſh fiſhers, and ſettlers on different parts of the coaſt. The miniſtry were no ſooner apprized of this trifling loſs, which it was impoſſible either to foreſee or prevent, than they took meaſures for retrieving the damage which the nation had ſuſtained; and this petty triumph of the enemy was of a very ſhort duration. The armament equipped in England for retaking Newfoundland, was rendered unneceſſary by the vigilance and activity of Sir Jeffery Amherſt and lord Colville, who commanded by land and ſea in North-America.

On the thirty-firſt day of Auguſt, the Hunter ſloop of war, one of Admiral Moore's cruiſers, falling in with four Dutch merchant-ſhips in the channel, under convoy of a frigate of thirty-ſix guns, the Engliſh captain prepared to examine the lading of the Dutch veſſels, when the commander of the frigate interpoſing, declared he would not ſuffer any ſuch ſearch to be made. The other inſiſting upon the examination, but being prevented by ſuperior force, made a ſignal to the Diana and Cheſter ſhips of war, which happened to be in ſight, and they advanced accordingly. After ſome expoſtulation, the Dutch captain continuing obſtinate, the Diana fired a gun to bring him to, and he returned a whole broadſide. An engagement immediately enſued, and was maintained with great ſpirit for about fifteen minutes, when the Dutchman thought proper to ſubmit, having loſt his own noſe, and nine or ten men in the action. He was brought into the Downs, together with his convoy, which were found laden with contraband merchandize from Havre to Breſt.

In the beginning of September the Zephyr, a French frigate of thirty-two guns, bound to Newfoundland, with troops, artillery, ſtores, and ammunition, was taken in the Chops of the Channel by the Lion ſhip of war, after an engagement of two hours, in which ſhe had about thirty men killed and wounded.

In the month of November, a French ſhip mounted with twenty cannon, bound from Bourdeaux to Cape Francois, on the iſland of Hiſpaniola, was taken by captain Ruthven, nephew to the earl of Bute, commander of the Terpſichore, after a ſharp action, in which he himſelf was wounded. In the courſe of the ſame month, the Oiſeau, another French frigate of twenty-ſix guns, commanded by the chevalier De Modene, was taken by captain Tonyn of the king's ſhip the Brune, about ſeven leagues from Carthagena The engagement was maintained, for ſome time, with great courage on both ſides; but at length the chevalier was obliged to ſubmit, having loſt about thirty men, including all his officers, except three, who with himſelf were wounded in the action.

A third French frigate, called the Minerve, was wrecked in the harbour of Villa-franca, through the pride, precipitation, and ignorance of her commander. She had, in company with four French ſhips of war, given chace to the Sheerneſs, an Engliſh frigate commanded by captain Clarke, from Gibraltar, who took refuge in the harbour of Villa-franca, and there anchored, the wind blowing high. He was immediately followed by the enemy, when the captain of the Minerve, actuated by an idle ſpirit of vanity and inſolence, reſolved to get between him and the ſhore, and ran his ſhip upon the rocks that formed the eaſtern ſide of the harbour. Being himſelf ignorant of the art of navigation, and ill ſeconded by a crew little acquainted with ſuch emergencies, his ſhip was in a ſhort time daſhed in pieces; and a conſiderable number of his people periſhed, notwithſtanding all the aſſiſtance that could be given him by his conſorts. On this melancholy occaſion captain Clarke, forgetting they were enemies; and that their preſent calamity was the effect of their enmity to him and his country, generouſly followed the dictates of humanity, and exerted his utmoſt endeavours for their relief. He ſent his boats manned to their aſſiſtance, and actually ſaved the lives of the greater part of their company: an inſtance of unbounded benevolence, for which he was thanked in perſon by the French commodore.

About the end of Auguſt, captain Hotham, of the Æolus, chaced two Spaniſh ſhips into the bay of Aviles, in the neighbourhood of Cape Pinas; and on the ſecond day of September, entering the bay, he dropped anchor in ſuch a ſituation, as to bring his guns to bear, not only upon one of the ſhips, but alſo upon a ſmall battery ſituated upon an eminence. After a ſhort conteſt both the battery and ſhip were abandoned; but before captain Hotham could take poſſeſſion of his prize, ſhe ran aground, and bulging, was burned by the captors. She was a large ſhip bound from the Caraccas to Paſſage, laden with hides and cocoa; the other eſcaped in the night. On the eleventh of September, Captain Hotham came up with a French ſquadron, amounting to no leſs than ſeven ſail, between St. Andero and Bilboa, and kept company with them till the ſixteenth, as far to the weſtward as Cape Finiſterre, whence he returned to his ſtation. By a ſloop from Bourdeaux, which he took on the twentieth, he learned that this ſquadron had a body of troops on board for St. Domingo.

The navy of France was by this time reduced to ſuch a ſmall number, that their miniſtry was obliged to ſend reinforcements to their ſettlements abroad, in ſingle ſhips, ſome of which were picked up by the Britiſh cruiſers, particularly one tranſport containing the beſt part of a regiment intended to reinforce their colony of Louiſiana, which had engroſſed their principal attention in America, ever ſince the loſs of Canada.

About the end of September, the duke of York and Sir Charles Hardy ſet ſail once more with a ſmall ſquadron for the bay of Biſcay, in order to intercept the enemy's cruiſers, and protect the ſhipping of Great-Britain on their voyage home from the weſtward, and after a ſhort cruiſe returned to Spithead.

The cruiſers of Great-Britain were no leſs active and ſucceſsful in the ſeas of America. In the beginning of April captain Ourry of the Actæon, in the latitude of Tobago, took a large Spaniſh regiſter ſhip, bound to Lagueira, laden with artillery, ſtores, and ammunition. In September, a fleet of twenty-five French merchant ſhips, richly laden with ſugar, coffee, and indigo, ſet ſail from Cape Francois for Europe, under convoy of four frigates. Five of theſe veſſels were engaged and

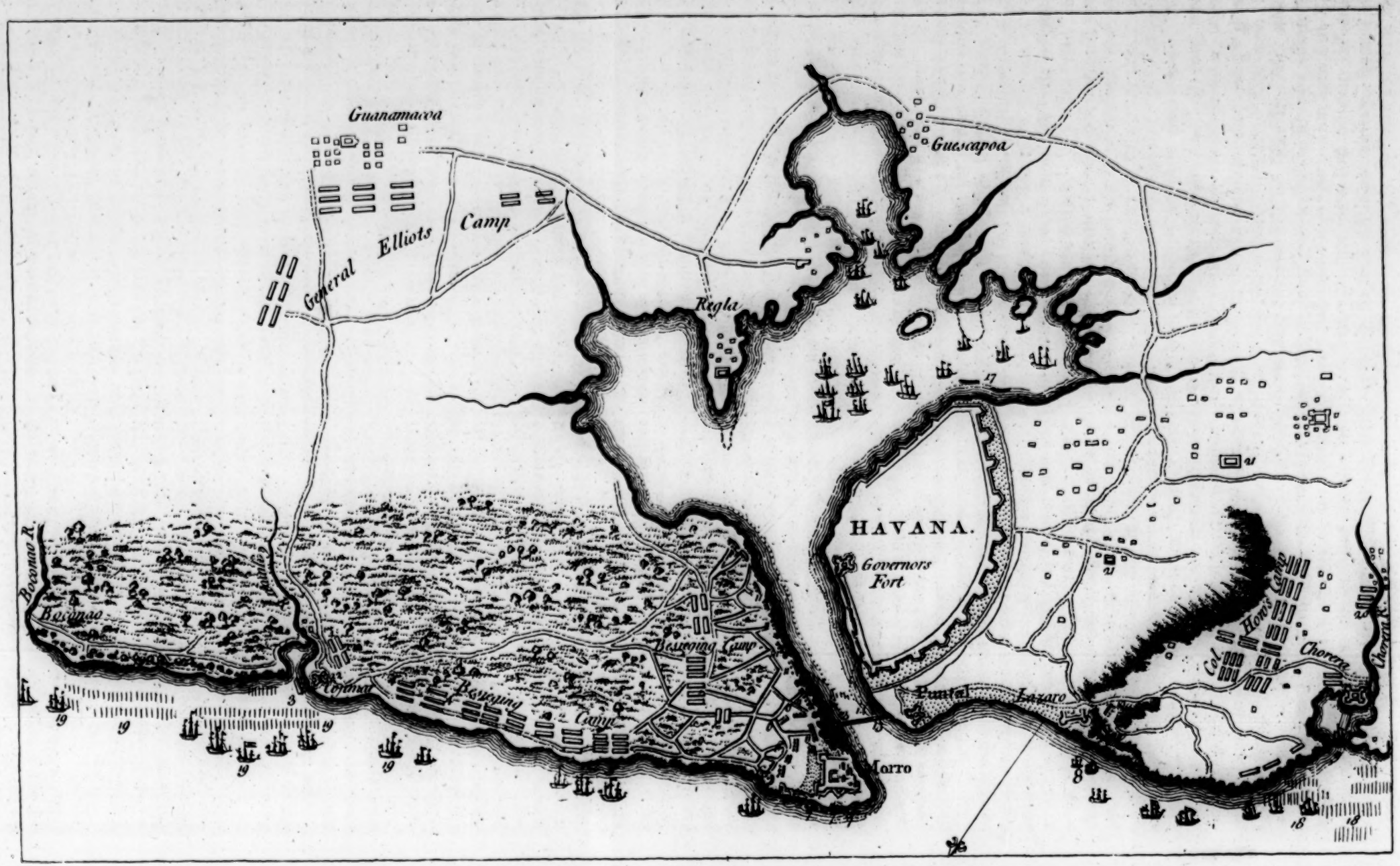
taken in the night by ſome privateers of New-York and Jamaica. Next day the remaining part fell in with commodore Keppel, who made prize of their whole fleet and convoy, which were carried into the harbour of Port-royal in Jamaica.

I proceed now to the progreſs of the Britiſh arms in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies. I have already obſerved, that, in the beginning of March, an armament had ſailed from Portſmouth under the command of the earl of Albemarle and Sir George Pocock; and that, according to the general opinion, it was deſtined to act againſt the chief Spaniſh ſettlement on the iſland of Cuba. On the twenty-ſeventh day of May they were joined off Cape Nicholas, on the northermoſt point of Hiſpaniola, by a detachment of the fleet from Martinico, under Sir James Douglas; and, in conſequence of this junction, their whole force amounted to nineteen ſail of the line, eighteen ſmaller ſhips of war, and about one hundred and fifty tranſports, having on board about ten thouſand land forces and marines. A ſupply of four thouſand men had been ordered from New-York, and was expected to join them very near as early as they could be ſuppoſed able to commence their operations.

The admiral, having determined to take the neareſt courſe through the old ſtraits of Bahama, uſed every poſſible precaution, and choſe the moſt ſkilful pilots for conducting the fleet through that difficult and dangerous paſſage, which lies along the north ſide of Cuba. He was favoured with a fair wind and good weather, which enabled him to perform this taſk in about ten days, without accident or danger; and, on the ſixth day of July, he lay to, about five leagues to the eaſtward of the Havanna, after having taken a Spaniſh frigate and a ſtore-ſhip in the paſſage. Having given directions to the maſters of the tranſports, with reſpect to the landing of the forces, and left commodore Keppel to ſuperintend this ſervice, with ſix ſail of the line and ſome frigates, he bore away with the reſt of the fleet, and ran down off the harbour, where he deſcried twelve Spaniſh ſhips of the line, with ſeveral trading veſſels. Next morning he diſpoſed his marines in boats, and made a ſhew of landing about four miles to the weſtward of the Havanna; while the earl of Albemarle landed with the whole army, between the rivers Boca-nao and Coxemar, about ſix miles to the eaſtward of the Moro Caſtle, which was the enemy's chief fortreſs for the defence of the town and harbour. A body of Spaniards appeared on the ſhore; but, ſome ſloops being ordered in to ſcour the beach and the woods with their cannon, the troops not only landed, but alſo paſſed the river Coxemar, without oppoſition. On the tenth, colonel Carleton drove the enemy from a ſmall redoubt on the top of the hill Cavannos, which overlooked the Moro; and there a poſt was eſtabliſhed: at the ſame time, three bomb-veſſels being anchored in ſhore, began to throw ſhells into the town, under cover of the ſhips Stirling Caſtle and Echo. Though this attack of the Engliſh was altogether unexpected, the place being ſtrongly fortified and well ſupplied, preparations were inſtantly made for a vigorous defence, by Don Juan de Prado, governor of the city, and the marquis del Real, commodore of the ſhipping, aſſiſted by the counſels and experience of the viceroy of Peru and the governor of Carthagena, who happened to be at the Havanna, in their way to or from their reſpective governments. By the twelfth, they had ſunk three of their capital ſhips in the mouth of the harbour, ſo as entirely to block up the channel. The admiral ordered four ſhips of the line to cruiſe in the offing; and, with the reſt of his ſquadron, anchored off Chorera river, four miles to the weſtward of the Havanna, where there was plenty of wood and freſh water. Here, at the requeſt of lord Albemarle, he landed eight hundred marines, formed into two battalions, under the majors Campbell and Collins, who encamped on this ſide, and were reinforced from the other ſide by a detachment of twelve hundred men, under the command of colonel Howe. This ſtep was taken in order to ſecure a footing on both quarters of the town, and diſtract the enemy's attention, ſo as to weaken the defence of the Moro, which commanded the town, and againſt which therefore the earl of Albemarle had determined to direct his chief operations. He was encamped in the woods between the river Coxemar and the Moro, leaving a corps at Guanamacoa, under the command of lieutenant-general Elliot, to guard the avenues on that ſide, and preſerve his communication with the country, which, it was hoped, would ſupply the troops with water, vegetables, and freſh proviſion. The attack of the Moro was conducted by major-general Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle; and the chief engineer was Mr. Mackellar, who had diſcovered uncommon abilities at the ſiege of Louiſbourg, and on many other occaſions both in this and the laſt war.

Faſcines, ſtores, and artillery, being conveyed from the ſhips with great expedition by the ſeamen, the engineers began to erect batteries of bombs and cannon, while a body of pioneers were employed to cut parallels in the woods, and form a line with faſcines, to protect the guards from the fire of the enemy, which began to be very troubleſome. On the twenty-ninth, about one thouſand choſen men of the enemy, with a detachment of armed negroes and mulattoes, landed in two diviſions to the right and left of the Moro, in order to demoliſh the works of the beſiegers: but they were repulſed by the piquets and advanced poſts, and retreated in great diſorder, with the loſs of two hundred men, killed or taken.

On the firſt day of July, the beſiegers opened two batteries of cannon, ſo that their whole fire now proceeded from twelve battering cannon, ſix large mortars, three ſmall ones, and twenty-ſix royals. The enemy had ſeventeen pieces of artillery, and one mortar, mounted on the front attacked: but their fire was neither ſo vigorouſly plied, nor ſo well directed as that of the aſſailants. Indeed, their attention was this day divided for about three hours, in conſequence of an attack made upon the north-eaſt face, by three ſhips of the line, the Cambridge, Dragon, and Marlborough, commanded by the captains Gooſtrey, Hervey, and Burnet, who maintained a cloſe cannonade, though with little effect: for the Moro was ſituated too high to be much affected by their artillery. Their rigging was conſiderably damaged, and a good number of their men killed, including captain Gooſtrey, who fell in the beginning of the engagement. His place was ſupplied by captain Lindſay



A Plan of the SIEGE *of the* HAVANA, *drawn by an* OFFICER *on the Spot, 1762.*

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Lindſay of the Trent, a brave officer, who behaved with remarkable gallantry. Captain Campbell, of the Stirling-Caſtle, who had been ordered to lead until the firſt ſhip had been properly placed, did not perform his part according to the directions he had received; and was obliged to quit the ſervice.

About the ſame time, the admiral's cruiſers, who ſcoured the ſea round the whole iſland, brought in the Venganza frigate of twenty-ſix guns, the Marté of eighteen, and a ſchooner, laden with coffee. On the twelfth, Sir James Douglas, who had parted from the admiral immediately after their junction, and ſteered his courſe to Jamaica, in a ſingle ſhip, now arrived off the Havanna, having under his convoy a fleet of merchant ſhips bound for England.

The parapet of Fort Moro was all of maſon-work; the ditch of the front attacked, was ſeventy feet deep from the edge of the counterſcarp, and more than forty feet of that depth ſunk in the rock. The ſoil of the country was ſo thin, that it was with great difficulty the men could cover themſelves in their approaches; and as it was thought neceſſary to carry on the ſiege by ſap, this method might have been found altogether impracticable, had not Sir James Douglas ſupplied the engineers with cotton bags, from ſome ſhips of his convoy, which were partly loaded with this commodity. Mean while, the enemy made ſuch a vigorous defence, that the ſiege was protracted beyond expectation; a conſiderable delay was likewiſe occaſioned by an unlucky accident. On the third day of July, the principal battery of the beſiegers, chiefly conſtructed of timber and faſcines, being dried by the heat of the weather and the continual cannonade, took fire, and the flames raged with ſuch violence, that almoſt the whole work was conſumed.

The beſiegers laboured under many other diſcouragements. Epidemical diſtempers, ſuch as never fail to attack the natives of Britain who viſit thoſe countries, began to make great havock, both in the army and the navy. Theſe were rendered more fatal by the want of neceſſaries and refreſhments. The proviſion was bad; and the troops were ill ſupplied with water. The great number of the ſick rendered the duty more fatiguing to thoſe that were well. In thoſe warm climates, the human body being in a ſtate of relaxation, is incapable of exerting ſuch vigorous efforts as it can make in more northern latitudes: and the men are ſubject to a ſpecies of dejection, which always increaſes the general mortality: this was now augmented by the delay of the troops from North-America, which they had long expected to no purpoſe.

At length, on the ſecond day of Auguſt, the long wiſhed-for reinforcement arrived; and this circumſtance added freſh vigour to the operations of the ſiege. In a few days, the ſeamen and ſoldiers belonging to four of the American tranſports, which had been wrecked in the ſtreights of Bahama, were brought off in five ſloops, detached by the admiral on this ſervice: but, at the ſame time, he received intelligence that five other tranſports, having on board three hundred and fifty ſoldiers, of Anſtruther's regiment, and one hundred and fifty provincial troops, were taken on the twenty-firſt day of July, by a French ſquadron, which fell in with them near the paſſage between Maya Guanna, and the North Caicos. All the reſt of the troops, however, arrived in perfect health.

On the nineteenth of July, the Engliſh made themſelves maſters of the covered way, before the point of the right baſtion, and a new ſap was begun at this lodgement. The only place by which the foot of the wall was acceſſible, happened to be a thin ridge of rock, left at the point of the baſtion, to cover the extremity of the ditch, which would otherwiſe have been open to the ſea. Along this ridge the miners paſſed without cover, to the foot of the wall, where they made a lodgement with little loſs. Mean while, they ſunk a ſhaft without the covered way, in order to form a mine for throwing the counterſcarp into the ditch, ſhould it be found neceſſary to fill it; and continued their former ſap along the glacis. In the night of the twenty-firſt, a ſergeant and twelve men ſcaled the walls by ſurprize; but, the garriſon being alarmed before they could be ſuſtained, they were obliged to retreat with precipitation. Next day, at four in the morning, a ſally was made from the town, by fifteen hundred men, divided into three detachments, who attacked the beſiegers in three different places, while a warm fire was kept up in their favour from the fort of Punta, the weſt baſtion, the lines and flanks of the entrance, and their ſhipping in the harbour. After a warm diſpute, which coſt the Engliſh about fifty men killed or wounded, all their three parties were repulſed, and fled with ſuch precipitation, that a conſiderable number was drowned in the hurry of their retreat. Their loſs amounted to four hundred, killed and taken priſoners. On the thirtieth day of the month, about two in the morning, a floating battery was towed out into the harbour, and fired with grape-ſhot and ſmall arms into the ditch, though without any great moleſtation to the miners; and the cloſe fire of the covering party ſoon obliged the enemy to retire.

This was the laſt effort for the relief of the Moro; which, abandoned as it was by the city, and while an enemy was undermining its walls, held out with a ſullen reſolution, and made no ſort of propoſal to capitulate. The mines at laſt did their buſineſs. A part of the wall was blown up, and fell into the ditch; leaving a breach, which though very narrow and difficult, the general and engineer judged practicable. The Engliſh troops, who were commanded on this moſt dangerous of all ſervices, rejoiced that it was to be the end of labours which were much more grievous to them. They mounted the breach, entered the fort, and formed themſelves with ſo much celerity, and with ſuch a ſurpriſing coolneſs of reſolution, that the enemy, who were drawn up to receive them, and who might have made the aſſault an affair of great bloodſhed, aſtoniſhed at their countenance, fled on all hands. About four hundred men were ſlaughtered on the ſpot, or ran to the water, where they periſhed. Four hundred more threw down their arms, and obtained quarter. The ſecond in command, the marquis de Gonſales, fell, whilſt he was making brave, but ineffectual efforts to animate and rally his people. Don Lewis de Velaſco, the governor, who had hitherto defended the fort with ſuch obſtinate bravery, ſeemed reſolved, in this extremity, to ſhare the ſame fate with

with it. He collected an hundred men in an intrenchment he had made round his colours; but ſeeing that all his companions were fled from him, or ſlaughtered about him, diſdaining to fly or call for quarter, he received a mortal wound, and fell, offering his ſword to his conquerors. The Engliſh wept, with pity and admiration, over that unfortunate valour, which had occaſioned them ſo many toilſome hours, and coſt them ſo many lives.

The reduction of the Moro was not immediately followed by the ſurrender of the Havanna; on the contrary, the governor of the place now directed his chief fire againſt the fortreſs which they had loſt; and even ſent down a large ſhip of the line to the entrance of the harbour, from whence ſhe could batter it with more effect. Her efforts, however, proved altogether fruitleſs, and in a few hours ſhe deſiſted from the attack. In the mean time, general Keppel, with the advice of the engineer, reſolved to erect new batteries on the hill of the Cavannos, on the utmoſt point of which the fort ſtands; and a plan was formed for making a new attack to the weſtward of the town. On the tenth of Auguſt, in the morning, the batteries on the Cavannos being finiſhed, the earl of Albemarle, by a meſſage, deſired the governor to ſurrender; and his anſwer was, that he would defend the place to the laſt extremity. Next morning, at day-break, about three and forty cannon and twelve mortars began to play againſt the town and the Punta, which laſt was ſilenced before ten; in another hour the north baſtion was almoſt diſabled. About two in the afternoon, white flags were hung out all round the place, as well as aboard the admiral's ſhip in the harbour; and, in a little time, a flag of truce arrived at the head-quarters, with propoſals of capitulation. The governor ſtickled hard to obtain permiſſion to ſend the ſhips to Spain, and to have the harbour declared neutral; but neither of theſe points could be given up, and hoſtilities were ordered to be renewed, when the enemy thought proper to recede from their demands. By the capitulation, which was ſigned on the thirteenth, the inhabitants were ſecured in their private property, in the enjoyment of their own laws and religion; and next day the Engliſh troops took poſſeſſion of this important conqueſt. As for the Spaniſh garriſon, which was reduced to about ſeven hundred, including officers, they were indulged with the honours of war; and it was ſtipulated, that they and the ſailors ſhould be conveyed to Old Spain, together with the Spaniſh commodore, the governor of the Havanna, the viceroy of Peru, and the governor of Carthagena, which two laſt had not yet left the place. In the progreſs of the ſiege, about five hundred of the Britiſh troops, including fifteen officers, were killed outright or died of their wounds; and about ſeven hundred, comprehending thirty-nine officers, were cut off by a diſtemper, which raged with ſtill greater violence after the reduction of the place. Vaſt quantities of artillery, ſmall arms, ammunition, and warlike ſtores, fell into the hands of the conquerors, together with twelve ſhips of the line, two upon the ſtocks, and ſeveral trading veſſels. They likewiſe acquired to the amount of about three millions ſterling, in ſilver, tobacco, and valuable merchandize, collected on his catholic majeſty's account: ſo that the Britiſh nation was more than indemnified for the expence of the expedition; and the enemy's loſs was irreparable.

So much treaſure intercepted by the Engliſh, firſt in the ſhip Hermione, and now in the iſland of Cuba, muſt have been a ſevere ſtroke upon the king of Spain: but the ruin of his navy was of much greater importance, and even that but a trifle in compariſon to the loſs of the Havanna, the port at which all their galleons and flota, loaded with the riches of Mexico and Peru, rendezvouſed in their return to Old Spain; the port which abſolutely commanded the only paſſage by which their ſhips could ſail from the bay of Mexico to Europe.

So lucrative a conqueſt had never before been made by the Engliſh. But this immenſe capture, though it enriched individuals, contributed nothing directly to the public revenue. It might be ſaid, however, to contribute ſomething to it indirectly; by encreaſing the ſtock of the nation, and ſupplying that prodigious drain of treaſure, which, for ſeveral years, had been made from this kingdom, for foreign ſubſidies, and for the maintenance of armies abroad. If it had not been for ſuch pecuniary ſupplies, with which the uncommon ſucceſſes of this war were attended, it never could have been maintained in the extent to which it was carried, notwithſtanding the encreaſe of trade, which had been uniformly progreſſive for the three preceeding years. It has been, in a looſe way, computed, that the ſucceſs of our arms in the Eaſt-Indies, independent of the great increaſe of valuable merchandize, had brought into England, during the war, near ſix millions in treaſure and jewels. The conqueſt of the Havanna was not the only inſtance in which the arms of Great-Britain triumphed over thoſe of Spain in the courſe of this ſhort war; they were no leſs ſucceſsful in another enterprize in the Eaſt-Indies.

It may not be improper to inform the reader, that the Philippine iſlands, in the Indian ocean, extend from the ſixth to near the twentieth degree of north latitude, about one hundred and twenty leagues to the ſouthward of China; that they are ſuppoſed to be twelve hundred in number, and are conſidered as part of the ſovereignty of Spain; that in the largeſt of them, called Luconia, which is ſaid to be above one hundred and ſixty leagues in length, the Spaniards are poſſeſſed of Manilla, a conſiderable city, extenſive, populous, and tolerably well fortified, the centre of the Spaniſh trade, from whence two large ſhips are ſent annually acroſs the vaſt Pacific ocean to Acapulco, on the coaſt of Mexico, laden with the ſpices, ſtuffs, jewels, and other rich merchandize of India. The city is ſituated on a point of land, formed by a river that iſſues from the great lake of Bahia, and falls into the ſea a little lower, at the town of Cavite, where there is a ſpacious harbour, though the entrance is difficult. The ſuburbs of Manilla are very extenſive, containing a great number of inhabitants, natives of different countries, particularly Chineſe; but the number of the Spaniards within the place does not amount to above five thouſand.

Againſt this ſettlement, a plan of attack was formed at Madraſs, to be carried into execution by part of the ſquadron of vice-admiral Corniſh, and a few battalions under the command of brigadier

dier-general Draper, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the defence of Madraſs, when it was beſieged by the enemy. The troops deſtined for this expedition conſiſted of one regiment, with a company of the royal artillery; and to theſe were added, by the governor of Madraſs, ſome able officers, about thirty men of the company's artillery, ſix hundred Sipoys, one company of Caffres, one of Topazes, one of pioneers, two companies of French deſerters, with a few hundred of Laſcars, for the uſe of the engineers and the park of artillery. Vice-admiral Corniſh ſupplied a ſtrong battalion of ſeamen and marines; ſo that the whole force amounted to two thouſand three hundred effective men, with which it was determined to make an attempt upon the flouriſhing city of Manilla.

Major-general Laurence, who conducted the forces of the Eaſt-India company at Madraſs, gave it as his opinion that the ſettlements would be in danger, ſhould a greater number of troops be drawn from the coaſt; and therefore, the two battalions of the company's troops, the whole cavalry, ſix thouſand Sipoys, with part of Monſon's regiment, and the highlanders, were left for their defence: at the ſame time, orders were given, that three ſhips of war, which they hourly expected at Madraſs, ſhould remain on that part of the coaſt for the ſecurity of the commerce. The preparations at length being fully completed, captain Grant, in the Sea-horſe, was inſtantly detached to the entrance of the Chineſe ſea, with inſtructions to intercept all veſſels bound for Manilla, that the enemy might get no information of their deſign.

The forces, with the ſtores and artillery, were no ſooner embarked, than admiral Corniſh ſailed in two diviſions about the beginning of Auguſt, and on the nineteenth arrived at Malacca. Here the fleet being watered, and a large quantity of rattans collected for making gabions, they proſecuted their voyage; and on the twenty-third day of September, anchored in the bay of Manilla, where they found the enemy but ill prepared for a defence, and much alarmed at this unexpected viſit. The governor was the archbiſhop, who aſſumes the title of captain-general of the Philippine Iſlands: but the garriſon, conſiſting of eight hundred men of the royal regiment, was commanded by the marquis de Villa-medina, a brigadier-general, who now reinforced it with a body of ten thouſand Indians, from the province of Pampanga, a fierce and ſavage nation, who, though unacquainted with the uſe of fire-firms, manage their bows and arrows with great dexterity, and are very formidable from their intrepidity and contempt of death.

The admiral, having ſounded the coaſt, diſcovered a convenient place for landing the troops, about two miles to the ſouthward of Manilla. On the twenty-fourth day of September, the proper diſpoſitions being made, and the three frigates, Argo, Sea-horſe, and Seaford, ſtationed very near the ſhore, to cover the deſcent; three diviſions of the forces were put on board the boats of the fleet, conducted by the ſea-captains Parker, Pempenfeldt, and Brereton, and landed at the church and village of Malata, not without ſome difficulty from a great ſurf that rolled on the beach. The enemy began to aſſemble in great numbers, both horſe and infantry, to oppoſe the deſcent; but the captains, King, Grant, and Peighin, who commanded the covering frigates, poured in ſuch a continued fire of cannon and ſmall-arms, that they ſoon diſperſed; and the general diſembarked his troops without the loſs of one man; while the Spaniſh garriſon were employed in burning the ſuburbs of Manilla. Next day the general took poſſeſſion of the Polveriſta, a ſmall fort which the enemy had deſerted, and which proved an excellent place of arms for covering the landing of the ſtores and artillery. Colonel Monſon, the ſecond in command, with an advanced party of two hundred men, occupied the church of the Hermita, about nine hundred yards from the city. The head-quarters were eſtabliſhed in the curate's houſe, and guarded by the ſeventy-ninth regiment, of which Mr Draper himſelf was colonel, as a poſt of the utmoſt conſequence, both from its ſtrength, and the commodious cover it afforded from the rains which had deluged the country, and rendered it impoſſible to form an encampment. The marines were left at the Malata, in the neighbourhood of the Polveriſta, to ſecure the communication with the fleet, and protect the ſtores and artillery, which were not landed without great danger and fatigue. Some boats were overſet, and lieutenant Hardwick periſhed on this occaſion. In the mean time a body of men approached within three hundred yards of the town, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the church of St. Jago, which they maintained, notwithſtanding its being expoſed to the fire of the enemy. The battalion of ſeamen, landing on the twenty-ſixth, were cantoned between the ſeventy ninth regiment and the marines; and the reſt of the company's troops, being diſembarked, were likewiſe put under cover. This day the enemy, to the number of four hundred men, with two field-pieces, under the command of the chevalier Fayette, marched up on the right of the Engliſh advanced poſt, the flank of which they began to cannonade: but colonel Monſon, at the head of the piquets, and a ſmall reinforcement of marines, ſoon repulſed them, and obliged them to retire with ſuch precipitation, that they left one of their field-pieces behind them.

The governor had been already twice ſummoned to ſurrender, but returned a flat refuſal; and, indeed, if the valour of his troops had been equal to the vigour of his declaration, he had but little to fear from an handful of enemies, who, far from being in a condition to inveſt the city on all ſides, were obliged to confine their operations to one corner, leaving two-thirds of it open to all manner of ſupplies. The front, which the general determined to attack, was ſecured by the baſtions of St. Diego and St. Andrew, a ravelin, which covered the royal gate, a wet ditch, a covered way, and a glacis. The baſtions were in good order, furniſhed with a great number of fine braſs cannon: but the ravelin was not armed; nor the covered way in good repair: the glacis was too low, and the ditch was not carried round the capital of the baſtion of St. Diego. The breadth of the ditch was about thirty yards, and the depth of water did not exceed five feet. It was ſounded by a detachment, headed by captain Fletcher, who begged leave to undertake this hazardous enterprize, which he accompliſhed in the midſt of the enemy's fire, with the loſs only of three men.

Some ſtraggling ſeamen having been butchered by the ſavages, the governor ſent out a flag of truce on the twenty-ſeventh, to apologize for theſe barbarities, and beg the releaſe of his own nephew, who had been lately taken in the bay, by the boats of the fleet. He had been diſpatched in a galley, by the commander of the Galleon Philippina, juſt arrived from Acapulco, at Cajayagan, near Cape Spirito Santo, with the firſt advices of the war. Next day, while lieutenant Fryar, with a flag of truce, conducted the priſoner to the town, a detachment of the garriſon, intermixed with Indians, ſallied out to attack one of the poſts of the beſiegers; when the ſavages, without reſpecting the law of nations, or the ſacred character of an officer, under the protection of a flag of truce, fell upon Mr. Fryar, with the moſt inhuman fury, and murdered him on the ſpot. They even mangled his body in the moſt brutal manner, and mortally wounded the Spaniſh gentleman, who endeavoured to protect his conductor. In their attack, they were ſoon repulſed by the Britiſh party that defended the poſt, who were ſo much enraged at their barbarity, that they gave them no quarter.

Mean while ſeveral mortars bombarded the town day and night, without intermiſſion; and the engineers were employed in raiſing ſome batteries to play upon their works. On the twenty-ninth, the admiral, at Mr. Draper's requeſt, ordered the Elizabeth, commodore Tiddeman, and the Falmouth, captain Brereton, to lie as near the town as the depth of water would allow, and enfilade the enemy's front, with a view to ſecond the operations of the beſiegers. They executed this taſk with great intrepidity; and, although the ſhallows kept them at too great a diſtance to anſwer the purpoſe effectually, their fire did not fail to throw the inhabitants into the moſt terrible conſternation. On the firſt and ſecond days of October, the weather was ſo ſtormy as to endanger the whole ſquadron, which lay upon a lee ſhore. The South ſea Caſtle ſtore-ſhip was driven aſhore, and, even in that ſituation, did remarkable ſervice, by enfilading the whole beach to the ſouthward, with her guns, and over-awing a large body of Indians, who threatened an attack on the Polveriſta, and the magazines of the beſiegers at the Malata.

Notwithſtanding the ſtorm and heavy rains, the troops and ſeamen found means to erect batteries of cannon and mortars. They likewiſe drew a parallel and communication from thence to the advanced poſt at the church, and eſtabliſhed a ſpacious place of arms on the left of it, near the ſea, the roaring of which favoured the workmen in the night, by preventing the noiſe they made from being heard by the garriſon. On the third, the battery being opened againſt the left face of St. Diego's baſtion, was ſo well ſerved by the ſeamen and corps of artillery, and the fire ſo well directed by the conduct and ſkill of major Barker, that, in a few hours, twelve pieces of cannon mounted on the face of the baſtion, were totally ſilenced, and the enemy compelled to withdraw. At night, a battery was begun of three guns on the left of the place of arms, to ſilence thoſe that were in barbette, upon the orillon of the St. Andrew baſtion, which annoyed the flank of the beſiegers. A cloſe fire of grape-ſhot and muſquetry was continued all night, to prevent the enemy from repairing their embraſures, and remounting their cannon; while ſeven mortars played without intermiſſion, upon the gorge of the baſtion, and the neighbouring defences.

On the fourth, the cantonment of the ſeamen was attacked three hours before day, by a ſtrong body of Indians, encouraged to this attempt by the inceſſant rains, which, they imagined, had rendered the fire-arms uſeleſs. Their approach was facilitated by a number of thick buſhes growing on the ſide of a rivulet, through which they paſſed in the night, without being obſerved by the patroles. The alarm was no ſooner given, than colonel Monſon and captain Fletcher advanced with the piquets to the aſſiſtance of the ſeamen, who had very judiciouſly kept firm within their poſts, contenting themſelves with acting on the defenſive, until the light ſhould enable them to diſtinguiſh friend from foe. The aſſailants, though armed chiefly with bows and lances, advanced with the moſt determined countenance to the attack; fought with incredible fury; when repulſed, returned with redoubled rage to the very muzzles of the Engliſh muſquets; and died like wild beaſts, gnawing their bayonets. At day-break, a freſh piquet of the ſeventy-ninth regiment appearing upon their right flank, they gave way and fled with great precipitation, having loſt three hundred men in their attack and retreat.

This party was no ſooner repulſed, than another body of them, reinforced by a few of the Spaniſh troops, made a furious aſſault upon the church, part of which they at laſt gained, after having expelled the Sipoys that were there poſted. From the top they fired down among the Engliſh ſoldiers, who, though now expoſed to a continued ſhower of bullets and miſſiles, maintained their poſt behind the church, without flinching; and, after an obſtinate diſpute, diſlodged the enemy, by the aſſiſtance of ſome field-pieces, and the gallant behaviour of major Fell, captain Fletcher, and other officers ſent to their ſuccour. Seventy Spaniards were killed outright; and this, with the former action, coſt the beſiegers about forty men, including captain Strahan of the ſeventy-ninth regiment, and lieutenant Porter of the Norfolk, two gallant officers, who loſt their lives, and fell univerſally lamented.

The enemy, confounded by ſuch a ſevere check, made no further attempts for relieving the place, and the Indians returned to their own habitations. The fire from the garriſon diminiſhed apace; and all their defences appeared to be ruined. On the fifth, the fire of the beſiegers became ſo violent, that a conſiderable breach was effected in the wall; and it was hoped the garriſon would demand a capitulation: but they ſeemed to be obſtinate and ſullen, without courage or activity: they had not taken care to repair their works; and now they neglected all means of procuring favourable terms, without being reſolved to defend the breach; ſo that the Engliſh general made a diſpoſition for ſtorming the town.

On the ſixth, at four o'clock in the morning, the troops allotted for this ſervice, marched off from their quarters, in ſmall bodies, to avoid ſuſpicion, and gradually aſſembling at the church of St. Jago, concealed themſelves in the place of arms, and the parallel between the church and the battery.

battery. Mean while major Barker maintained a close fire upon the works of the enemy, and those places where they might be lodged or intrenched, the mortars co-operating in the same service. At day-break, a large body of Spaniards was seen drawn up on the bastion of St. Andrew, as if they had received information of the intended assault, and had determined to annoy the assailants with musquetry and grape-shot from the extreme flank of the bastion, where they had still two cannon fit for service; but a few shells falling among them, they fled in confusion. The British troops seized this opportunity, and, directed by the signal of a general discharge from the artillery and mortars, advanced to the assault, under cover of the thick smoke which blew directly on the town.

Lieutenant Russel, at the head of sixty volunteers, led the way, being sustained by the grenadiers of the nineteenth regiment, to which he belonged. They were followed by the engineers, with the pioneers, and other workmen, to clear and widen the breach, and make lodgements, in case the enemy should have been found intrenched in the gorge of the bastion, Colonel Monson and major More conducted two grand divisions of the seventy-ninth regiment. The next body that advanced was the battalion of seamen, supported by the other two divisions of the seventy-ninth; and the rear was brought up by the troops of the East-India company. According to colonel Draper's own account, the number of troops with which he entered Manilla amounted to little more than two thousand, composed indifferently of seamen, soldiers, Sipoys, Caffres, Lascars, Topasees, French and German deserters. These assailants mounted the breach with incredible courage and celerity, while the Spaniards on the bastion fled so unexpectedly, that it was strongly suspected they intended to spring mines. The English troops penetrated into the town with very little opposition, except at the royal guard-house, defended by one hundred Spaniards with Indians, who refusing to submit, were instantly cut in pieces. They were likewise considerably galled with shot from the galleries of lofty houses, with which the great square was surrounded. Three hundred of the garrison were drowned in attempting to cross the river, which was deep and rapid; the governor, with the principal magistrates, withdrawing into the citadel. This retreat was in itself imprudent, inasmuch as they took no step towards procuring terms for the citizens, who were accordingly subjected to a severe chastisement.

Colonel Draper, having no offer of capitulation or surrender made him, could not prevent his troops, for some hours, from making the city feel all the rapaciousness of a common soldiery; and those he commanded, except the few regulars, could not be supposed to be of the most orderly kind. At last the citadel, being utterly untenable, the archbishop and the magistrates surrendered themselves prisoners of war, and it was immediately occupied by captain Dupont, with one hundred men of the seventy-ninth regiment. The marquis de Villa-medina, with the rest of the Spanish officers, were enlarged on giving their parole of honour; and all the Indians were dismissed in safety. This important conquest was atchieved with the loss of no more than twenty men, among whom, however, was unfortunately the gallant major More, who fell by an arrow, at the royal gate.

Manilla was no sooner occupied by the British forces, than the admiral went on shore to consult with general Draper on this great event; and to settle a capitulation. This was found on tryal, to be no easy matter. When the archbishop and magistrates appeared, the two English commanders generously acquainted them, they were ready to agree to a capitulation that might save so fine a city from destruction; and desired them to withdraw, to deliberate and propose such terms of compensation as might satisfy the soldiers and sailors, and secure them from pillage and its fatal consequences.

Upon their return they produced a draught of terms, in the name of the archbishop, the royal audience, and the city and commerce of Manilla, which were so little agreeable to their desperate situation, that they were rejected as unsatisfactory and inadmissible, because they made no mention of a compensation to the victors for protecting the place from military execution. The English commanders then took the pen, and prescribed the conditions on which the city of Manilla should be saved from plunder, and the inhabitants secured in their religion, liberties, and properties, under the government of his Britannic majesty. In this paper the British commanders promised that the terms proposed by the archbishop and the magistrates should be granted, if those of the ransom were complied with; to which the Spaniards agreed. In pursuance of this capitulation the town and port of Cavite, with the islands and forts depending upon Manilla, were to be delivered up to his Britannic majesty; and four millions of dollars paid as a ransom for the city of Manilla, and the effects of the inhabitants, who, on the other hand, were to be maintained in their religion and private property, under the government and protection of the king of England. The port and citadel of Cavite were surrendered, together with several large ships, and a vast quantity of warlike and naval stores. The Spanish garrison of three hundred men, instead of quietly submitting themselves agreeable to the governor's order, mutinied against their officers; and, having pillaged some houses, retired with their arms to the country. Captain Campion, with two hundred men, being embarked in the Sea-horse, took possession of the place, and captain Kempenfeldt was constituted governor of it, by a commission from the general. One third of the ransom of Manilla was allowed to the East-India company; and Mr. Draper, according to the instructions he had received, delivered up the city of Manilla, the port of Cavite, with all their artillery, ammunition, and warlike stores, to Dawson Drake, Esq; and the other persons appointed to receive them in behalf of that company. All the British forces employed in this expedition were but barely sufficient to garrison this important conquest, which was obtained with so little bloodshed, that not above one hundred men were killed in the whole service. Among these, however, was unhappily numbered the gallant commodore Tiddeman, who, in attempting to enter the river in his barge, on the morning that succeeded the reduction of the place, was unfortunately drowned with five of his people.

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The acquiſition of Luconia, with its towns, treaſures, artillery, ſtores, iſlands, and dependencies, was immediately ſucceeded by another advantage of no ſmall importance. Admiral Corniſh having learned by means of ſome letters taken in the galley with the Spaniſh governor's nephew, that the galleon St. Philippina was arrived from Acapulco at Cajayagan, he detached in queſt of her the Panther and Argo, two ſhips of war, commanded by the captains Parker and King; the firſt of the line; the other a frigate. On the thirtieth day of October, being of the iſland Capul, near the entrance of the Embocadero, they diſcovered a ſail ſtanding to the northward. The Argo being driven by the current among the Narangoes, was obliged to anchor: but captain King, in the frigate, coming up with the chace, engaged her for near two hours, during which he was roughly handled, and even compelled to deſiſt, until his rigging could be repaired.

The current ſlackening, captain Parker was enabled to get under ſail; and about nine next morning, came up with the enemy, who, after having been cannonaded two hours at a very ſmall diſtance, ſtruck their colours and ſurrendered: but the captain was not a little ſurpriſed to hear, when the Spaniſh general came on board, that, inſtead of the St. Philippina, he had taken the Santiſſima Trinidad, which had departed from Manilla on the firſt day of Auguſt, bound for Acapulco, and had ſailed three hundred leagues to the eaſtward of the Embocadero; but, meeting with a hard gale of wind, and being diſmaſted, was obliged to put back and refit. She was a very large ſhip, ſo thick in the ſides, that the ſhot of the Panther did not penetrate any part of her, except the upper works. She had eight hundred men on board; and was pierced for ſixty cannon; but no more than thirteen were mounted. The merchandize on board was computed at one million and a half of dollars, and the whole cargo ſuppoſed to be worth double that ſum; ſo that this capture was a conſiderable addition to the conqueſt, and a freſh wound to the enemy.

The news of the recovery of St. John's in Newfoundland, which arrived about this period, was likewiſe another cauſe of triumph in England.

Lord Colville was no ſooner informed of the progreſs which the French armament had made on the coaſt of Newfoundland, than he ſailed thither from Hallifax, and blocked up the harbour of St. John's by ſea, even while Mr. Ternay, the French commodore, lay at anchor in it, with a ſuperior ſquadron. On the eleventh day of September, his lordſhip was reinforced by colonel Amherſt, who had been detached on this ſervice by his brother Sir Jeffery Amherſt, commander of the forces in America. The colonel had touched at Louiſbourg, and taken on board ſome troops, which, with thoſe brought with him at Hallifax, amounted to about eight hundred, chiefly highlanders and light infantry. They diſembarked, after a ſlight oppoſition, in Torbay, about ſeven miles to the northward of St. John's: and this part of the country was extremely encumbered with mountains and paſſes occupied by the enemy. The Britiſh forces advanced to the ſtrong poſt of Kitty-vitty, which they took ſword in hand. They likewiſe diſlodged the enemy from two other heights which they had fortified, and did not abandon till after an obſtinate diſpute. On the ſixteenth of September, they took poſt in the neighbourhood of St. John's Fort, and, next day, a mortar battery was erected. The French commodore had ſunk ſome ſhallops in the entrance of the harbour, which was commanded by a breaſt-work and unfiniſhed battery. Theſe being gained, and the channel opened, colonel Amherſt received his artillery and ſtores, by water-carriage: but lord Colville was driven by contrary winds, to ſome diſtance from the coaſt. In his abſence, Mr. de Ternay, availing himſelf of a thick fog, immediately hoiſted ſail and made his eſcape. His ſhips were deſcried at a great diſtance from the top-maſt heads of the Britiſh ſquadron, ſteering ſouth ſouth-eaſt; but not ſuppoſed to be the ſhips of Mr. Ternay. On the eighteenth, in the morning, Mr. de Hauſſonville, the commander of the French forces at St. John's, who had been ſummoned, and refuſed to ſurrender, thought proper to agree to a capitulation; and delivered himſelf with his garriſon, priſoners of war, on condition of being conveyed to Breſt the firſt opportunity. They were a fine body of troops, very near equal in number to the beſiegers; and lord Colville, who had by this time returned to the harbour, appointed ſome ſhips for tranſporting them to France. Thus the town and fort of St. John's, with all the other petty places which the French had taken on this coaſt, were recovered, with very little loſs, by a handful of troops, who exerted themſelves with equal courage and conduct on this occaſion.

When France had found experimentally, that the preſent at leaſt was not the favourable time, for drawing from her alliance all thoſe advantages, with which ſhe had flattered herſelf, ſhe inclined in good earneſt to peace. The ſincerity of her procedure in the former negociation might juſtly be queſtioned; becauſe ſhe had prepared an after-game in caſe of its proving abortive. And ſo much did ſhe rely on it, that probably the negociation itſelf was but a feint made to cover and to prepare that project. But finding that Great-Britain was neither intimidated by the threats of that formidable alliance, nor at all likely to be reduced by the exertion of its forces, ſhe came, in good earneſt, into thoſe pacific ſentiments, which formerly ſhe had only counterfeited. The ſlow progreſs of the Bourbon troops in Portugal, the retrograde motion of the French army in Germany, the taking of Martinico and its dependencies, the reduction of the Havanna, all conſpired to humble the pride, and daſh the hopes of the Bourbon alliance.

On the ſide of Great-Britain, likewiſe, the diſpoſitions to peace became much more cordial. No people were ever leſs intoxicated with ſucceſſes. Victories were grown familiar to us, and made but little impreſſion. The marks of public joy on the moſt conſiderable conqueſts, were become much ſlighter and colder, than were ſhewn at the beginning of the war, upon any trivial advantages. Though her trade had been greatly augmented, a circumſtance beyond all example favourable; and though many of her conqueſts, as we have ſeen, were attended with the moſt ſolid advantages, her ſupplies of money, great as they were, did not keep pace with her expences. The ſupply of men too, which was neceſſary to anſwer the waſte of ſo extenſive a war, became ſenſibly diminiſhed; and the

the troops were not recruited but with ſome difficulty, and at a heavy charge. It was time to cloſe the war, when every end, we could rationally propoſe to ourſelves in carrying it on, was attained. We had enough to anſwer all our demands, and almoſt all our expectations; and as it is grown into a ſort of maxim, that nations greatly victorious muſt cede ſomething on a peace, the difficulty on our ſide was only what, and how much we ſhould retain. Not that there was a doubt, but whatever choice of acquiſition could be made upon any rational principles, a great deal would ſtill remain to give the fulleſt ſcope to every ſentiment of equity and moderation.

Theſe cauſes co-operated to render the deſires of the Britiſh miniſtry towards peace, altogether hearty and ſincere; and they thought themſelves abundantly juſtified in their wiſhes for it at this juncture, both by the ſucceſſes and burthens of the nation; from the flouriſhing ſtate of ſome of their allies, and the doubtful ſtate of others; and, in general, from thoſe arguments of humanity, which made it high time, that Europe ſhould enjoy ſome interval of repoſe.

Both courts thus concurring in the ſame point, all difficulties were ſpeedily ſmoothed. It is ſaid that the firſt overtures were made under the mediation of his Sardinian majeſty. As ſoon as terms were propoſed, a reſolution was taken, in order to give to each other a pledge of their mutual ſincerity, that this treaty ſhould not be negociated, as the former had been, by ſubordinate perſons; but that the two courts ſhould reciprocally ſend, to London and Verſailles, a perſon of the firſt conſequence and diſtinction in either kingdom. Accordingly, the duke of Bedford was ſent to negociate on the part of England; and the duke de Nivernois on that of France; and the great outlines of the treaty were very ſoon explained and adjuſted. In the negociation of 1761, it had been laid down as a principle by the two courts, that their reſpective propoſitions, in caſe the treaty ſhould, by any accident, be broken off, were to be conſidered as retracted or never made. Theſe propoſitions however, notwithſtanding the above ſalvo, ſtill continued in force, and were aſſumed as the baſis of the preſent treaty, which differed, in no eſſential point, from the former. The ſpirit of the two negociations, ſo far as regarded the peculiar intereſt of Great-Britain, ſeems, indeed, to have been perfectly ſimilar. There was ſcarce any other difference, than that Great-Britain, in conſequence of her ſucceſſes, ſince that time acquired more than ſhe then demanded; but ſtill the general idea, on which ſhe acquired, was nearly or altogether the ſame. But, with regard to ſome of our allies, the principle was greatly varied; and this change, we imagine, was ſufficiently juſtified by the alteration which had happened in the affairs of Germany, during the interval between the two treaties. Thoſe who conducted the negociation in 1761, were ſteady in rejecting every propoſition, in which they were not left at liberty to aid the king of Pruſſia with the whole force of Great-Britain: thoſe who concluded the peace in 1762, paid leſs attention to the intereſts, though they did not wholly neglect the ſafety, of that monarch. At the beginning of the year, and before they had entered into this negociation, they refuſed, as I have obſerved, to renew that article of the annual treaty, by which our court had engaged to conclude no peace without the conſent of his Pruſſian majeſty; though, at the ſame time, they declared themſelves willing to aſſiſt him with the annual ſubſidy. He, on his part, refuſed the ſubſidy, unconnected with that article. Some coldneſs grew between the two courts from this time forward.

The preliminaries of the peace, which were now pretty well known, were ſubjected to a ſevere ſcrutiny; and many plauſible arguments were advanced on both ſides of the queſtion. It was urged, on the one hand, that, in this treaty, we had loſt ſight of that great fundamental article, that France is chiefly, if not ſolely, to be dreaded in the light of a maritime and commercial power: that, therefore, we had, by reſtoring to her all her valuable Weſt-Indian iſlands, and by our conceſſions in the Newfoundland fiſhery, left in her hands the means of recovering her prodigious loſſes, and of becoming once more formidable to us at ſea: that the fiſhery trained up an innumerable multitude of young ſeamen; and that the Weſt-Indian trade employed them when they were trained: that France had, long ſince, gained a decided ſuperiority over us in this lucrative branch of commerce, and ſupplied almoſt all Europe with the rich commodities which are produced only in this part of the world: that, by this commerce, ſhe enriched her merchants, and augmented her finances; whilſt, from a want of ſugar land, which had been long known, and ſeverely felt, by England, we at once loſt the foreign trade, and ſuffered all the inconveniencies of a monopoly at home: that, at the cloſe of ſo expenſive a war, we might very reaſonably demand ſomething towards our indemnification, as well as towards our ſecurity: that it was evident, that our conqueſts in North-America, however they might provide for the one, were altogether inadequate to the other of theſe ends: that the ſtate of the preſent trade of theſe conqueſts was extremely low; the hopes of their future commerce were precarious; and the proſpect, at beſt, very remote: that we ſtood in need of ſupplies which would have an effect, certain, ſpeedy, and conſiderable: that the retaining both or even one of the conſiderable French iſlands, Martinico or Guadaloupe, would, and nothing elſe could, effectually anſwer this triple purpoſe: that the advantage was immediate; it was a matter, not of conjecture, but of account: that the trade with theſe conqueſts, was of the moſt lucrative nature, and of the moſt conſiderable extent; the number of ſhips employed in it were a great addition to our maritime power; the monopoly at home was corrected, and the foreign trade recovered; and, what was of equal weight, all that we gained on this ſyſtem, was made fourfold to us, by the loſs which enſued to France; but our conqueſts in North-America, however advantageous they might prove to us, with regard to the ſecurity of our ſettlements (for in that reſpect alone, they were of any moment) were of little detriment to the commerce of France; on the Weſt-Indian ſcheme of acquiſition, our gain and her loſs were in exact proportion: that the connection of this trade with that of our colonies in North-America, and with our commerce to the

coaſt of Africa, was obvious at firſt ſight: that the African trade would be augmented by the demand for ſlaves; that of North-America would all center in ourſelves; whereas, if the iſlands were all reſtored, a great part of the benefit of the northern colony trade muſt redound, as it had hitherto done, to thoſe who had been lately our enemies, and would always be our rivals: that there was nothing extravagant or overbearing in this demand: that, though we ſhould retain either Martinico or Guadaloupe, or even both theſe iſlands, our conqueſts were ſuch, that there would ſtill be abundant matter left to diſplay our moderation in the ceſſion of the reſt; to ſay nothing of our many conceſſions in the fiſhery, on the coaſt of Africa, and in the Eaſt-Indies, of all which great branches of commerce the French had been intirely diſpoſſeſſed in this war, and to a conſiderable ſhare of which they would be reſtored by the treaty: that if further conceſſions be made (for which, however, there appeared no neceſſity) the demand in North-America might be ſomewhat contracted: that, by this method, we ſhould loſe nothing to our commerce; nor ſhould we, in the leaſt, hazard our ſecurity; as we ſhould ſtill be infinitely ſuperior in ſtrength; and whenever a war broke out, that power would be moſt ſecure, whoſe reſources were moſt conſiderable.

It was alledged, on the other hand, that the original object of the war was the ſecurity of our colonies on the continent; that the danger to which theſe colonies were expoſed, and, in conſequence of that danger, the immenſe waſte of blood and treaſure which enſued to Great-Britain, together with the calamities, which were, from the ſame ſource, derived upon the four quarters of the world, left no ſort of doubt, that it was not only our beſt, but our only policy, to guard againſt all poſſibility of the return of ſuch evils: that experience had ſhewn us, that while France poſſeſſed any ſingle place in America, from whence ſhe might moleſt our ſettlements, they could never enjoy any repoſe, and, of courſe, that we were never ſecure from being plunged again into thoſe calamities, from which we had, at length, and with ſo much difficulty, happily emerged: that to remove France from our neighbourhood in America, or to contract her power within the narroweſt limits poſſible, was therefore the moſt capital advantage we could obtain, and was worth purchaſing almoſt by any conceſſions: that the abſolute ſecurity derived from this plan, included in itſelf an indemnification; firſt, by ſaving us, more effectually than any other method could, from the neceſſity of another war, and conſequently by giving us an opportunity of increaſing our trade, and lowering our debt, ſecondly, by permitting our colonies on the continent to extend themſelves, without danger or moleſtation: that the great increaſe of population in thoſe colonies, within a few years, was notorious; and that their trade with the mother country had uniformly increaſed with this population: that being now freed from the moleſtation of enemies, and the emulation of rivals, unlimited in their poſſeſſions, and ſafe in their perſons, our American planters would, by the very courſe of their natural propagation, in a very ſhort time, furniſh out a demand of our manufactures, as large as all the working hands of Great-Britain could poſſibly ſupply: that there was therefore no reaſon to dread that want of trade which was ſuppoſed to be approaching; ſince North-America alone would ſupply the deficiencies of our trade in every other part of the world: that the great variety of climates, which that country contained, was a circumſtance of the moſt promiſing nature, and would be productive of the moſt beneficial effects on trade and commerce: that the value of our conqueſts, therefore, ought not to be eſtimated by their preſent produce, but by their probable increaſe; nor, indeed, ought the value of any country to be ſolely determined by its commercial advantages: that extent of territory, and a number of ſubjects, are matters of as much conſideration to a ſtate attentive to the ſources of real grandeur, as the mere advantages of traffic; the latter ideas being rather ſuitable to a limited and petty commonwealth, like Holland, than to a great, powerful, and warlike nation: that, on theſe principles, having made very large demands in North-America, it was neceſſary to relax in other parts: that France could never be brought to any conſiderable ceſſion in the Weſt-Indies; but that her power and increaſe there could never become formidable, inaſmuch as the exiſtence of her ſettlements depended upon ours in North-America, ſhe not being any longer left a place, from whence they can be ſupplied with proviſions: that, in loſing ſomething of the ſugar-trade, we loſt very little elſe than a luxury; and that as to the other produce of the Weſt-Indies, it might be, in a great meaſure, and in part was already ſupplied by our poſſeſſions on the continent, which daily increaſed not only in the quantity but in the kind of its produce.—I ſhall not pretend to paſs any judgment on the merits of the ſeveral ſides of this queſtion, which is certainly a very difficult one. I only relate opinions, as well as facts, hiſtorically.

While this treaty remained upon the carpet, it formed a great criſis, as well in the fortune of the new miniſtry, as in the affairs of the nation. Towards the latter end of the ſummer, Mr. F— was called in, and engaged in their ſupport. Though he continued in his old place of pay-maſter, he undertook to conduct the affairs of government in the houſe of commons. Mr. Gr——, whoſe office would naturally have engaged him in that taſk, reſigned the ſeals of ſecretary of ſtate, and was appointed firſt lord of the admiralty. The great experience and known parliamentary abilities of Mr. F— ſeemed to give new life to the affairs of the adminiſtration. A more vigorous and determined conduct was from that time adopted. Many of thoſe, who were not perfectly attached to the new ſyſtem, were immediately removed from their places; and meaſures were taken to clear every department of every friend of the D. of N——.

On the twenty-fifth day of November, the parliament being aſſembled, his majeſty harangued them from the throne. He obſerved, that the late war with Spain, and the attack of his ally, the king of Portugal, having greatly affected the commerce of his ſubjects, multiplied the objects of his military operations, and added to the heavy burthens of his people; he had willingly embraced an occaſion that offered of renewing the negotiation for peace. He gave them to underſtand, that the

preliminary articles were actually ſigned: that, by the conditions in which all parties had acquieſced, an immenſe territory was added to the empire of Great-Britain; and a ſolid foundation laid for the increaſe of commerce; that care had been taken to remove all occaſions of future diſputes; that the king of Portugal was ſecured in all his dominions; and that all the territories of his German allies were evacuated by the troops of France. He lamented that a great number of his ſubjects had been loſt in different parts of the world; a conſideration which reinforced the other reaſons he had to engage in the negotiation; and that he had haſtened the concluſion of it, to prevent the neceſſity of making preparations for another campaign. He deſired the commons to conſider of ſuch methods in the ſettlement of the new acquiſitions, as ſhould moſt effectually tend to the ſecurity of thoſe countries, and to the improvement of the Britiſh trade and navigation. He recommended to their care and attention, his gallant ſubjects by whoſe valour thoſe acquiſitions were made. He obſerved, that union at home was peculiarly neceſſary to lay the foundation of that œconomy which they owed to themſelves and their poſterity, and which alone could relieve the nation from the heavy burthens entailed upon it by the neceſſities of a long expenſive war.

In anſwer to this ſpeech, addreſſes were preſented as uſual by both houſes containing general compliments of congratulation on the approach of peace, as well as upon the birth of the prince of Wales *; next day a ceſſation of arms was proclaimed; and orders were given for opening again all the channels of communication with France and Spain. When the upper houſe took the articles of the peace into conſideration, many objections were made by the lords in the oppoſition; and ſome ſevere reflections were thrown out againſt the earl of B—te, with appearance of heat and perſonal animoſity. That nobleman defended his own conduct with temper and decorum, in a well connected ſpeech delivered with great propriety, to the ſurprize of many, who did not think him ſo well qualified in the art and faculty of elocution. He gave a detail of the negotiation; and not only owned himſelf a warm promoter of the peace, but even expreſſed a deſire that this circumſtance ſhould be engraved upon his tomb. He was ſeconded by the earl of Halifax, and ſupported by a great majority.

The ſame good fortune attended the adminiſtration in the other houſe, where the oppoſition made its appearance in a number that was by no means formidable. Mr. P—tt, though in his health greatly indiſpoſed, reſolved to diſapprove the peace in perſon. He came into the houſe, ſupported on the arms of his friends, and obtained of the ſpeaker permiſſion to harangue ſitting. In this attitude he ſpoke above two hours without intermiſſion. The ſcope of his ſpeech was to juſtify his own conduct in the adminiſtration; and to give his opinion of the ſeparate articles of the peace, which upon the whole, he condemned as inadequate to the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms. The mayor of London ſpoke on the ſame ſide, without making much impreſſion; and both houſes agreed upon addreſſes of approbation; which were preſented accordingly. The definitive treaty of peace, ſigned at Paris on the tenth day of February, was couched in theſe terms:

The Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendſhip, between his Britannick Majeſty, the Moſt Chriſtian King, and the King of Spain. Concluded at Paris, the 10th Day of February, 1763. To which the King of Portugal acceded on the ſame Day.

In the Name of the moſt Holy and Undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. So be it.

BE it known to all thoſe to whom it ſhall, or may, in any manner, belong.

"It has pleaſed the Moſt High to diffuſe the ſpirit of union and concord among the princes, whoſe diviſions had ſpread troubles in the four parts of the world, and to inſpire them with the inclination to cauſe the comforts of peace to ſucceed to the misfortunes of a long and bloody war, which having ariſen between England and France, during the reign of the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, George the Second, by the Grace of God, king of Great-Britain, of glorious memory, continued under the reign of the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, George the Third, ſucceſſor, and, in its progreſs, communicated itſelf to Spain and Portugal: conſequently, the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, Duke of Brunſwick and Lunenbourg, Arch-Treaſurer, and Elector, of the Holy Roman Empire; the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, Lewis the Fifteenth, by the Grace of God, the moſt Chriſtian King; and the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, Charles the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Spain and of the Indies, after having laid the foundations of peace in the preliminaries, ſigned at Fountainbleau the third of November laſt; and the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince, Don Joſeph the Firſt, by the Grace of God, King of Portugal and of the Algarves, after having acceded thereto, determined to complete without delay, this great and important work. For this purpoſe the high contracting parties have named and appointed their reſpective ambaſſadors extraordinary and miniſters plenipotentiary, viz. his Sacred Majeſty the King of Great-Britain, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord John Duke and Earl of Bedford, marquis of Taviſtock, &c. his miniſter of State, Lieutenant General of his Armies, Keeper of his Privy Seal, Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, and his Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Miniſter Plenipotentiary to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: his Sacred Majeſty the Moſt Chriſtian King, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord Cæſar Gabriel de Choiſeul, Duke of Praſlin, peer of France, Knight of his Orders, Lieutenant General of his Armies, and of the province of Brittany, Counſellor of all his Councils, and Miniſter and Secretary of State, and of his Commands and Finances: his Sacred

* He was born on the 12th of Auguſt, and baptized on the 12th of September by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and named George Auguſtus Frederick.

Majeſty

Majeſty the Catholick King, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord, Don Jerome Grimaldi, Marquis de Grimaldi, Knight of the moſt Chriſtian King's Orders, Gentleman of his Catholick Majeſty's Bed-chamber in employment, and his Ambaſſador Extraordinary to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: his Sacred Majeſty the Moſt Faithful King, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord, Martin de Mello and Caſtro, Knight profeſſed of the Order of Chriſt, of his Moſt Faithful Majeſty's Council, and his Ambaſſador and Miniſter Plenipotentiary to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

"Who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, in good form, have agreed upon the articles, the tenor of which is as follows:

"Art. I. There ſhall be a chriſtian, univerſal and perpetual peace, as well by ſea as by land, and a ſincere and conſtant friendſhip ſhall be reeſtabliſhed between their Britannick, Moſt Chriſtian, Catholick, and Moſt Faithful Majeſties, and between their heirs and ſucceſſors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, vaſſals, and ſubjects, of what quality or condition ſoever they be, without exceptions of places, or of perſons: ſo that the high contracting parties ſhall give the greateſt attention to maintain between themſelves and their ſaid dominions and ſubjects, this reciprocal friendſhip and correſpondence, without permitting, on either ſide, any kind of hoſtilities, by ſea or by land, to be committed from henceforth, for any cauſe, or under any pretence, whatſoever; and every thing ſhall be carefully avoided, which might hereafter prejudice the union happily reeſtabliſhed, applying themſelves, on the contrary, on every occaſion, to procure for each other whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, intereſts, and advantages, without giving any aſſiſtance or protection, directly or indirectly, to thoſe who would cauſe any prejudice to either of the high contracting parties: there ſhall be a general oblivion of every thing that may have been done or committed before, or ſince, the commencement of the war which is juſt ended.

"Art. II. The treaties of Weſtphalia of 1648; thoſe of Madrid between the two crowns of Great-Britain and Spain of 1667, and 1670; the treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678, and 1679; of Ryſwyck of 1697; thoſe of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; that of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1738; the definitive treaty of Aix la Chapelle of 1748; and that of Madrid, between the crown of Great-Britain and Spain, of 1750; as well as the treaties between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, of the 13th of February 1668; of the 6th of February 1715; and of the 12th of February 1716; and that of the 11th of April 1713; between France and Portugal with the guarantees of Great-Britain; ſerve as a baſis and foundation to the peace, and the preſent treaty: and for this purpoſe, they are all renewed and confirmed in the beſt form, as well as all the treaties in general, which ſubſiſted between the high contracting parties before the war, as if they were inſerted here word for word; ſo that they are to be exactly obſerved, for the future, in their whole tenor, and religiouſly executed on all ſides, in all their points, which ſhall not be derogated from by the preſent treaty; notwithſtanding all that may have been ſtipulated to the contrary by any of the high contracting parties: and all the ſaid parties declare, that they will not ſuffer any privilege, favour, or indulgence, to ſubſiſt, contrary to the treaties above confirmed, except what ſhall have been agreed and ſtipulated by the preſent treaty.

"Art. III. All the priſoners made on all ſides, as well by land as by ſea, and the hoſtages carried away, or given during the war, and to this day, ſhall be reſtored, without ranſom, ſix weeks at lateſt, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, each crown reſpectively paying the advances which ſhall have been made for the ſubſiſtence and maintenance of their priſoners, by the ſovereign of the country where they ſhall have been detained, according to the atteſted receipts and eſtimates, and other authentic vouchers, which ſhall be furniſhed on one ſide and the other: and ſecurities ſhall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the priſoners ſhall have contracted in the countries where they have been detained, until their entire liberty. And all the ſhips of war and merchant-veſſels, which ſhall have been taken ſince the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the ceſſation of hoſtilities by ſea, ſhall be likewiſe reſtored bona fide, with all their crews and cargoes: and the execution of this article ſhall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

"Art. IV. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty renounces all pretenſions which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Scotia, or Acadia in all its parts; and guarantees the whole of it, and with it all its dependencies, to the King of Great-Britain: moreover, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty cedes and guaranties to his ſaid Britannick Majeſty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the iſland of Cape Breton, and all the other iſlands and coaſts in the gulph and river St. Laurence, and, in general, every thing that depends on the ſaid countries, lands, iſlands, and coaſts, with the ſovereignty, property, poſſeſſion, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwiſe, which the Moſt Chriſtian King, and the crown of France, have had, till now, over the ſaid countries, iſlands, lands, places, coaſts, and their inhabitants, ſo that the Moſt Chriſtian King cedes and makes over the whole to the ſaid King, and to the crown of Great-Britain, and that in the moſt ample manner and form, without reſtriction, and without any liberty to depart from the ſaid ceſſion and guaranty, under any pretence, or to diſturb Great-Britain in the poſſeſſions above-mentioned. His Britannick Majeſty, on his ſide, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholick religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will, conſequently, give the moſt preciſe and moſt effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholick ſubjects may profeſs the worſhip of their religion, according to the rites of the Romiſh church, as far as the laws of Great-Britain permit. His Britannick Majeſty further agrees, that the French inhabitants, or others who had been ſubjects of the Moſt Chriſtian King in Canada, may retire, with all ſafety and freedom, wherever they ſhall think proper, and may ſell their eſtates, provided

vided it be to the ſubjects of his Britannick Majeſty, and bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, without being reſtrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecutions: the term limited for this emigration ſhall be fixed to the ſpace of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty.

" V. The ſubjects of France ſhall have the liberty of fiſhing and drying on a part of the coaſts of the iſland of Newfoundland, ſuch as it is ſpecified in the XIIIth article of the treaty of Utrecht; which article is renewed and confirmed by the preſent treaty (except what relates to the iſland of Cape Breton, as well as to the other iſlands and coaſts in the mouth and in the gulph of St. Laurence): and his Britannick Majeſty conſents to leave to the ſubjects of the moſt Chriſtian King the liberty of fiſhing in the gulph St. Laurence, on condition that the ſubjects of France do not exerciſe the ſaid fiſhery, but at the diſtance of three leagues from all the coaſts belonging to Great-Britain, as well thoſe of the continent, as thoſe of the iſlands ſituated in the ſaid gulph St. Laurence. And as to what relates to the fiſhery on the coaſts of the iſland of Cape Breton out of the ſaid gulph, the ſubjects of the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall not be permitted to exerciſe the ſaid fiſhery, but at the diſtance of fifteen leagues from the coaſts of the iſland of Cape Breton; and the fiſhery on the coaſts of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and every where elſe out of the ſaid gulph, ſhall remain on the foot of former treaties.

" Art. VI. The King of Great-Britain cedes the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right, to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to ſerve as ſhelter to the French fiſhermen: and his ſaid Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty engages not to fortify the ſaid iſlands; to erect no buildings upon them, but merely for the convenience of the fiſhery; and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for the police.

" Art. VII. In order to re-eſtabliſh peace on ſolid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all ſubject of diſpute with regard to the limits of the Britiſh and French territories on the continent of America; it is agreed, that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannick Majeſty and thoſe of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in that part of the world, ſhall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Miſſiſippi, from its ſource to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the ſea; and for this purpoſe, the Moſt Chriſtian King cedes in full right, and guaranties to his Britannick Majeſty, the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he poſſeſſes, or ought to poſſeſs, on the left ſide of the river Miſſiſippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the iſland in which it is ſituated, which ſhall remain to France; provided that the navigation of the river Miſſiſippi ſhall be equally free, as well to the ſubjects of Great-Britain, as to thoſe of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its ſource to the ſea, and expreſsly that part which is between the ſaid iſland of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the paſſage both in and out of its mouth. It is farther ſtipulated, that the veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of either nation, ſhall not be ſtopped, viſited, or ſubjected to the payment of any duty whatſoever. The ſtipulations inſerted in the IVth article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, ſhall alſo take place with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

" Art. VIII. The King of Great-Britain ſhall reſtore to France the iſlands of Guadaloupe, of Marie Galante, of Deſirade, of Martinico, and of Belleiſle; and the fortreſſes of theſe iſlands ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in, when they were conquered by the Britiſh arms; provided that his Britannick Majeſty's ſubjects who ſhall have ſettled in the ſaid iſlands, or thoſe who ſhall have any commercial affairs to ſettle there, or in the other places reſtored to France by the preſent treaty, ſhall have liberty to ſell their lands and their eſtates, to ſettle their affairs, to recover their debts, and bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, on board veſſels, which they ſhall be permitted to ſend to the ſaid iſlands, and other places reſtored as above, and which ſhall ſerve for this uſe only, without being reſtrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecutions: and for this purpoſe the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannick Majeſty's ſubjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty: but as the liberty granted to his Britannick Majeſty's ſubjects, to bring away their perſons and their effects, in veſſels of their nation, may be liable to abuſes, if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expreſsly agreed between his Britannick Majeſty and his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that the number of Engliſh veſſels, which ſhall have leave to go to the ſaid iſlands and places reſtored to France, ſhall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they ſhall go in ballaſt; ſhall ſet ſail at a fixed time; and ſhall make one voyage only, all the effects belonging to the Engliſh being to be embarked at the ſame time. It has been further agreed, that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall cauſe the neceſſary paſſports to be given to the ſaid veſſels; that, for the greater ſecurity, it ſhall be allowed to place two French clerks, or guards, in each of the ſaid veſſels, which ſhall be viſited in the landing places and ports of the ſaid iſlands and places reſtored to France, and that the merchandize which ſhall be found therein ſhall be confiſcated.

" Art. IX. The Moſt Chriſtian King cedes and guaranties to his Britannick Majeſty, in full right, the iſlands of Grenada, and of the Grenadines, with the ſame ſtipulations in favour of the inhabitants of this colony, inſerted in the IVth article for thoſe of Canada: and the partition of the iſlands called Neutral, is agreed and fixed, ſo that thoſe of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, ſhall remain in full right to Great-Britain, and that of St. Lucia ſhall be delivered to France, to enjoy the ſame likewiſe in full right; and the high contracting parties guaranty the partition ſo ſtipulated.

" Art. X. His Britannick Majeſty ſhall reſtore to France the iſland of Goree in the condition it was in when conquered: and his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty cedes in full right, and guaranties to the King of Great-Britain, the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Lewis, Podor, and Galam;

and with all the rights and dependencies of the ſaid river Senegal.

" Art. XI. In the Eaſt-Indies, Great-Britain ſhall reſtore to France, in the condition they are now in, the different factories which that crown poſſeſſed, as well on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, as on that of Malabar, as alſo in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. And his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty renounces all pretenſions to the acquiſition which he had made on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, ſince the ſaid beginning of the year 1749. His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhall reſtore on his ſide, all that he may have conquered from Great-Britain, in the Eaſt-Indies, during the preſent war; and will expreſsly cauſe Nattal and Tapanoully in the iſland of Sumatra, to be reſtored; he engages further not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops, in any part of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal. And in order to preſerve future peace on the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa, the Engliſh and French ſhall acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan for lawful Nabob of the Carnatick, and Salabat Jing for lawful Subah of the Decan; and both parties ſhall renounce all demands and pretenſions of ſatisfaction, with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for their depredations, or pillage, committed, on the one ſide or on the other, during the war.

" Art. XII. The iſland of Minorca ſhall be reſtored to his Britannick Majeſty, as well as Fort St. Philip, in the ſame condition they were in, when conquered by the arms of the Moſt Chriſtian King; and with the artillery which was there, when the ſaid iſland and the ſaid fort were taken.

" Art. XIII. The town and port of Dunkirk ſhall be put into the ſtate fixed by the laſt treaty of Aix la Chapelle, and by former treaties. The cunette ſhall be deſtroyed immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, as well as the forts and batteries which defend the entrance on the ſide of the ſea; and proviſion ſhall be made, at the ſame time, for the wholeſomeneſs of the air, and for the health of the inhabitants, by ſome other means, to the ſatisfaction of the King of Great-Britain.

" Art. XIV. France ſhall reſtore all the countries belonging to the electorate of Hanover, to the Landgrave of Heſſe, to the Duke of Brunſwick, and to the Count of La Lippe Buckebourg, which are or ſhall be occupied by his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's arms: the fortreſſes of theſe different countries ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in when conquered by the French arms; and the pieces of artillery, which ſhall have been carried elſewhere, ſhall be replaced by the ſame number, of the ſame bore, weight, and metal.

" Art. XV. In caſe the ſtipulations contained in the XIIIth article of the preliminaries, ſhould not be completed at the time of the ſignature of the preſent treaty, as well with regard to the evacuations to be made by the armies of France of the fortreſſes of Cleves, Weſel, Guelders, and of all the countries belonging to the King of Pruſſia, as with regard to the evacuations to be made by the Britiſh and French armies of the countries which they occupy in Weſtphalia, Lower Saxony, on the Lower Rhine, Upper Rhine, and in all the empire, and to the retreat of the troops into the dominions of their reſpective ſovereigns: their Britannick and Moſt Chriſtian Majeſties promiſe to proceed, bona fide, with all the diſpatch the caſe will permit of, to the ſaid evacuations, the entire completion whereof they ſtipulate before the 15th of March next, or ſooner if it can be done: and their Britannick and Moſt Chriſtian Majeſties further engage and promiſe to each other, not to furniſh any ſuccours, of any kind, to their reſpective allies who ſhall continue engaged in the war in Germany.

" Art. XVI. The deciſion of the prizes made in time of peace, by the ſubjects of Great Britain, on the Spaniards, ſhall be referred to the courts of juſtice of the admiralty of Great-Britain, conformably to the rules eſtabliſhed among all nations, ſo that the validity of the ſaid prizes, between the Britiſh and Spaniſh nations, ſhall be decided and judged, according to the law of nations, and according to treaties in the courts of juſtice of the nation who ſhall have made the capture.

" Art. XVII. His Britannick Majeſty ſhall cauſe to be demoliſhed all the fortifications which his ſubjects ſhall have erected in the Bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain in that part of the world, four months after the ratification of the preſent treaty: and his Catholick Majeſty ſhall not permit his Britannick Majeſty's ſubjects, or their workmen, to be diſturbed, or moleſted, under any pretence whatſoever, in the ſaid places, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away, logwood: and for this purpoſe they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houſes and magazines which are neceſſary for them, for their families, and for their effects: and his Catholick Majeſty aſſures to them, by this article, the full enjoyment of thoſe advantages, and powers, on the Spaniſh coaſts and territories, as above ſtipulated, immediately after the ratification of the preſent treaty.

" Art. XVIII. His Catholick Majeſty deſiſts, as well for himſelf as for his ſucceſſors, from all pretenſions which he may have formed in favour of the Guipuſcoans, and other his ſubjects, to the right of fiſhing in the neighbourhood of the iſland of Newfoundland.

" Art. XIX. The King of Great-Britain ſhall reſtore to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the iſland of Cuba, with the fortreſs of the Havanna; and this fortreſs, as well as all the other fortreſſes of the ſaid iſland, ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition they were in when conquered by his Britannick Majeſty's arms; provided that his Britannick Majeſty's ſubjects who ſhall have ſettled in the ſaid iſland, reſtored to Spain by the preſent treaty, or thoſe who ſhall have any commercial affairs to ſettle there, ſhall have liberty to ſell their lands and their eſtates, to ſettle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects as well as their perſons, on board veſſels which they ſhall be permitted to ſend to the ſaid iſland reſtored as above, and which ſhall ſerve for that uſe only, without being reſtrained on account of their religion, or under any pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecution: and for this purpoſe the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannick Majeſty's ſubjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty: but as the liberty granted to his Britannick Majeſty's ſubjects, to bring away their perſons

perſons and their effects, in veſſels of their nation, may be liable to abuſes, if precautions are not taken to prevent them; it has been expreſsly agreed between his Britannick Majeſty and his Catholick Majeſty, that the number of Engliſh veſſels, which ſhall have leave to go to the ſaid iſland reſtored to Spain, ſhall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they ſhall go in ballaſt; ſhall ſet ſail at a fixed time; and ſhall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the Engliſh being to be embarked at the ſame time: It has been further agreed, that his Catholick Majeſty ſhall cauſe the neceſſary paſſports to be given to the ſaid veſſels; that, for the greater ſecurity, it ſhall be allowed to place two Spaniſh clerks, or guards, in each of the ſaid veſſels, which ſhall be viſited in the landing-places, and ports of the ſaid iſland reſtored to Spain, and that the merchandize, which ſhall be found therein, ſhall be confiſcated.

"Art. XX. In conſequence of the reſtitution ſtipulated in the preceding article, his Catholick Majeſty cedes and guaranties, in full right, to his Britannick Majeſty, Florida, with Fort St. Auguſtin, and the bay of Penſacola, as well as all that Spain poſſeſſes on the continent of North-America, to the eaſt or to the ſouth-eaſt of the river Miſſiſippi, and, in general, every thing that depends on the ſaid countries and lands, with the ſovereignty, property, poſſeſſion, and all rights, acquired by treaties, or otherwiſe, which the Catholick King, and the crown of Spain have had, till now, over the ſaid countries, lands, places, and other inhabitants; ſo that the Catholick King cedes and makes over the whole to the ſaid King, and to the crown of Great-Britain, and that in the moſt ample manner and form. His Britannick Majeſty agrees, on his ſide, to grant to the inhabitants of the countries above ceded, the liberty of the Catholic religion: he will conſequently give the moſt expreſs and the moſt effectual orders that his new Roman Catholick ſubjects may profeſs the worſhip of their religion, according to the rites of the Romiſh church, as far as the laws of Great-Britain permit: his Britannick Majeſty farther agrees, that the Spaniſh inhabitants, or others who had been ſubjects of the Catholick King in the ſaid countries, may retire, with all ſafety and freedom, wherever they think proper; and may ſell their eſtates, provided it be to his Britannick Majeſty's ſubjects, and bring away their effects, as well as their perſons without being reſtrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatſoever, except that of debts or of criminal proſecutions; the term limited for this emigration being fixed to the ſpace of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty. It is moreover ſtipulated, that his Catholick Majeſty ſhall have power to cauſe all the effects that may belong to him to be brought away, whether it be artillery, or other things.

"Art. XXI. The French and Spaniſh troops ſhall evacuate all the territories, lands, towns, places, and caſtles, of his moſt Faithful Majeſty in Europe, without any reſerve, which ſhall have been conquered by the armies of France and Spain, and ſhall reſtore them in the ſame condition they were in when conquered, with the ſame artillery, and ammunition, which were found there: and with regard to the Portugueſe colonies in America, Africa, or in the Eaſt-Indies, if any change ſhall have happened there, all things ſhall be reſtored on the ſame footing they were in, and conformably to the preceding treaties, which ſubſiſted between the courts of France, Spain, and Portugal, before the preſent war.

"Art. XXII. All the papers, letters, documents, and archives, which were found in the countries, territories, towns, and places, that are reſtored, and thoſe belonging to the countries ceded, ſhall be reſpectively and bona fide, delivered, or furniſhed at the ſame time, if poſſible, that poſſeſſion is taken, or, at lateſt, four months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, in whatever places the ſaid papers or documents may be found.

"Art. XXIII. All the countries and territories, which may have been conquered, in whatſoever part of the world, by the arms of their Britannick and Moſt Faithful Majeſties, as well as by thoſe of their Moſt Chriſtian and Catholick Majeſties, which are not included in the preſent treaty, either under the title of ceſſions, or under the title of reſtitutions, ſhall be reſtored without difficulty, and without requiring any compenſation.

"Art. XXIV. As it is neceſſary to aſſign a fixed epoch for the reſtitutions, and the evacuations, to be made by each of the high contracting parties; it is agreed, that the Britiſh and French troops ſhall complete, before the 15th of March next, all that ſhall remain to be executed of the XIIth and XIIIth articles of the preliminaries, ſigned the 3d day of November laſt, with regard to the evacuation to be made in the empire, or elſewhere. The iſland of Belleiſle ſhall be evacuated ſix weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done. Guadaloupe, Deſirade, Marie Galante, Martinico, and St. Lucia, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done. Great-Britain ſhall likewiſe, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner if it can be done, enter into poſſeſſion of the river and port of the Mobile, and of all that is to form the limits of the territory of Great-Britain, on the ſide of the river Miſſiſippi, as they are ſpecified in the VIIth article. The iſland of Goree ſhall be evacuated by Great-Britain, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty; and the iſland of Minorca, by France, at the ſame epoch, or ſooner if it can be done: and according to the conditions of the VIth article, France ſhall likewiſe enter into poſſeſſion of the iſlands of St. Peter and of Miquelon, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty. The factories in the Eaſt-Indies ſhall be reſtored ſix months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done. The fortreſs of the Havanna, with all that has been conquered in the iſland of Cuba, ſhall be reſtored three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done: and, at the ſame time, Great-Britain ſhall enter into poſſeſſion of the country ceded by Spain, according to the XXth article. All the places and countries of his Moſt Faithful Majeſty in Europe, ſhall be reſtored imme-

immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty; and the Portugueſe colonies, which may have been conquered, ſhall be reſtored in the ſpace of three months in the Weſt-Indies, and of ſix months in the Eaſt-Indies, after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner if it can be done. All the fortreſſes, the reſtitution whereof is ſtipulated above, ſhall be reſtored with the artillery and ammunition which were found there at the time of the conqueſt. In conſequence whereof, the neceſſary orders ſhall be ſent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal paſſports for the ſhips that ſhall carry them, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty.

" Art. XXV. His Britannick Majeſty, as Elector of Brunſwick Lunenbourg, as well for himſelf, as for his heirs and ſucceſſors, and all the dominions and poſſeſſions of his ſaid Majeſty in Germany, are included and guarantied by the preſent treaty of peace.

" Art. XXVI. Their Sacred Britannick, Moſt Chriſtian, Catholick, and Moſt Faithful Majeſties, promiſe to obſerve, ſincerely and bona fide, all the articles contained and ſettled in the preſent treaty; and they will not ſuffer the ſame to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their reſpective ſubjects; and the ſaid high contracting parties, generally and reciprocally, guaranty to each other all the ſtipulations of the preſent treaty.

" Art. XXVII. The ſolemn ratifications of the preſent treaty, expedited in good and due form, ſhall be exchanged in this city of Paris between the high contracting parties, in the ſpace of a month, or ſooner if poſſible, to be computed from the day of the ſignature of the preſent treaty.

" In witneſs whereof, we the underwritten, their Ambaſſadors Extraordinary and Miniſters Plenipotentiary, have ſigned with our hand, in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, the preſent Definitive Treaty, and have cauſed the ſeal of our arms to be put thereto."

Done at Paris, the 10th of February, 1763.

(L. S.) BEDFORD, C. P. S.
(L. S.) CHOISEUL, Duc de Praslin.
(L. S.) El Marq. de Grimaldi.

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

I. SOME of the titles made uſe of by the contracting powers, either in their full powers and other acts, during the courſe of the negociation, or in the preamble of the preſent treaty, not being generally acknowledged; it has been agreed, That no prejudice ſhall ever reſult therefrom to any of the ſaid contracting parties, and that the titles taken or omitted on either ſide, on occaſion of the ſaid negotiation and of the preſent treaty, ſhall not be cited or quoted as a precedent.

II. It has been agreed and determined, That the French language, made uſe of in all the copies of the preſent treaty, ſhall not become an example, which may be alledged, or made a precedent of, or prejudice, in any manner, any of the contracting powers; and that they ſhall conform themſelves, for the future, to what has been obſerved, and ought to be obſerved, with regard to, and on the part of, powers who are uſed, and have a right, to give and to receive copies of like treaties in another language than French; the preſent treaty having ſtill the ſame force and effect, as if the aforeſaid cuſtom had been therein obſerved.

III. Though the King of Portugal has not ſigned the preſent definitive treaty, their Britannick, Moſt Chriſtian, and Catholick Majeſties, acknowledge, nevertheleſs, that his Moſt Faithful Majeſty is formally included therein as a contracting party, and as if he had expreſsly ſigned the ſaid treaty; conſequently, their Britannick, Moſt Chriſtian, and Catholick Majeſties, reſpectively and conjointly, promiſe to his Moſt Faithful Majeſty, in the moſt expreſs and moſt binding manner, the execution of all and every the clauſes contained in the ſaid treaty, on his act of acceſſion.

The preſent ſeparate articles ſhall have the ſame force as if they were inſerted in the treaty.

Declaration of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Plenipotentiary, with regard to the debts due to the Canadians.

THE King of Great-Britain having deſired, that the payment of the letters of exchange and bills which have been delivered to the Canadians for the neceſſaries furniſhed to the French troops, ſhould be ſecured, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, entirely diſpoſed to render to every one that juſtice which is legally due to them, has declared, and does declare, that the ſaid bills and letters of exchange ſhall be punctually paid, agreeably to a liquidation made in a convenient time, according to the diſtance of the places, and to what ſhall be poſſible; taking care, however, that the bills and letters of exchange, which the French ſubjects may have at the time of this declaration, be not confounded with the bills and letters of exchange which are in the poſſeſſion of the new ſubjects of the King of Great-Britain.

In witneſs whereof, we the underwritten miniſter of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, duly authorized for this purpoſe, have ſigned the preſent declaration, and cauſed the ſeal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Paris, the 10th of February 1763.

CHOISEUL, Duc de Praslin.
(L. S.)

Declaration of his Britannick Majeſty's Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, with regard to the limits of Bengal in the Eaſt-Indies.

WE the underwritten Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the King of Great-Britain, in order to prevent all ſubject of diſpute on account of the limits of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal, as well as of the coaſt of Coromandel, and Orixa, declare, in the name, and by order of his ſaid Britannick Majeſty, that the ſaid dominions of the Subah of Bengal ſhall be reputed not to extend farther than Yanaon excluſively, and that Yanaon ſhall be conſidered as included in the north part of the coaſt of Coromandel or Orixa.

In witneſs whereof, &c.

Done at Paris, the 10th day of February, 1763.

BEDFORD, C. P. S.
(L. S.)

The

The reader will, at one glance, perceive that theſe terms are more advantageous to Great-Britain and her allies, than thoſe which were agreed to by the late miniſter. He muſt determine for himſelf, whether they were ſuch as ſhe ought to have inſiſted upon, in conſequence of her additional ſucceſſes. Certainly they were more favourable for France and Spain, than thoſe powers could have reaſonably expected to enjoy, after the loſſes they had ſuſtained. It muſt be acknowledged that Great-Britain, by extending the frontiers of Canada to the middle of the Miſſiſippi, gained a large tract of fertile country lying on the banks of that river, beſides the advantage of a free navigation upon it, and the poſſeſſion of the port of Mobile: but, in order to ſecure the Engliſh American colonies from all poſſibility of diſturbance from the French, that reſtleſs nation ought to have been expelled from New Orleans, and the whole country of Louiſiana; for, while they remain in this ſettlement, at liberty to penetrate by the river to the remote tribes of Indians, they will ſtill maintain their influence among thoſe ſavages: they will ſupply them with neceſſaries, conſequently weaken their dependence upon the Engliſh; and employ their arts of inſinuation upon them ſo effectually, as to have it always in their power to hunt them upon the defenceleſs back-ſettlements of the Britiſh coloniſts. It does not appear that the Britiſh miniſtry were well acquainted with the importance of this article.

England, by this peace, likewiſe gained an acceſſion, in France's ceding to her the iſland of Grenada, which, when fully cultivated and peopled, may be of ſome conſequence. She moreover acquired the unſettled iſlands of Dominica, Tobago, and St. Vincent; but yielded to France the iſland of St. Lucie, ſaid to be worth all the reſt. She retains the ſettlement of Senegal on the coaſt of Africa, by which ſhe engroſſes the whole gum trade of that country; as for the rock of Goree, which ſhe reſtored, it was no great ſacrifice. The article that relates to the Eaſt-Indies, was dictated by the directors of the Engliſh company; and ſurely the French have no reaſon to complain of its ſeverity, as it reſtores them to the poſſeſſion of all the places they had at the beginning of the war, on condition that they ſhall maintain neither forts nor forces in the kingdom of Bengal; thus they will enjoy all their former advantages in trade, without the temptation and expence of forming ſchemes of conqueſt and dominion.

As the treaty makes no mention of the ſhips taken from the ſubjects of France before the declaration of war, in all probability, the king of Great-Britain agreed that their owners ſhould be indemnified; a conceſſion which barely atones for a meaſure which (whatever may have been alledged in its juſtification) will always be conſidered by the candid and impartial, as an act of violence and rapine, that ſtrikes at the very root of the law of nations, which, for the intereſts of humanity in general, ought to be held ſacred, even amidſt the warmeſt tranſports of animoſity and reſentment.

The liberty of cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras, granted to the ſubjects of Great-Britain, was undoubtedly a great point gained in their favour; but their obliging themſelves to demoliſh their fortifications on that coaſt, was a tacit acknowledgement that the privilege was not founded upon right, but derived from favour. His catholick majeſty's renouncing all pretenſions in favour of his ſubjects, to the right of fiſhing on the coaſts of Newfoundland, was a puny ſacrifice, ſomething in appearance, but nothing in reality: for the claim was almoſt as obſolete as that of the Engliſh monarch to the dominions of France. The ceſſion of Florida, with the forts of St. Auguſtine and Penſacola, to Great-Britain, was an object of much greater importance. It extended the Britiſh dominions along the coaſt to the mouth of the Miſſiſippi. It removed an aſylum for the ſlaves of the Engliſh colonies, who were continually making their eſcape to St. Auguſtine. It deprived the Spaniards of an eaſy avenue, through which they had it in their power to invade Georgia and Carolina; it afforded a large extent of improveable territory, a ſtrong frontier, and a good port in the bay of Mexico, both for the convenience of trade, and annoyance of the Spaniards in any future conteſt. But neither the ceſſion of Florida, nor the renunciation of the right to the fiſhery, nor the permiſſion granted to the Engliſh logwood cutters, nor the evacuation of Portugal, nor all theſe articles together, can ever be eſteemed equivalent to the reſtitution of the Havanna; for which, indeed, the Spaniſh monarch had no ſuitable compenſation to make, without diſmembring his kingdom, unleſs he had thrown into the ſcale with his other conceſſions, that of a free navigation, without ſearch, to the Britiſh traders on the coaſt of New Spain. This was an advantage with which the people of England flattered their own imaginations: but it was a privilege which the court of Madrid could not grant, without opening the avenues of a contraband trade between the Engliſh and Spaniſh creoles, which would have been fatal to the commerce of Old Spain: becauſe, in that caſe, his catholick majeſty's American ſubjects would have ſupplied themſelves at the firſt hand, with European commodities, from the trading ſhips of Great-Britain; and great part of the wealth of that country would have been conveyed immediately to England.

The crown of Spain was much favoured by the article which ſtipulates, that the conqueſts not included in the treaty either as ceſſions or reſtitutions, ſhould be reſtored without compenſation. Neither France nor Spain had any armament on foot, from which they could expect the leaſt acquiſition or ſucceſs; whereas the miniſtry of England had great reaſon to believe that the iſland of Luconia was already reduced.

On the whole, the treaty, tho' perhaps it might have been more favourable in ſome articles, certainly confirmed great and ſolid advantages to Great-Britain; and will remain as an eternal monument of that moderation which forms the moſt amiable flower in the wreath of conqueſt.

France and England, having mutually withdrawn themſelves from the war in Germany, the courts of Vienna and Berlin began to think in earneſt of an accommodation. The empreſs-queen had but little hopes of prevailing, by her own ſtrength alone, againſt a prince who had ſo long withſtood the joint efforts of ſo many powerful confederates. On the other hand, the king of Pruſſia had no more ſubſidies to expect from Great-Britain, and little more to gain by contribution and

compulſion in the provinces of Germany, which he had already, in a great meaſure, depopulated and impoveriſhed. Perhaps he was ſick of a war, which, in ſpite of all his activity and ſucceſs, had expoſed him to incredible fatigue, and repeated mortification. Both parties having expreſſed a deſire of peace, conferences were opened at Hubertſburg, by the Auſtrian, Pruſſian, and Poliſh plenipotentiaries; and the articles were, in a little time, adjuſted. The treaties of pacification between theſe powers imported, that the troops on all ſides ſhould be withdrawn from the countries which had been invaded and poſſeſſed in the courſe of the war; that peace ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed on the footing of former treaties, and each party ſit down quietly with the loſs it had ſuſtained.

Such was the iſſue of a war, ſanguinary beyond example, which had raged with uncommon fury in the four quarters of the globe; which had ruined many fair provinces; and, in the ſpace of ſeven years, deſtroyed above a million of lives; which had coſt Great-Britain, in particular, above two hundred and eighty thouſand men, including a great number of brave and able officers, with an incredible quantity of treaſure; and increaſed the burthen of her national debt, from fourſcore, to one hundred and thirty millions ſterling.

Of the State of Commerce, Learning, Agriculture, &c. from the Revolution to the Concluſion of the Peace in 1763.

COMMERCE.

THE commerce of Great Britain continued to increaſe during the whole courſe of this period; nor was this increaſe the effect of extraordinary encouragement. On the contrary, the neceſſities of government, the growing expences of the nation, and the continual augmentation of the public debt, obliged the legiſlature to hamper trade with manifold and grievous impoſitions; its increaſe, therefore, muſt have been owing to the natural progreſs of induſtry and adventure, extending themſelves to that fartheſt line or limit beyond which they will not be able to advance: when the tide of traffick has flowed to its higheſt mark, it will then begin to recede in a gradual ebb, until it is ſhrunk within the narrow limits of its original channel. War, which naturally impedes the traffick of other nations, has opened new ſources to the merchants of Great Britain: the ſuperiority of her naval power hath cruſhed the navigation of France, her great rival in commerce; ſo that ſhe ſupplies, on her own terms, all thoſe foreign markets at which in time of peace ſhe was underſold by that dangerous competitor. Thus her trade is augmented to a ſurprizing pitch; and this great augmentation alone has enabled her to maintain the war at ſuch an enormous expence. Foreign nations will doubtleſs be ſurprized to learn, that above eight thouſand ſhips are employed by the traders of Great Britain; and that the produce of the ſinking fund, which is the overplus produced by all the different funds appropriated to defray the intereſt of the national debt, exceeds annually three millions ſterling.

The following account of the trade to the Eaſt Indies, from a perſon who is far from being prejudiced in favour of the company, may poſſibly convey a juſter idea of the nature and extent of the company's commerce than any thing hitherto ſaid on this ſubject. The errors found in it will I hope be imputed to the true author, who has not thought proper to oblige the world with his name, or rather to the nature of the thing, in itſelf ſufficiently dark and intricate, and beſides moſt carefully hid from the eyes of the vulgar. His authorities however ſeem to be ſufficiently ſolid, being chiefly the public accounts of the company's ſales and other tranſactions, at leaſt ſo far as regards his own plan, which was to repreſent this corporation as an inſtitution highly prejudicial to the trade and commerce of Great Britain.

This traffic, ſays my author, employs yearly ſeventeen ſail of fine capital ſhips, each of the burden of five hundred tons, by the company's account, mounting thirty guns, and manned with one hundred mariners. He then proceeds to give his readers the

Account or Invoice of the Exports to India.

		£		
1442	tons iron at 15 l.	21630	0	0
610	. . ordnance and wrought iron at 50 l. . . .	30500	0	0
450	. . ſteel at 50 l.	22500	0	0
180	. . nails at 25 l.	4500	0	0
895	. . lead at 17 l.	15215	0	0
800	. . cordage at 40 l. . . .	32000	0	0
550	. . ſtores at	305000	0	0
260	. . braſs, copper, pewter, at 100 l.	26000	0	0
100	. . gunpowder at 80 l. . .	8000	0	0
32	. . quickſilver at 300 l. .	9600	0	0
18175	woollen cloths at . .	110000	0	0
23220	ſtuffs at	50000	0	0
37469	perpets at	40000	0	0
3000	doz. hoſe at	3000	0	0
11076	oz. gold in coin or bullion at 3 l. 18 s. per oz.	43196	8	0
	Note, the quantity of gold exported in the year 1754, amounted to 38092 oz. in coin, and 2977 oz. in bullion.			
2991251	oz. ſilver at 5s. 3d. per oz.	785203	7	9
	The quantity exported the year following 1754, was 2,327,329 oz. in coin and bullion.			
	Total amount of cargoes outwards	1,503344	15	9

Note, there were no more than fourteen ſhips cleared outwards this year, and that the above quantity of gold and ſilver bullion is excluſive of what is carried out by private traders, both in foreign and Britiſh coin, whereof it is impoſſible to fix or aſcertain the value.

Follows the account or invoice of goods imported from India, with the value ſold for at the public ſales.

Piece-goods of the Ships

Wager, Prince of Wales, and Exeter, ſold at	£	250000	0 0
Scarborough		225000	0 0
Houghton, excluſive of tea and ſilk		10000	0 0
Admiral Vernon		175000	0 0
Edgcote, beſides tea		10000	0 0
Drake and Rhoda, beſides weighable goods		15000	0 0
Prince George and Streatham, do.		9000	0 0
Cheſterfield		240000	0 0
Pelham		85000	0 0
Bombay-Caſtle		215000	0 0
Oxford		195000	0 0
Hector, beſides 500 tons pepper		50000	0 0
Dorrington		194000	0 0
Seventeen ſhips, whoſe cargoes in piece-goods amount to		1,673000	0 0
Theſe ſhips do alſo bring home, 3253900 lb. tea, which at 4s. per lb. groſs price at the ſales		642475	0 0
2000000 lb. pepper at 1s ditto		100000	0 0
1141000 lb. coffee at 1s. 6d.		85575	0 0
203850 lb. raw ſilk at 20s. do.		203850	0 0
900 tons ſalt petre at 70l. per ton, ditto.		63000	0 0
253 tons red-wood at 30l. ditto		7500	0 0
600 cheſts china ware and drugs, ditto		99600	0 0
Total inwards	£.	2,875000	0 0

From which take off cuſtom, charges, and diſcount, viz.

Cuſtom.

	Value	pay per cent.	£.
Callicoes	1,250,000	38¼	478125
Prohibited goods	400,000	2	8000
Tea	65,000	19	123500
Pepper	100,000	4	4000
Silk raw	200,000	12½	25000
Coffee	85,000	22½	20500
Salt-petre	90,000	10	6000
Red-wood	5,000	10	500
China ware and drugs	100,000	30	30000
Valuation	2,850,000	tot. duties	695625

Charges

	£
Freight on 8500 tons ſhipping at 10l.	85,000
Wages and proviſions for 1700 men, at 5l. per month	204,000
Carried up	289,000

	£
Brought up	289,000
Intereſt on bonds, 2 years, at 3l. per cent.	90,000
Directors, clerks, &c. 10,000l. per annum	20,000
Warehouſes, coſt 100,000. at 8 per cent	16,000
Shipping and landing of 8500 tons	8,500
Total of charges	423,500

Diſcount.

On 2,875,000l. at 6½ per cent.		186,875
Total of Cuſtom, charges, and diſcount to be taken off		1,306,000
Net proceeds do not exceed	£.	1,569,000

My author takes notice, that the cargoes of ſeventeen ſhips are here allowed to be returned, whereas no more than fourteen were actually loaded outwards; he had before obſerved, that the manufactures in braſs, copper, iron, pewter, and other materials, did not exceed the value of 300,000l. He likewiſe omits to charge any thing for inſurance. There is moreover 5 per cent. allowed over the real prices at the candle, amounting as he ſays (by way of irony probably) to the ſmall ſum of 140,000l. All which particulars he ſays, will ſerve to anſwer all objections againſt his ſyſtem. He then ſtates the account of profit and loſs on a voyage to India, thus,

Account of profit and loſs on a voyage to India.

Dr.

1753.	To the coſt of 17 cargoes bought in England as per invoices	£.	1,503,344	15 9
1754.	To profit and loſs for advance		65,655	4 3
		£.	1,569,000	0 0

Cr.

1754.	By net proceeds of 17 cargoes ſold in England as per account of ſales	£.	1,569,000	0 0

Then follows capital ſtock account.

Dr.

To ſundry accounts for two years dividends due on 3,200,000l. at 8 per cent. per. ann.	£.	512000	0 0

Cr.

By voyage to India gained thereby	£.	65655	4 3
By government ſecurities for two years intereſt on 3,200,000l. lent them at three per cent.		192000	0 0
By profit and loſs, for loſs on capital		254344	15 9
	£.	512000	0 0

Follows

Follows the account of Indian goods ſold to and paid for by foreigners.

578400 callicoes at 13s. 4d. being one third above the cuſtom houſe valuation, which at 10s. only, the utmoſt price on board . . . £. 395600 0 0

Prohibited goods.

50	allejars
3800	bandannoes
500	brawls
550	byrampauts
850	blue long cloths
7000	chints
2400	chelloes
1400	carridarries
400	cherconnees
650	chilaes
55	callawapore
200	gorgoroons
900	Guinea ſtuffs
2650	nillaes
300	niccanees
50	neganepauts
1500	photees
100	paduaſoys
100	poiſees
100	palampores
41000	romals
10500	ſooſeys
200	ſekterſoy romals
1000	taffaties
1200	ſaſtracundies, and others, valued at £. 72750 0 0

Carried up 468350 0 0

Brought up £. 468350 0 0

Weighable goods.

1850000 lb. pepper, at 1s.	£. 92500	0 0
700000 lb. coffee, at 1s. 3d.	43750	0 0
All other goods, as cowries, arrangoes, ſhell-lack, turmeric, cardamoms, &c. &c. at . . .	45400	0 0
Total value at price free on board,	650000	0 0

Note. The above goods, all of them bought up at ready money by Engliſh private merchants, to be by them exported, are overrated (according to my author) little leſs than 100000 l.

This detail is cloſed by ſtating the national account of a voyage to India.

Dr.

To the export of woollen manufactures	£. 200000	0 0
To ditto of copper, braſs, and iron ditto	100000	0 0
To ditto of lead, iron and ſtores	374945	0 0
To ditto of ſilver and gold bullion	828399	15 9
To two years intereſt on 1,500000l.	90000	0 0
	£. 1,593344	15 9

Cr.

By commodities re-exported .	£. 650000	0 0
By uſeful imports	283344	15 9
By national loſs for bullion exported without one valuable return	660000	0 0
	£. 1,593344	15 9

LEARNING, LEARNED MEN, &c.

THE powers of the human mind were freely and fully exerciſed in this period. Conſiderable progreſs was made in mathematics and aſtronomy by divers individuals; among whom we number Newton, Halley, Wallis, Barrow, Flamſtead, Hudſon, Sanderſon, Bradley, Maclaurin, Smith, and the two Simpſons.

Natural philoſophy became a general ſtudy, and the new doctrine of electricity grew into faſhion. Different methods were diſcovered for rendering ſea-water potable and ſweet; and divers uſeful hints were communicated to the publick by the learned doctor Stephen Hale, who directed all his reſearches and experiments to the benefit of ſociety. The ſtudy of alchemy no longer prevailed; but the art of chemiſtry was perfectly underſtood, and aſſiduouſly applied to the purpoſes of ſophiſtication.

The clergy of Great Britain were generally learned, pious, and exemplary. Atterbury, Sherlock, Hoadley, Secker, and Conybeare, were promoted to the firſt dignities of the church. Warburton, who had long ſignalized himſelf by the ſtrength and boldneſs of his genius, his extenſive capacity, and profound erudition, at length obtained the mitre. But theſe promotions were granted to reaſons of ſtate convenience, and perſonal intereſt, rather than as rewards of extraordinary merit. Many other eccleſiaſtics of worth and learning were totally overlooked. Nor was eccleſiaſtical merit confined to the eſtabliſhed church. Many inſtances of extraordinary genius, unaffected piety, and univerſal moderation, appeared among the diſſenting miniſters of Great Britain and Ireland: among theſe we particularize the elegant, the primitive Foſter; the learned, ingenious, and penetrating Leland.

The progreſs of reaſon, and free cultivation of the human mind, had not however entirely baniſhed thoſe ridiculous ſects and ſchiſms of which the kingdom had been formerly ſo productive. Impoſture and fanaticiſm ſtill hung upon the ſkirts of religion. Weak minds were ſeduced by the deluſions of a ſuperſtition ſtiled Methodiſm, raiſed upon the affectation of ſuperior ſanctity, and maintained by pretenſions to divine illumination. Many thouſands in the lower ranks of life were infected with this ſpecies of enthuſiaſm, by the unwearied endeavours of a few obſcure preachers; who propagated their doctrines to the moſt remote corners of the Britiſh dominions, and found means to lay the whole kingdom under contribution.

Fanaticiſm alſo formed a league with falſe philoſophy. One Hutchinſon, a viſionary, intoxicated with the fumes of Rabbinical learning, pretended to deduce all demonſtration from Hebrew roots, and to confine all human knowledge to the five books of Moſes. His diſciples became numerous after his death. With the Methodiſts, they denied the merit of good works; and bitterly inveighed againſt Newton as an ignorant pretender, who had

preſumed to ſet up his own ridiculous chimæras in oppoſition to the ſacred philoſophy of the Pentateuch. But the moſt extraordinary ſect which diſtinguiſhed this reign was that of the Moravians, or Hernhutters, imported from Germany by count Zinzendorf, who might have been termed the Melchizedec of his followers, inaſmuch as he aſſumed among them the three-fold character of prophet, prieſt, and king. They could not be ſo properly ſtyled a ſect as the diſciples of an original, who had invented a new ſyſtem of religion. Their chief adoration was paid to the Second Perſon in the Trinity: the Firſt they treated with the moſt ſhocking neglect. Some of their tenets were indecent, and others ridiculouſly abſurd. Their diſcipline was a ſtrange mixture of devotion and impurity. Their exterior worſhip conſiſted of hymns, prayers, and ſermons: the hymns extremely ludicrous, and often indecent, alluding to the ſide hole or wound which Chriſt received from a ſpear in his ſide, while he remained upon the croſs. Their ſermons frequently contained very groſs incentives to the work of propagation. Their private exerciſes are ſaid to have abounded with ſuch rites and myſteries as we cannot explain, with any regard to decorum. They profeſſed a community of goods; and were governed as one family, in temporals as well as ſpirituals, by a council, or kind of preſbytery, in which the count, as their ordinary, preſided. In caſes of doubt, or great conſequence, theſe pretended to conſult the Saviour, and to decide from immediate inſpiration; ſo that they boaſted of being under the immediate direction of a Theocracy; though, in fact, they were ſlaves to the moſt dangerous kind of deſpotiſm: for as often as any individual of the community preſumed to think for himſelf, or differ in opinion from the ordinary and his band of aſſociates, the oracle decreed, that he ſhould be inſtantly ſent upon the miſſion which they had fixed in Greenland, or to the colony they had eſtabliſhed in Pennſylvania. As the religioniſts conſiſted chiefly of manufacturers, who appeared very ſober, orderly, and induſtrious; and their chief declared his intention of proſecuting works of public emolument, they obtained a ſettlement under a parliamentary ſanction in England, where they ſoon made a conſiderable number of proſelytes, before their principles were fully diſcovered and explained.

Many ingenious treatiſes on metaphyſics and morality appeared in the courſe of this period; and a philoſophical ſpirit of enquiry diffuſed itſelf to the fartheſt extremities of the united kingdom. Tho' few diſcoveries of importance were made in medicine, yet that art was well underſtood in all its different branches; and many of its profeſſors diſtinguiſhed themſelves in other provinces of literature. Beſides the Medical Eſſays of London and Edinburgh, the phyſician's library was enriched with many uſeful modern productions; with the works of the claſſical Freind, the elegant Mead, the accurate Huxham, and the philoſophical Pringle. The art of midwifery was elucidated by ſcience, reduced to fixed principles, and almoſt wholly conſigned into the hands of men practitioners. The reſearches of anatomy were proſecuted to ſome curious diſcoveries by the ingenuity and dexterity of a Hunter and a Monro. The numerous hoſpitals in London contributed to the improvement of ſurgery, which was brought to perfection under the auſpices of a Cheſelden and a Sharpe. The advantages of agriculture, which had long flouriſhed in England, extended themſelves gradually to the moſt remote and barren provinces of the iſland.

The reſpectable patriots that form the Society eſtabliſhed at London, have already done conſiderable ſervice to their country, and will, it is hoped, ſtill do more: a conſiderable number of machines having already been ſent them, in conſequence of their large premiums and bounties.

The mechanic powers were well underſtood, and judiciouſly applied to many uſeful machines of neceſſity and convenience. The mechanical arts had attained to all that perfection which they were capable of acquiring; but the avarice and oppreſſion of contractors, obliged the handicraftſman to exert his ingenuity, not in finiſhing his work well, but in affording it cheap; in purchaſing bad materials, and performing his taſk in a hurry; in concealing flaws, ſubſtituting ſhew for ſolidity, and ſacrificing reputation to the thirſt of lucre. Thus many of the Engliſh manufactures, being found ſlight and unſerviceable, grew into diſcredit abroad; thus the art of producing them more perfect, may in time be totally loſt at home. The cloths now made in England, are inferior in texture and fabric to thoſe which were manufactured in the beginning of the century; and the ſame judgment may be pronounced upon almoſt every article of hardware. The razors, knives, ſciſſars, hatchets, ſwords, and other edge utenſils, prepared for exportation, are generally ill-tempered, half-finiſhed, flawed or brittle; and the muſquets, which are ſold for ſeven or eight ſhillings a-piece to the exporter, ſo careleſly and unconſcientiouſly prepared, they cannot be uſed without imminent danger of mutilation; accordingly one hardly meets with a negro man upon the coaſt of Guinea, in the neighbourhood of the Britiſh ſettlements, who has not been wounded or maimed in ſome member by the burſting of the Engliſh fire-arms. The advantages of this traffic, carried on at the expence of character and humanity, will naturally ceaſe whenever thoſe Africans can be ſupplied more honeſtly by the traders of any other nation.

Genius in writing ſpontaneouſly aroſe, and though neglected by the great, flouriſhed under the culture of a public which had pretenſions to taſte, and piqued itſelf on encouraging literary merit.

Among the poets of this æra may be numbered John Philips, author of a didactic poem called Cyder, a performance of real merit, though the author lived and died in obſcurity: William Congreve, celebrated for his comedies, which are not ſo famous for ſtrength of character and power of humour, as for wit, elegance and regularity: Vanburgh, who wrote with more nature and fire, though with leſs art and preciſion: Steele, who in his comedies ſucceſsfully engrafted modern characters on the antient drama: Farquhar, who drew his pictures from fancy rather than from nature, and whoſe chief merit conſiſts in the agreeable pertneſs and vivacity of his dialogues: Addiſon, who was excelled by none in the character of an eſſayiſt, either for ſtyle or matter: Swift, whoſe muſe ſeems to have been mere miſanthropy. He was a Cynic rather than a poet; and his natural dryneſs and ſarcaſtic ſeverity would have been diſpleaſing, had not he qualified them by adopting the

extravagant humour of Lucian and Rabelais: Prior, lively, familiar and amuſing: Rowe, ſolemn, florid, and declamatory: Dryden, elegant, nervous, and entertaining: Pope, the prince of Lyric poetry, unrivalled in ſatire, ethics, and poliſhed verſification: the agreeable Parnel; the wild, the witty, and the whimſical Garth: Gay, whoſe fables may vie with thoſe of Le Fontaine, in nature, humour, eaſe, and ſimplicity; and whoſe genius for paſtoral was truly original. Young long ſurvived a venerable monument of poetical talent. Thomſon, the poet of the Seaſons, diſplayed a luxuriancy of genius in deſcribing the beauties of nature. Akenſide and Armſtrong excelled in didactic poetry. Even the Epopœa did not diſdain an Engliſh dreſs, but appeared to advantage in the Leonidas of Glover, and the Epigoniad of Wilkie. The public acknowledged a conſiderable ſhare of dramatic merit in the tragedies of Young, Mallet, Home, and ſome other leſs diſtinguiſhed authors. Beſides theſe, great merit appeared in the detached performances of Johnſon, Maſon, Gray, the two Whiteheads, and the two Wartons, beſides a great number of other bards who have ſported in lyric poetry, and acquired the applauſe of their fellow citizens.

Dr. Atterbury and Dr. Clark diſtinguiſhed themſelves in divinity: and Newton ſhone unrivalled in philoſophy. John Locke, the great reſtorer of human reaſon, may be ſaid to have invented metaphyſics, as Newton invented phyſics. Berkley, afterwards biſhop of Cloyne, ſurpaſſed all his cotemporaries in ſubtlety of reaſoning and deduction.

Candidates for literary fame appeared even in the higher ſphere of life, embelliſhed by the nervous ſtile, ſuperior ſenſe, and extenſive erudition of a Corke; by the delicate taſte, the poliſhed muſe, and tender feelings of a Lyttleton. King ſhone unrivalled in Roman eloquence. Even the female ſex diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their taſte and ingenuity. Miſs Carter rivalled the celebrated Dacier in learning and critical knowledge; and Mrs. Lennox ſignalized herſelf by many ſucceſsful efforts of genius, both in poetry and proſe. The genius of Cervantes was transfuſed into the novels of Fielding, who painted the characters, and ridiculed the follies of life with equal ſtrength, humour, and propriety. The field of hiſtory and biography was cultivated by many writers of ability, among whom we diſtinguiſh the copious Guthrie, the circumſtantial Ralph, the laborious Carte, the learned and elegant Robertſon, the ingenious and penetrating Smollet, the comprehenſive and philoſophical Hume. Nor let us forget the merit conſpicuous in Campbell, remarkable for candour, intelligence, and preciſion. Johnſon, inferior to none in philoſophy, philology, poetry, and claſſical learning, ſtands foremoſt as an eſſayiſt, juſtly admired for the dignity, ſtrength, and variety of his ſtile, as well as for the agreeable manner in which he inveſtigates the human heart, tracing every intereſting emotion, and opening all the ſources of morality. The laudable aim of inliſting the paſſions on the ſide of virtue, was ſucceſsfully purſued by Richardſon, in his Pamela, Clariſſa, and Grandiſon; a ſpecies of writing equally new and extraordinary, where, mingled with much ſuperfluity and impertinence, we find a ſublime ſyſtem of ethics, and amazing knowledge, and command of human nature. Many of the Greek and Roman claſſics made their appearance in Engliſh tranſlations, which were favourably received as works of merit; among theſe we place Homer by Pope, Lucan by Rowe, Virgil by Dryden, and another tranſlation by Pitt and Warton, Horace by Francis, Polybius by Hampton, and Sophocles by Francklyn. The ſeveral wars introduced a variety of military treatiſes, chiefly tranſlated from the French language; and a free country like Great Britain, will always abound with political tracts and lucubrations. Every literary production of merit calculated for amuſement or inſtruction, that appeared in any country or language of Chriſtendom, was immediately imported, and naturalized among the Engliſh people. Never was the purſuit after knowledge ſo univerſal, literary merit more regarded, than in this æra by the body of the Britiſh nation; but it was honoured by no attention from the throne, and little indulgence did it reap from the liberality of particular patrons. The reign of queen Anne was propitious to the fortunes of Swift and Pope, who lived in all the happy pride of independence. Young, ſequeſtered from courts and preferment, poſſeſſed a moderate benefice in the country, employing his time in a conſcientious diſcharge of his eccleſiaſtical functions. Thomſon, with the moſt benevolent heart that ever warmed the human breaſt, maintained a perpetual war with the difficulties of a narrow fortune. He enjoyed a place in Chancery by the bounty of lord Talbot, of which he was diveſted by the ſucceeding chancellor. He afterwards enjoyed a ſmall penſion from Frederic, prince of Wales, which was withdrawn in the ſequel. About two years before his death he obtained a comfortable place; but he did not live to taſte the bleſſing of eaſy circumſtances, and died in debt.

None of the reſt, whom we have named, enjoyed any ſhare of the royal bounty, except W. Whitehead, who ſucceeded to the place of laureat at the death of Cibber; and ſome of them, whoſe merrit was the moſt univerſally acknowledged, remained expoſed to all the ſtorms of indigence, and all the ſtings of mortification.

While queen Caroline, conſort to George II. lived, ſome countenance was given to learning. She converſed with Newton and Clarke, and correſponded with Leibnitz. She took pains to acquire popularity: the royal family, on certain days, dined in public for the ſatisfaction of the people: the court was animated with a freedom of ſpirit and vivacity, which rendered it at once brilliant and agreeable. At her death that ſpirit began to languiſh; and a total ſtagnation of gaiety and good humour enſued. It was ſucceeded by a ſullen calm, an ungracious reſerve, and a ſtill rotation of inſipid forms, during the ſequel of her huſband's reign.

England was not defective in other arts that embelliſh and amuſe. Muſick became a faſhionable ſtudy, and its profeſſors generally careſſed by the public. An Italian opera was maintained at a great expence, and well ſupplied with foreign performers. Private concerts were inſtituted in every corner of the metropolis. The compoſitions of Handel were univerſally admired, and he himſelf lived in affluence. It muſt be owned at the ſame time, that Geminiani was neglected, though his genius commanded eſteem and veneration. Among the few natives of England who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their talemts in this art, Purcell, Green, Howard,

Howard, Arne, and Boyce, were the moſt remarkable.

The Britiſh ſoil, which had hitherto been barren in the article of painting, now produced ſome artiſts of extraordinary merit. Hogarth excelled all the world in exhibiting the ſcenes of ordinary life; in humorous hiſtorical deſigns. Hudſon, Reynolds, and Ramſay, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ſuperior merit in portraits; a branch that was ſucceſsfully cultivated by many other Engliſh painters. Wooton was famous for repreſenting live animals in general; Seymour for race horſes; Lambert, Wilſon, and the Smiths, for landſchape; and Scot for ſea pieces. Several ſpirited attempts were made on hiſtorical ſubjects; but little progreſs was made in the ſublime parts of painting. Eſſays of this kind were diſcouraged by a falſe taſte, founded upon a reprobation of Britiſh genius. The art of engraving was brought to perfection by Strange, and laudably practiſed by ſeveral other maſters; and great improvements were made in mezzotinto, miniature, and enamel. Many fair monuments of ſculpture or ſtatuary were raiſed by Ryſbrack, Roubilliac, and Wilton. Architecture, which had been cheriſhed by the elegant taſte of a Burlington, and a Wren, ſoon became a favourite ſtudy; and many magnificent edifices were reared in different parts of the kingdom. Ornaments were carved in wood, and moulded in ſtucco, with all the delicacy of execution; but a paſſion for novelty had introduced into gardening, building, and furniture, an abſurd taſte, equally void of beauty and convenience. Improvements in the liberal and uſeful arts, will doubtleſs be the conſequence of that encouragement given to merit by the Society inſtituted for theſe purpoſes, which we have mentioned on another occaſion. As for the Royal Society, it ſeems to have degenerated in its reſearches, and to have had very little ſhare for half a century at leaſt, in extending the influence of true philoſophy.

A TABLE of the SUCCESSION of the PRINCES of the ſeveral Kingdoms of EUROPE, with which ENGLAND hath the greateſt Correſpondence and Connection, from the Acceſſion of King WILLIAM III. to the Year 1763.

EMPERORS of GERMANY.	KINGS of GREAT BRITAIN.	KING of FRANCE.	KINGS of SPAIN.	KINGS of PORTUGAL.	KINGS of PRUSSIA.	KINGS of DENMARK.	KINGS of SWEDEN.	KINGS of POLAND.	CZARS, &c. of RUSSIA.	POPES EXALTATIONS.
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
	WILLIAM III. and MARY Stuart, 1688									
							CHARLES XII. 1697	FREDERIC AUGUSTUS 1697		INNOCENT XII. 1691
			PHILIP V. 1700			FREDERIC IV. 1699				CLEMENT XI. 1700
	ANNE 1702				FREDERIC I. 1701					
JOSEPH 1705								STANISLAUS elected but did not poſſeſs, 1705		
CHARLES VI. 1711				JOHN V. 1706						
					FREDERIC WILL. II. 1713					
	GEORGE I. 1714	LEWIS XV. 1715 to 1763 and beyond.					FREDERIC and ULRIQUE ELEONORA 1718			
			LEWIS I. 1723							INNOCENT XIII. 1721
			PHILIP V. again, 1724							BENEDICT XIII. 1724
	GEORGE II. 1727								CATHERINE 1725	
									PETER II. 1727	
						CHRISTIAN VI. 1730			ANNE IWANOWNA 1730	CLEMENT XII. 1730
								STANISLAUS elected again & abdicated, 1733		
					CHARLES FRED. III. 1740 to 1763 and beyond.			FREDERIC AUGUSTUS III. 1733 to 1763 and beyond.	JOHN 1740	BENEDICT XIV. 1740
									ELIZABETH PETROWNA 1741	
CHARLES VII. 1742										
FRANCIS 1745 to 1763 and beyond.			FERDINAND VI. 1746			FREDERIC V. 1746 to 1763 and beyond.				
				JOSEPH 1750 to 1763 and beyond.			ADOLPHUS FRED. 1751 to 1763 and beyond.			
			CHARLES III. 1756 to 1763 and beyond.							CLEMENT XIII. 1758 to 1763 and beyond.
	GEORGE III. 1760 to 1763 and beyond								PETER III. 1762	
									CATHARINE II. 1762 to 1763 and beyond.	

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